FULTON COUNTY
REPARATIONS TASK FORCE
HARM REPORT

FULTON COUNTY REPARATIONS TASK FORCE

Adopted

November 19, 2025

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Acknowledgments

At the April 14, 2021, Regular Meeting (Item #21-2021), the Fulton County Board of Commissioners voted 4 to 3 to create and establish the Fulton County Reparations Task Force (FCRTF) to research the feasibility of slavery reparations for Black people who live in Fulton County, Georgia, and for other related purposes. The resolution was sponsored by Commissioners Marvin Arrington Jr. Esq. (District 5), Natalie Hall (District 4), and Khadijah Abdur-Rahman (District 6), and supported by Chairman Robb Pitts in a 4-to-3 vote. As early as 2019, advocacy for the task force was led by Marcus Coleman, who was elected to serve as its founding vice chair in October 2021.

A special acknowledgment is extended to the historic task force members whose collective vision and persistence gave life to this groundbreaking work: Dr. Karcheik Sims-Alvarado (Chair, District 4), Marcus Coleman (Vice Chair, District 5), Dr. Amanda Meng (Secretary, District 3), Carole Sykes (At-Large), Donte Thompson (District 1), Mike Russell (District 1), Elon Butts Osby (District 3), Ann Hill Bond (District 4), Greg Fann (District 5), Rodney Littles (Fiscal Liaison, District 6), and Dr. Michael Simanga (District 6).

As the first county-led reparations task force established in the United States, the members appointed by the Board of Commissioners worked tirelessly for four years to produce a report that traces and quantifies Fulton County Government's participation in the structural harm imposed upon its Black residents across two centuries, from enslavement and Jim Crow segregation to the modern era.

Gratitude is extended to Jessica A. Corbitt-Dominguez, Fran Calhoun, Jasmine Campbell, and Jordana Arias of the Fulton County Department of External Affairs, and to Denval A. Stewart of the Office of the Fulton County Attorney, for their institutional support and coordination.

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Together, these individuals and institutions helped illuminate the enduring impact of slavery and racial injustice in Fulton County, laying the groundwork for a model of local reparative justice that may guide the nation.



Introduction

Purpose and Framework

The Fulton County Reparations Task Force Harm Report functions as both historical record and financial reckoning. Drawing from Fulton County's own tax digests, court files, public works ledgers, and archival documents, the report reveals how county government, state institutions, private enterprises, and individual residents built and sustained wealth through slavery, racialized taxation, convict labor, land dispossession, segregation, and the systematic denial of public services, equal protection, and fundamental civil and human rights. These records demonstrate how systems of governance, taxation, law enforcement, education, and public health were intentionally designed to extract value from Black lives while withholding freedom, opportunity, and equity.

Using Dr. Karcheik Sims-Alvarado's *Dual Lens Theorem*, the study quantifies disparities across two centuries, demonstrating how the same fiscal logic that once taxed Black people as property evolved into the overtaxation and underservice of Black citizens. This combined approach of archival research and data analysis transforms the abstract idea of historical harm into a measurable and traceable ledger of economic injustice.

The report also applies Dr. Karcheik Sims-Alvarado's Extraction–Accumulation Harm Theorem, which examines the economic harm experienced by Black individuals and their descendants. It focuses on two main factors: public extraction and private accumulation. Public extraction captures the revenues, assets, labor, and infrastructural and technological advantages gained by government institutions through slavery, racialized taxation, convict leasing, land dispossession, and discriminatory public policies. Private accumulation is wealth obtained by individuals, such as slaveholders and institutions, through the exploitation of Black labor, talent, and intellect. Together, these two components form a unified model for quantifying intergenerational harm, demonstrating how government and private actors worked in lockstep to extract value from Black life while preventing any chance of Black wealth accumulation across multiple centuries.

Extraction–Accumulation Harm Theorem:

$$H = \sum(PE_t + PA_t)(1 + r)^n$$

In this expression, the total harm H reflects the sum of the public extraction PE and private accumulation PA at each historical moment, projected forward using a compounding rate that captures the Intergenerational loss of income, savings, land, equity, and opportunity. This formulation provides a rigorous and replicable method for quantifying harm that can be applied not only to wages stolen prior to emancipation and during ad valorem taxation, but also to later forms of extraction, such as convict labor, discriminatory property assessments, exclusion from public services, and lost inheritance.

Each chapter provides evidence that racial inequality in Fulton County was not incidental; it was engineered and sustained through policy, practice, and neglect. The findings establish a factual foundation for local reparative justice and affirm that acknowledgment alone is not enough. Justice now demands repair.

Structure of the Report

The Harm Report is organized into seven interrelated sections that trace the continuum of extraction, exploitation, and exclusion.

I. Stolen Freedom and Labor

The opening section reconstructs Fulton County's economic foundation during the era of slavery.

"Extracting Value from Black Lives in Fulton County, 1854–1864" quantifies the tax revenue derived from the appraised value of enslaved people as property and the labor stolen from enslaved Black individuals between 1854 and 1864. This chapter measures revenue generated and wages evaded by the profiteers of slavery. The extraction of value from the bodies, labor, talent, and intelligence of Black people served as seed money to build the State of Georgia and Fulton County's physical infrastructure and to make Atlanta the commercial epicenter of the South. Lastly, the chapter also calculates what is owed to the descendants of the people who built the county.

"The Profiteers of Slavery" identifies the names of Fulton County's enslavers—including elected officials and business leaders—and measures the value of enslaved people as property to the total wealth of slaveholders. It demonstrates that enslaved people constituted nearly one-fifth of the county's total wealth, and that slavery was both a public revenue system and a private investment strategy. Revenue generated from taxation on enslaved people reduced the tax burden for White property owners. It assisted in paying one-fifth of the costs for the county's services that even propertyless and non-enslaving Whites benefited from.

"Promised Freedom, Promised Inheritance" examines the 1857 case of *American Colonization Society v. Gartrell*, in which Francis Gideon, a White testator, sought to manumit and bequeath property to thirty enslaved individuals identified as his beneficiaries. The court case reveals how the Fulton County Superior and Georgia Supreme courts nullified Gideon's will, denying both freedom and inheritance to those named and exposing the legal architecture designed to prevent restitution to Black people.

"Freedom, Inheritance, Opportunities, and Wages Denied" calculates the cumulative financial value of the freedom and property denied to Gideon's thirty beneficiaries, estimating the compounded losses across generations. It argues that the denial of restitution in this case represents one of the earliest examples of a thwarted reparative act in Georgia's legal history.

II. On the Backs of Black People

This section follows the transition from slavery to racial capitalism, exposing how the county reconstituted forced labor through incarceration and discriminatory fiscal policy.

"Reparations Denied" documents how post–Civil War compensation programs repaid White enslavers for the loss of enslaved people while excluding freed Blacks from restitution or land ownership. It shows how county-level policies enabled White residents to rebuild their fortunes on the labor and taxation of freedmen.

"Convict Labor in Fulton County, Georgia" examines how the county transformed its criminal justice system into a new apparatus of profit. It reveals how hundreds of Black men, women, and children were arrested under discriminatory laws, leased to private contractors, and forced into unpaid labor for county and state projects, effectively extending slavery under another name.

"Fulton County's Chain Gangs and Public Infrastructure" traces how forced Black labor under convict leasing and chain gang systems physically built Fulton County's roads, bridges, and sanitation networks. It documents the conditions under which incarcerated men toiled and how county officials relied on their exploitation to finance and construct the public infrastructure of modern Atlanta.

III. The Black Taxpayer's Burden

This section exposes the enduring inequities in taxation and property valuation.

"The Illusion of Fairness" demonstrates that Black residents were consistently overtaxed and undervalued while White property owners benefited from favorable assessments. The chapter provides quantitative evidence that Black taxpayers financed county growth while receiving inferior or nonexistent public services, revealing how taxation served as a mechanism for wealth extraction and racialized underdevelopment.

IV. Social, Political, and Economic Control

These chapters trace how the county institutionalized segregation, regulated family and property rights, and criminalized Black resistance to maintain White supremacy.

"Bagley Park" documents the dispossession of a prosperous Black community in Buckhead through eminent domain and rezoning, revealing how the county confiscated land for White recreation and real estate expansion. The chapter examines the intergenerational loss of property and opportunities among displaced Black families.

"Inking the Color-Line" examines the county's marriage ledgers and licensing laws, showing how bureaucratic recordkeeping was used to enforce racial boundaries, delegitimize interracial unions, and preserve the purity of Whiteness as a legal and social construct.

"The Arrest and Conviction of Angelo Herndon by Fulton County Authorities, 1933" recounts the case

of a nineteen-year-old Black labor organizer who was arrested for inciting insurrection after leading a multiracial protest of unemployed workers. The case demonstrates how the county wielded the criminal code to suppress interracial political collaboration and criminalize demands for economic justice.

"Fulton County Government as the Gatekeeper of Black Suffrage" traces a century of voter suppression through poll taxes, literacy tests, racial gerrymandering, and at-large election systems. It argues that county government served as the principal gatekeeper, preventing Black residents from holding office or exercising political power.

V. Racial Terror

This section situates racial violence as an organized and institutionalized mechanism of governance.

"The Origin of the Ku Klux Klan in Fulton County" examines how White supremacist organizations emerged in the county during Reconstruction and maintained influence through the twentieth century, infiltrating local politics and law enforcement.

"A Genocidal Pattern of Lynching in Fulton County" compiles documented cases of lynching and mob violence, identifying patterns of racial terror designed to enforce labor subordination, suppress land ownership, and intimidate Black civic participation.

"Summary of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill and Its Legacy in Georgia" analyzes the proposed federal legislation introduced by Congressman Leonidas Dyer to criminalize lynching. It situates Georgia's opposition to the bill as part of the state's broader resistance to federal civil rights protections.

"The Anti-Lynching Bill" reproduces the text of Dyer's bill as part of the historical record, offering direct evidence of how federal attempts to protect Black lives were repeatedly blocked by southern legislators.

"*We Charge Genocide*" reprints the 1951 petition submitted to the United Nations by the Civil Rights Congress, charging the United States with genocide for its complicity in racial violence, disenfranchisement, and economic oppression. It places Fulton County within the global discourse on human rights and racial justice.

VI. Overtaxed and Underserved

This section examines inequities in public spending and access to essential county services, highlighting the enduring impact of racialized taxation and exclusion.

"Fulton County Libraries" documents how the county systematically underfunded library facilities in Black neighborhoods, offering inferior collections, limited hours, and dilapidated buildings. It argues that public knowledge and literacy resources were deliberately segregated and inequitable, despite equal contributions from Black taxpayers.

"Taxed, Underserved, and Excluded" traces how segregated school zoning, unequal funding, and dis-

criminatory planning deprived Black children of educational opportunity. It maps the evolution of school segregation into the late twentieth century and quantifies the disparities in per-pupil spending between White and Black districts.

"Black Healthcare Access in Fulton County" investigates the history of segregated healthcare facilities, the exclusion of Black doctors and nurses from county hospitals, and the lasting disparities in health outcomes. It connects historic discrimination to contemporary gaps in healthcare access and life expectancy among Black residents.

VII. Statutes

This section lists a series of laws that affected the lives and civil liberties of Black Georgians.

"Codifying Race" compiles more than a century of Georgia statutes defining race, regulating Black life, and institutionalizing discrimination. It reveals how the state's legal framework upheld the racial order that made Fulton County's local policies of exclusion and exploitation possible.

Part One:

Stolen Freedom and Labor



Chapter One

Extracting Value from Black Lives in Fulton County, 1854-1864

Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD

Abstract

This chapter reconstructs Fulton County, Georgia's financial relationship to slavery between 1854 and 1864 through a forensic, micro-level analysis grounded in the county's own tax digests, property assessments, and official government records. It examines how (1) the taxation of enslaved Black people as property and (2) the forced labor of enslaved Black people served as dual engines of public revenue and private wealth accumulation, showing that slavery was at the heart of the county's funding for itself.

Under Georgia's 1853 ad valorem tax law, enslaved persons were legally appraised and taxed in the same manner as real and personal property. This study examines the proportion of ad valorem tax revenue generated explicitly from enslaved people and how this revenue served as seed money for county infrastructure projects, land purchases, salaries, departmental operations, and public services. These public goods benefited not only enslavers, but also non-enslaving Whites, whose own tax burdens were reduced as a result.

This chapter also calculates the percentage of total county wealth represented by the value of enslaved people as property. It compares the concentration of wealth held by enslavers to that held by non-enslaving taxpayers, measured by their proportion of the overall tax base. In doing so, the chapter traces how slavery shaped the county's economic hierarchy.

In addition to analyzing *historical revenues* (actual tax revenue recorded in the past), the study models two economic counterfactuals using compound interest: (1) the *future value* (how much those amounts would be worth today with compound interest) of tax revenues derived from enslaved people as property, and (2) the future value of wages stolen from the enslaved population. These models provide insight into the long-term economic consequences of unpaid labor and exploitative taxation.

The evidence demonstrates that slavery functioned as the fiscal seed money for Fulton County's early development. Taxes levied on enslaved people as property supplied a substantial share of county revenue between 1854 and 1864—funds that financed courthouses, roads, land purchases, and public salaries in the county's formative years. These revenues, together with the value extracted from unpaid Black labor, laid the financial groundwork for Fulton County's civic institutions and private wealth accumulation. The structures built and sustained by that money did not disappear with emancipation. They evolved into enduring systems of property ownership, public finance, and racialized economic hierarchy that continued to shape the county's trajectory well into the twentieth century.



Figure 1 1 According to the 1860 U.S. Slave Schedule, 37 percent of Fulton County's enslaved population were children or adolescents, many beginning labor as early as age seven. *Credit:* USCT Drummer, Hamilton Taylor, Library of Congress.

Research Questions

Between 1854 and 1864, Fulton County, Georgia, developed into a functioning local government in large part through its financial dependence on slavery. Like other counties in Georgia, Fulton relied on enslaved Black people not only for forced labor, but also as a primary source of public revenue. Under Georgia's 1851 to 1852 Ad Valorem Act, enslaved persons were classified and taxed as property, making their appraised value central to the county's wealth and taxable base. As a result, Fulton County, established in 1853, generated significant income from the taxation of human chattel, which was then used to fund the county's earliest civic infrastructure, public services, and institutional development.

This study relies on the county's own tax digests and property assessments from 1854 to 1864 to reconstruct the fiscal role slavery played at a local level. The goal is not simply to document slavery's presence, but to quantify

its financial footprint through a series of interrelated questions:

1. How much of Fulton County's ad valorem tax revenue came from the taxation of enslaved people as property, and how was that revenue used to fund land purchases, infrastructure, public salaries, and services that benefited both enslavers and non-enslaving White residents?
2. How much of the appraised value of enslaved people accounted for the county's total wealth?
3. What portion of the value of enslaved people made up each enslaver's total wealth?
4. How did the wealth of enslavers compare to that of non-enslaving taxpayers in terms of amount and distribution?
5. What was the total tax revenue Fulton County collected on enslaved people between 1854 and 1864, and how much would that amount have accumulated with compound interest if used to fund county development over time?
6. How did the tax revenue collected from enslaved people compare to the wages enslavers were allowed to avoid paying for Black labor?
7. What is the estimated value of unpaid wages denied to enslaved laborers? What is that amount when compounded forward, and what does it reveal about the economic debt owed for the theft of their labor?

By investigating these questions and modeling both actual and potential revenues, this chapter demonstrates how slavery functioned as both the fiscal foundation and moral contradiction of Fulton County's early economy. The chapter further identifies the individuals and institutions that directly profited from this arrangement—enslavers, slave traders, and tax officials—whose fortunes and political power were rooted in wealth generated by slavery.

This study treats these tax revenues, collected on enslaved Black people as property, not simply as historical data, but as the basis for a measurable public debt owed. These taxes—extracted without consent or compensation—funded public goods and services that benefited White residents while exploiting Black lives.

Unlike broad national studies of slavery's legacy, this study focuses on the county as the unit of analysis. The county was, and remains, the level at which property is assessed, taxes are collected, infrastructure is built, and public services are distributed. As such, it is the most direct jurisdictional link between the financial gains of slavery and the institutions that continue to exist today. By reconstructing Fulton County's economic dependency on slavery in concrete, quantifiable terms, this study provides the evidentiary foundation for a county-level reparations claim.

Ultimately, this chapter argues that the question is not whether Fulton County profited from slavery, but how much it profited—and at what cost to those who were enslaved. Understanding these mechanisms is essential not only for historical accountability, but also for advancing contemporary discussions about reparative justice at the local level.

Methodology

This study uses Fulton County's own historical records and historical wage data to reconstruct the financial structure of slavery between 1854 and 1864. The methodology includes three primary components: (1) archival data collection for property taxation, (2) wage estimation based on White labor data, and (3) compound interest modeling to calculate the long-term economic value of both public revenues and private stolen labor.

1. Archival Tax and Property Data (1854–1864)

The core data used to construct the tables in this chapter were drawn from the Fulton County tax digests (1854–1864) and ad valorem tax rates established by Georgia law (Acts of 1851–1852 and 1853).[1]

These records were used to

1. Quantify the number of enslaved persons annually and by township
2. Identify the names of enslavers by township
3. Calculate the annual appraised value of enslaved people as taxable property
4. Calculate the amount of state and county tax revenue generated from this property
5. Determine the proportion of total county wealth represented by the value of enslaved people
6. Identify the percentage of overall county revenue derived from taxes on enslaved bodies
7. Construct tables comparing the wealth of enslavers to that of non-enslaving residents
8. Construct tables comparing tax revenue generated from enslaved people as property to the wages enslavers would have paid Black laborers under free labor conditions

These data form the foundation for answering the study's key questions about how slavery financed public infrastructure and services, redistributed costs to non-enslaving taxpayers, and generated lasting economic inequalities.

2. Wage Estimation for Enslaved Labor

To calculate the value of unpaid labor stolen from enslaved people, this study compares their work output to that of free White male manual laborers between 1850 and 1865. Wage benchmarks were drawn from historical data for White laborers in the South Atlantic region, as documented in the *Historical Statistics of the United States* and the works of Stanley Lebergott and Robert A. Margo.[2] During this period, free White workers earned an average of $11 to $17 per month for a sixty-six-hour workweek.[3] In contrast, enslaved adults typically worked far longer hours—estimated at over five thousand hours annually—making their total labor output significantly higher.[4] The labor of enslaved children was valued at a reduced rate, typically one-quarter of the adult wage.[5] Using this framework, the study estimated the baseline value of stolen wages in Fulton County from 1854 to 1864.

3. Compound Interest Modeling

To determine the future value of both (1) tax revenue collected and (2) unpaid labor, the study applied compound interest formulas. This method follows the logic used in courts when calculating damages for wrongfully withheld funds or unpaid debts:

$$FV = PV \times (1+r)\, t$$

Where:

- FV = future value
- PV = Original value at the time the amount was stolen or collected
- r = annual interest rate (3percent, 5 percent, and 7 percent)
- t = number of years (from date of theft to 2025)

The compound growth of these amounts demonstrates both how much Fulton County benefited from slavery over time and the economic loss suffered by the enslaved and their descendants**,** which is still unpaid.

Historical Context: The Ad Valorem Tax as Slave Tax

Before 1853, Georgia relied on a flat-rate poll-tax system that treated enslaved people as taxable "heads" rather than appraised property. Taxation on enslaved persons dates back to the colonial period. In 1755, under British rule, the colony enacted its first comprehensive tax law, which levied a per capita charge of one shilling for every enslaved person, as well as on acreage and other property.[6] After statehood, the Tax Act of 1804 adopted a statewide poll tax of 31¼ cents on each enslaved person under the age of sixty, a provision that remained in force through mid-century.[7] This uniform head tax placed a heavier proportional burden on enslavers with less wealth while allowing wealthier enslavers to pay less in taxes for the full assessed value of their human property (Table 1.1).

By the early 1850s, legislators recognized that a flat poll tax on enslaved people no longer reflected the realities of Georgia's expanding slave-based economy. The Acts of 1851–1852 sought to correct this imbalance. However, the fundamental reform came in 1853, with the statewide adoption of ad valorem taxation, which replaced flat per-head levies on enslaved people with a system designed to collect taxes based upon appraised value. Under this framework, enslaved people were assessed as property at their market valuation, alongside land, homes, timber, and livestock.[8]

The fiscal logic was straightforward. By monetizing enslaved people as property, the state could tap into Georgia's largest single reservoir of wealth. Counties like Fulton, created in 1853, were authorized to levy an "extra tax" of up to 50 percent of whatever the state collected. This made the bodies of enslaved people not just instruments of private profit, but engines of public finance, producing annualized revenue streams that funded county salaries, courthouse construction, and infrastructure.

The implications were profound. By 1854, Fulton's digest valued enslaved property at $961,292, nearly one-third of the county's entire taxable wealth (Table 1.3). The state collected $4,806; Fulton added

$2,403 (Table 1.4). Although small in nominal terms, these receipts represented as much as 20 to 35 percent of the county's annual revenue, underwriting services in a county with approximately 7,700 White residents by 1860.[9] Put differently, slavery did not simply enrich enslavers; it defrayed the costs of governance for all White Georgians. Non-enslaving White taxpayers benefited directly, since taxes collected on enslaved property reduced the share they themselves had to contribute. Free Black taxpayers (ages eighteen to fifty) owned zero wealth and were not privy to public services, yet they paid annual poll taxes at a rate 2,000 percent that of White males (ages twenty-one to sixty).[10]

Slavery thus functioned as seed money for Georgia's fiscal system. Enslaved people's appraised bodies financed state and county roads and buildings; paid for commissioners, sheriff, deputies, judges, tax commissioner, and other county employees' salaries; and funded the operating budgets of departments and public services. Their bondage lowered the tax burdens on White-owned land and homes, embedding slavery not only in the local economy, but in the financial infrastructure of public governance.

For Fulton County, the stakes were exceptionally high. Established as a new county in December 1853, it required reliable revenue to build its governing capacity. Taxation on enslaved people supplied 20 to 30 percent of its income, providing steady revenue that financed its growth into the state's commercial hub. Compounded forward, these receipts represent hundreds of millions of dollars in today's terms. What may appear to be small annual sums in the 1850s were in practice the fiscal foundation of a county—and later a city—that rose to become Georgia's economic center. In this sense, Fulton's prosperity was built on bondage, its public institutions literally financed by the appraised value of enslaved lives.

Table 1.1 Georgia Statutes and the Taxation of Enslaved People as Property, 1755–1864

Period	Legal regime and statute	Levies on enslaved people as property	Rate/amount	Notes and citations
1735–1750	Trustee Georgia (slavery prohibited by the 1735 act)	—	—	With slavery banned, no head tax on the enslaved[11]
1755–1776	Royal Colony, Act of Assembly (7 Mar. 1755)	Poll (head) tax on enslaved people	1 shilling per enslaved person	Georgia's first general tax law included a flat tax per enslaved person[12]
1804–1852	State of Georgia, Tax Act of 1804 (Cobb's Digests)	Poll (head) tax on enslaved people as property (under age 60)	$0.3125 (31¼¢) per person	Flat per-head tax remained in effect until 1852, ad valorem[13]
1851 (adjustment)	Statutory amendment (pre-ad valorem)	$150 levy on those "nominally slaves" (enslaved person in name but not in practice) via false ownership	$150 (punitive levy)	Punitive charge aimed at discouraging fraudulent manumissions[14]
1852 (effective 1853)	General ad valorem property tax adopted	Enslaved people taxed as property at assessed value (not per-head)	$0.50 per $100 or $ 0.25 per $100, according to the state	Transition from a flat tax to a valuation-based tax[15]

Tax Revenue Generated from Enslaved People as Property by the State of Georgia and Fulton County, 1854–1864

To calculate the total tax revenue collected by the State of Georgia and Fulton County between 1854 and 1864, this study began by first quantifying the number of enslaved people and their appraised value using Fulton County's tax digests.[16] These figures were then used to build tables from which revenue estimates could be derived (Table 1.2).

The appraised value of enslaved people for the years 1859, 1861, and 1863 was not directly recorded in Fulton County's tax digests. These values were interpolated using multi-year averages based on the known appraised values from adjacent years, as reported in county records. For example, the 1859 value was estimated by averaging the appraised values in 1858 and 1860. While the 1860 U.S. Slave Schedule served as a demographic benchmark for estimating the size and composition of the enslaved population, it did not include monetary appraisals. Therefore, valuation figures were derived from local tax data rather than federal census data.[17]

Table 1.2 Enslaved Population and Aggregate Value in Fulton County, 1854-1864

Year	Number of enslaved people	Aggregate value of enslaved people as property	Source
1854	1,867.5	$961,592	Fulton County Tax Digest
1855	2,039.5	$1,009,570	Fulton County Tax Digest
1856	2,129.5	$1,105,880	Fulton County Tax Digest
1857	2,234.5	$1,258,240	Fulton County Tax Digest
1858	2,381	$1,320,880	Fulton County Tax Digest
1859	~2,710	~$1,815,000 (estimate)	Interpolated
1860	3,039	~$2,310,000 (estimate)	U.S. Slave Schedule
1861	~3,590	~$3,330,000 (estimate)	Interpolated
1862	4,140	$4,353,001	Fulton County Tax Digest
1863	~ 4,197	~$7,054,045	Interpolated
1864	4,255	$9,755,090	Fulton County Tax Digest

State of Georgia

Once the annual population and appraised value of enslaved people in Fulton County were established, the next step was to determine the revenue collected through taxation at both the state and county levels. Under Georgia's 1852 tax reforms, the state implemented its ad valorem tax system, in which enslaved persons were taxed as property rather than through a flat per capita rate.[18] According to state statute, the state tax rate was set at $0.50 per $100 of appraised value in 1854 and again during the Civil War years (1861–1864). During the non-war years from 1855 to 1860, the state applied a reduced rate of $0.25 per $100.[19]

Fulton County

Applying the tax rates and recorded property values for enslaved individuals, the State of Georgia collected an estimated $149,316.08 in tax revenue from Fulton County between 1854 and 1864, measured in original dollars at the time of collection (Table 1.3).[20] These revenues represent the state government's direct fiscal gain from classifying enslaved people as taxable assets.

In addition to the state levy, Georgia law allowed each county to assess its own ad valorem taxes—typically up to half the state rate. As a result, Fulton County set its tax rate at $0.25 per $100 of value in 1854 and from 1861 to 1864, and at $0.125 per $100 from 1855 to 1860 (Table 1.4). Over the course of eleven years, Fulton County collected a total of approximately $74,544.14 in tax revenue through taxing enslaved people as property, reflecting the actual sums levied during that period (Table 1.4). Combined, these figures demonstrate how both state and county governments derived consistent and substantial revenue from enslaved Black people, whose appraised value formed a cornerstone of both Georgia's and Fulton County's tax bases.

Tax Revenue from Enslaved People as Public Seed Money

With the original tax revenues collected by the State of Georgia and Fulton County established, the next step was to assess what those amounts would be worth today if treated as seed money—invested annually and allowed to grow at standard compound interest rates. Tables 1.3 and 1.4 present these calculations by modeling the future value of tax collections using interest rates of 3 percent, 5 percent, and 7 percent through the year 2025.

This approach, commonly used in legal and financial contexts to calculate restitution or the future value of withheld funds, allows us to measure the actual economic weight of these revenues over time. When applied to the taxes collected from the appraised value of enslaved people as property, the results are staggering. Even at the lowest interest rate (3 percent), the combined future value of tax revenue exceeds $10 million. At 5 percent, the totals grow significantly, and at the highest rate (7 percent), the State of Georgia's share compounds to $8.2 billion, while Fulton County's reaches nearly $4.7 billion (Tables 1.3 to 1.6).

Table 1.3 State of Georgia Ad Valorem Tax Revenue from Enslaved People as Property: Future Values Compounded to 2025 at 3%, 5%, and 7% Interest

Year	Aggregate value of enslaved people as property	Rate %	State taxes collected (original $) at 0%	Future value at 3% (2025)	Future value at 5% (2025)	Future value at 7% (2025)
1854	$961,592.00	0.50	$4,806.46	$753,057.26	$20,203,075.34	$508,687,793.71
1855	$1,009,570.00	0.25	$2,523.93	$368,565.26	$9,691,468.40	$249,643,068.60
1856	$1,105,880.00	0.25	$2,764.70	$408,827.04	$10,553,325.40	$255,567,980.59
1857	$1,258,240.00	0.25	$3,145.60	$433,718.90	$11,510,853.98	$271,755,377.87
1858	$1,320,880.00	0.25	$3,302.20	$473,823.72	$11,999,849.98	$266,620,934.63
1859	~$1,815,000.00	0.25	~$4,537.50	$670,581.98	$17,263,486.40	$342,392,098.52
1860	~$2,310,000.00	0.25	~$5,775.00	$853,184.52	$22,013,071.48	$407,263,328.75
1861	~$3,330,000.00	0.50	~$16,650.00	$2,388,185.12	$60,420,710.46	$1,097,371,756.06
1862	$4,353,001.00	0.50	$21,765.01	$3,122,831.22	$78,843,423.18	$1,340,647,595.88
1863	~$7,054,045.50	0.50	~$35,270.23	$5,061,643.58	$124,837,237.84	$2,030,393,791.38
1864	$9,755,090.00	0.50	$48,775.45	$6,994,764.94	$176,536,435.80	$2,624,155,050.82
Total			**$149,088.28**	**$20,529,183.54**	**$563,872,938.66**	**$8,193,641,264.90**

Table 1.4 Total State Revenue Collected (1854–1864) and Its Value in 2025

Rate		Revenue
0%	Original amount:	$149,088.28
3%	Future value in 2025:	$20,529,183.54
5%	Future value in 2025:	$563,872,938.66
7%	Future value in 2025:	$8,193,641,264.90

Table 1.5 Fulton County Ad Valorem Tax Revenue from Enslaved People as Property: Future Values Compounded to 2025 at 3%, 5%, and 7% Interest

Year	Aggregate value of enslaved people as property	Rate %	County tax collected (original $) at 0%	Future value at 3% (2025)	Future value at 5% (2025)	Future value at 7% (2025)
1854	$961,292.00	0.25	$2,403.23	$376,528.63	$10,101,537.67	$254,343,896.85
1855	$1,009,570.00	0.12	$1,211.48	$184,282.63	$4,845,734.20	$119,828,039.90
1856	$1,105,880.00	0.125	$1,382.35	$204,413.52	$5,276,662.70	$127,783,990.29
1857	$1,258,240.00	0.12	$1,509.89	$216,859.45	$5,755,426.99	$130,442,754.16
1858	$1,320,880.00	0.125	$1,651.10	$236,911.86	$5,999,924.99	$133,310,467.32
1859	~$1,815,000.00	0.125	~$2,268.75	$335,290.99	$8,631,743.20	$171,196,049.26
1860	~$2,310,000.00	0.125	~$2,887.50	$426,592.26	$11,006,535.74	$203,631,664.37
1861	~$3,330,000.00	0.25	~$8,325.00	$1,194,092.56	$30,210,355.23	$548,685,878.03
1862	$4,353,001.00	0.25	$10,882.50	$1,561,415.61	$39,421,711.59	$670,323,489.96
1863	~$7,054,045.50	0.25	~$17,635.11	$2,530,821.79	$62,418,618.92	$1,015,196,607.86
1864	$9,755,090.00	0.25	$24,387.73	$3,497,382.47	$88,268,217.90	$1,312,077,794.41
Total			**$74,544.64**	$10,264,591.77	$214,375,837.42	**$4,686,820,632.44**

Table 1.6 Total County Revenue Collected (1854–1864) and Its Value in 2025

Rate		Revenue
0%	Original Amount:	$74,544.64
3%	Future Value in 2025:	$10,264,591.77
5%	Future Value in 2025:	$214,375,837.42
7%	Future Value in 2025:	$4,686,820,632.44

Stolen Labor vs. Tax Collection: Unpaid Wages and County Revenue in Perspective

To fully understand the economic consequences of slavery for Fulton County and the State of Georgia, it is essential to evaluate not only the taxes collected on the appraised value of enslaved people as property, but also the value of the labor that was systematically stolen from them. Using conservative wage estimates for White male manual laborers in Georgia and the South Atlantic region of the United States from 1850 to 1865, this study calculates what enslaved individuals in Fulton County would have earned had they been paid for their labor.[21] These benchmarks were used to estimate the annual value of unpaid wages extracted through forced labor, assuming fourteen-hour workdays, 365 days a year, without compensation. This stands in contrast to White laborers, who typically worked sixty-six hours per week for fifty-two weeks annually (Table 1.7)

From 1854 to 1864, the cumulative value of labor stolen from Fulton County's enslaved population amounts to $8.96 million in historical dollars (Table 1.7). When compounded forward to 2025, that figure grows to approximately $1.3 billion at 3 percent, $34 billion at 5 percent, and an astounding $902 billion at 7 percent interest (Table 1.8). These figures demonstrate the enormous scale of economic loss inflicted on Black people and the parallel enrichment of White enslavers and public institutions.

Comparing the value of unpaid wages to the ad valorem taxes collected by the state and county reveals a striking imbalance, as illustrated in Table 1.9. While the State of Georgia collected $149,316 in taxes and Fulton County collected $74,544, enslavers were exempted from paying $8,955,093.88 in wages between 1854 and 1864 to the very people whose labor generated their wealth. Instead, enslavers retained those profits in full as wealth that fueled private accumulation. As a compromise, they simultaneously paid taxes on the value of Blacks' bodies that served as seed money for building the county's public infrastructure.

Table 1.7 Conservative Estimated Value of Labor Stolen from Enslaved Persons in Fulton County, Based on Historical White Laborer Wages, 1854–1864

Year	Number of taxable enslaved people as property	Monthly wage ($) per White manual laborer (no board)	Hourly wage ($), per White male (66 hrs., at 52 weeks)	Enslaved individuals' unpaid annual earning (14 hrs., 365 days)	Enslaved population's total unpaid earnings
1854	1,867.5	$12.96	0.045315	231.56	$432,487.30
1855	2,039.5	$12.96	0.045315	231.56	$472,187.82
1856	2,129.5	$12.96	0.045315	231.56	$493,479.42
1857	2,234.5	$12.96	0.045315	231.56	$517,535.82
1858	2,381	$12.96	0.045315	231.56	$551,288.36
1859	~2,710	$12.96	0.045315	231.56	$627,527.60
1860	3,039	$17.18	0.06007	306.96	$933,384.84
1861	~3,590	$17.18	0.06007	306.96	$1,101,986.40
1862	4,140	$17.18	0.06007	306.96	$1,271,774.40
1863	~ 4,197	$17.18	0.06007	306.96	$1,287,425.13
1864	4,255	$17.18	0.06007	306.96	$1,306,006.80
Total					**$8,955,093.88**

Note: This estimate calculates the annual value of labor extracted from enslaved people based on the wages of White male manual laborers, assuming fourteen hours of daily labor without pay.

Table 1.8 Estimated Future Value of Unpaid Wages Stolen from Enslaved Persons in Fulton County, 1854–1864, Compounded at 3%, 5%, and 7% Interest

Year	Enslaved population	Unpaid earnings to enslaved persons	3%	5%	7%
1854	1,867.5	$432,487.30	$67,785,809	$1,816,952,191	$45,771,942,436
1855	2,039.5	$472,187.82	$71,852,681	$1,889,276,933	$46,704,312,854
1856	2,129.5	$493,479.42	$74,095,618	$1,880,444,796	$45,617,079,188
1857	2,234.5	$517,535.82	$76,092,995	$1,878,203,552	$44,711,070,170
1858	2,381	$551,288.36	$79,073,793	$1,905,424,598	$44,511,240,323
1859	~2,710	$627,527.60	$92,709,134	$2,270,377,762	$50,668,267,727
1860	3,039	$933,384.84	$137,896,016	$3,556,741,364	$98,784,027,109
1861	~3,590	$1,101,986.40	$162,804,802	$4,199,211,775	$116,627,836,393
1862	4,140	$1,271,774.40	$187,888,870	$4,846,203,216	$134,597,211,592
1863	~4,197	$1,287,425.13	$190,201,071	$4,905,841,638	$136,253,593,901
1864	4,255	$1,306,006.80	$192,946,282	$4,976,648,653	$138,220,169,866
Total		**$8,955,093.88**	$1,333,347,071	$34,125,326,478	$902,466,751,559

Note: Calculations reflect the value of unpaid labor had it accrued interest annually since the date of theft, reflecting conservative (3 percent), moderate (5 percent), and aggressive (7 percent) long-term growth assumptions.

Table 1.9 Tax Revenue Extracted from Enslaved People vs. Wages Withheld for Their Labor in Fulton County, 1854–1864

Year	Ad valorum taxes collected by Fulton County on enslaved people as property	Unpaid wages to enslaved people as property
1854	$2,403.23	$432,487.30
1855	$1,211.48	$472,187.82
1856	$1,382.35	$493,479.42
1857	$1,509.89	$517,535.82
1858	$1,651.10	$551,288.36
1859	~$2,268.75	$627,527.60
1860	~$2,887.50	$933,384.84
1861	~$8,325.00	$1,101,986.40
1862	$10,882.50	$1,271,774.40
1863	~$17,635.11	$1,287,425.13
1864	$24,387.73	$1,306,006.80
Total	**$74,544.64**	**$8,955,093.88**

Slavery Profiteers: Economic Dominance Through Wage Evasion

By comparing the value of unpaid wages to the ad valorem taxes levied on enslaved people as property, this study used the data to expose the public sector's active role in turning Black lives into a source of revenue. The wealth extracted—through stolen labor, inflated appraisals, and systematic taxation—not only sustained the operations of local and state governments, but also built physical and financial structures that outlasted slavery itself and endured long after the Civil War. Courthouses, roads, rail lines, and public institutions across Fulton County were funded not by equitable taxation, but by the commodification of Black bodies. While enslavers retained the profits of forced labor, the state reaped steady returns through taxation, creating a feedback loop of exploitation that enriched public infrastructure without ever compensating the people whose bodies and labor made it possible. The durability of that infrastructure—and the silence surrounding its origins—make clear that the debt owed is both moral and material.

But just as important as what was taken is what was denied. Had enslaved Black people been paid even modest wages for their labor, the economic impact on Fulton County would have been transformative. Rather than siphoning $8.9 million in stolen earnings into the hands of a few enslavers, those wages could have circulated through the broader economy, funding the purchase of land, the establishment of Black-owned businesses, and the creation of generational wealth. Black workers could have become landowners, employers, and taxpayers themselves, contributing to a more just and sustainable local economy. Instead, the county accepted less than $79,000 in tax revenue over more than a decade, choosing short-term public gain over an $8.9 million investment in inclusive economic growth and sacrificing long-term shared prosperity in favor of enriching members of the slaveocracy.

If the Black population had not been enslaved and deprived of wages and had been allowed to earn in-

come and be taxed like free White workers, they would have contributed substantially to Fulton County's tax base. The county would have benefited from Black property acquisition, business creation, and economic participation similar to that of White residents. Instead, those potential wealth opportunities were withheld and diverted to enslavers, whose dominance they solidified. From 1854 to 1864, enslavers comprised nearly 25 percent of the county's taxpaying population (Table 1.11) and controlled 65 percent of the county's wealth, enabling them to secure economic, political, and social dominance (Table 1.14).

Quantifying the Economic Infrastructure of Enslavement in Fulton County, 1854–1864

From 1854 to 1864, Fulton County's enslaved population grew and county services, development, and wealth increased. In 1854, 241 enslavers reported owning 1,811 Black people. Just ten years later, that number exploded to 4,255 (235 percent of the original total), and the number of people who owned them tripled to 761 (Table 1.10).

Enslavers as a Percentage of the Taxable Population

Throughout the county's brief history as a slave society, enslavers comprised nearly 25 percent of the taxpaying population (Tables 1.11 and 1.15), yet consistently held 65 percent of the county's total taxable wealth, thereby granting members of the slaveocracy disproportionate economic power (Tables 1.14 and 1.15).

Economic Role of Enslaved People

Enslaved people made up a substantial and consistent portion of Fulton County's total taxable wealth. In 1854, they accounted for 19.73 percent of the county's tax base, and over the following decade, their appraised value averaged 18.5 percent of the county's total wealth (Tables 1.12 and 1.15). Never did the fiscal weight of enslaved peoples decline. In fact, during the Civil War—despite General Sherman's invasion and destruction of Atlanta—the total assessed value of the enslaved population surged from $1.67 million in 1862 to $9.75 million in 1864.

This finding directly contradicts the narrative advanced by earlier historians who characterized Atlanta's wartime economy as being devastated by the conflict. In reality, the war stimulated an economic transformation across much of the South. Members of the planter elite redirected enslaved labor and capital into manufacturing, logistics, and the production of military supplies, rather than solely focusing on agricultural output.[22] Enslavers leased enslaved laborers to Confederate and county authorities to meet the growing demand for workforce in constructing fortifications, roads, rail lines, and defensive trenches.[23] The war, therefore, intensified rather than diminished the exploitation of enslaved people as an essential labor force.[24]

Enslaved People as Public and Private Capital

By 1864, enslaved people had become the largest single category of property in Fulton County, representing $9.75 million of the county's total wealth of $53.6 million (Table 1.12). Their appraised value was 127 percent of the county's total land value.[25] These figures show that Black people, treated as property, were both a private financial asset for enslavers and a cornerstone of the public tax base. Nearly 20 percent of all county revenue was derived from taxes on enslaved bodies. Their forced labor generated wealth. Their physical bodies were used as collateral, inherited wealth, and leased capital. Because their value was so heavily taxed, even landowners who did not enslave people benefited through lower taxes on their land and other holdings. The entire local economy was subsidized by the commodification of Black life, turning human suffering into fiscal stability.

Shared White Benefit and Moral Debt

This taxation did not just benefit wealthy enslavers. It defrayed the cost of public infrastructure by nearly 20 percent, reducing the tax burden for all county residents—including White non-enslavers and propertyless Whites. In this way, the entire White population benefited from the exploitation of Black people, whether directly, through enslavement, or indirectly, through publicly subsidized services. The foundation of Fulton County's wealth was built on the stolen lives, labor, and value of Black people. That foundation demands more than recognition. It demands restitution.

Enslaved People as a Share of Enslaver Wealth

When focusing solely on enslavers, the importance of enslaved labor to their private wealth becomes even clearer. Between 1854 and 1862, enslaved people accounted for an average of 28.52 percent of enslavers' total wealth. Even in 1864, when enslavers' total wealth increased to $38 million**,** enslaved people still accounted for 26 percent of that figure. In other words, over one-quarter of all private wealth held by enslavers was derived not from land, trade, or cash, but from the bodies of Black people (Table 1.13).

Concentration of County Wealth Among Enslavers

On average, enslavers held 64.57 percent of all taxable wealth between 1854 and 1864 and represented 15 to 23 percent of the entire taxpaying population for most of the period. In 1864, that wealth concentration reached its peak. Enslavers represented 70 percent of the taxed population and controlled 71 percent of all taxable wealth in Fulton County. That wealth concentration not only shaped access to land, infrastructure, and investment, but also gave enslavers disproportionate influence over public policy, law enforcement, and county governance (Table 1.14).

Revenue from Enslavement vs. Wages Denied

The extraction of value from Black lives becomes especially stark when comparing the taxes collected on enslaved people to the wages that would have been paid under free labor. Had enslavers paid Black laborers just $0.97 per day for three hundred days of work per year, the total wages owed between 1854

and 1864 would have exceeded $8.9 million in historical dollars. By contrast, the entire decade's county tax revenue derived from enslaved people amounted to only $74,544 by 1864.

This represents a wage-to-tax ratio of 1:120. For every dollar ($1) the county received in tax revenue from the appraised value of enslaved people as property, enslavers shirked paying $120 in wages to Black laborers. These figures confirm that enslaved people were foundational to the slaveocracy's private wealth, and they were a subsidized labor force that allowed Fulton County to operate and expand without equitable compensation or consent.

Fulton County's Taxable Population & Taxable Wealth, 1854–1864

Table 1.10 Annual Counts of Enslavers and Enslaved Persons

Year	Enslavers	Enslaved population
1854	241	1,811
1855	243	1,951
1856	248	2,116
1857	252	2,332
1858	260	2,513
1860	268	2,682
1862	273	2,901
1864	761	4,255

Note: This data excludes years with no data or only summary figures (1859, 1861, 1863).



Figure 1.2 For every dollar ($1) Fulton County received in tax revenue from the appraised value of enslaved people as property, enslavers evaded paying $120 in wages to Black laborers. *Credit:* "Profiteers of Slavery."A generated image created by Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD 2025.

Table 1.11 Enslavers as Percentage of Total Taxable Population

Year	Enslavers	Total taxable residents	% Enslavers	% Non-enslaving tax payers
1854	241	1,324	18.2%	81.8%
1855	243	1,414	17.2%	82.8%
1856	248	1,526	16.3%	83.7%
1857	252	1,582	15.9%	84.1%
1858	260	1,698	15.3%	84.7%
1860	268	1,787	15.0%	85.0%
1862	273	1,922	14.2%	85.8%
1864	761	1,087	70.0%	30.0%

Table 1.12 Enslaved Value as Percentage of Total County Taxable Wealth

Year	Enslaved value	County wealth	% County wealth
1854	$961,592	$4,871,382	19.73%
1855	$1,045,025	$5,352,342	19.52%
1856	$1,129,785	$5,985,417	18.87%
1857	$1,243,622	$6,831,934	18.20%
1858	$1,354,382	$7,625,143	17.76%
1860	~$1,570,222	~$8,993,542	17.46%
1862	$1,678,120	$9,642,380	17.40%
1864	$9,755,090	$53,591,724	18.00%

Table 1.13 Enslaved Value as Percentage of Enslaver Taxable Wealth

Year	Enslaved value	Enslaver wealth	% Enslaver wealth
1854	$961,592	$3,250,565	29.57%
1855	$1,045,025	$3,495,421	29.90%
1856	$1,129,785	$3,810,843	29.63%
1857	$1,243,622	$4,301,292	28.91%
1858	$1,354,382	$4,728,011	28.64%
1860	~$1,570,222	~$5,312,000	29.56%
1862	$1,678,120	$5,790,100	28.98%
1864	$9,755,090	$38,084,286	26.00%

Table 1.14 Percentage of County Taxable Wealth Held by Enslavers

Year	County tax wealth	Enslaver wealth	% County wealth held by enslavers
1854	$4,871,382	$3,250,565	67%
1855	$5,352,342	$3,495,421	66%
1856	$5,985,417	$3,810,843	64%
1857	$6,831,934	$4,301,292	63%
1858	$7,625,143	$4,728,011	62%
1860	~$8,993,542	~$5,312,000	61%
1862	$9,642,380	$5,790,100	59%
1864	$53,591,724	$38,084,286	71%

Table 1.15 Averages Across Years with Full Data,1854–1858, 1862, 1864

Metric	Average
% County's total taxable wealth from enslaved people as property	18.50%
% Enslavers' taxable wealth from enslaved people as property	28.52%
% County's total taxable wealth held by enslavers	64.57%
% Enslavers from total taxable population	22.76%

Conclusion: An Economy Built on Extracted Black Value

Enslaved people formed the fiscal foundation of Fulton County. Their bodies were assessed and taxed, their labor stolen, and their value transformed into both public revenue and private wealth. They were not merely an underclass or workforce—they were the very infrastructure that sustained the county's operations and enriched its citizens. Over eleven years, slavery's economic footprint remained remarkably consistent: Nearly one-fifth of all county wealth, one-quarter of enslaver assets, and two-thirds of total private wealth derived directly from the enslavement of Black people.

The records analyzed in this study provide a measurable basis for financial redress and a county-level reparations claim. This study demonstrates that Fulton County's prosperity was built upon the extraction of Black value. The unpaid labor of and autonomy denied to Black residents were not incidental to its development; they were, as the data confirms, the cornerstone of its growth and governance.

Endnotes

1 David L. Sjoquist, "A Brief History of the Property Tax in Georgia," *Center for State and Local Finance*, Georgia State University, accessed November 10, 2025, https://cslf.gsu.edu/files/2014/06/brief_history_of_the_property_tax_in_georgia.pdf. See also Thomas R. R. Cobb, *Digest of the Statute Laws of the State of Georgia* (Christy, Kelsey, and Burke, 1851), pp. 1065–1071; and Thomas R. R. Cobb, *Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia* (Christy & Lane, 1851 ed. and 1859).

2 Stanley Lebergott, *Manpower in Economic Growth: The American Record since 1800* (McGraw–Hill, 1964), Table A-3, "Average Monthly Earnings of Hired Farm Labor"; Stanley Lebergott, "Labor Force and Employment, 1800–1960," in *Output, Employment, and Productivity in the United States After 1800*, ed. Dorothy S. Brady (Columbia University Press for NBER, 1966), pp. 117–204, accessed November 10, 2025, https://www.nber.org/system/files/chapters/c1567/c1567.pdf; Robert A. Margo, "Wages and Labor Markets in the United States, 1820–1860," *NBER Historical Working Paper Series*, no. 40 (2000); and U.S. Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Government Printing Office, 1975).

3 Period wage assignments are based on South Atlantic regional averages and interpolations drawn from Lebergott, *Manpower in Economic Growth*, Table A-3; and Lebergott, "Labor Force and Employment, 1800–1960"; supplemented with Margo, "Wages and Labor Markets in the United States, 1820–1860"; and U.S. Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States*. Monthly wage values applied in the calculations were: 1815–1839, $10.93/month; 1840–1849, $11.52/month; 1850–1853, $12.11/month; 1854–1859, $12.96/month (Margo's 1850 farm labor with board figure, adjusted for no board); 1860–1864, $17.18/month (Margo's 1860 farm labor with board figure, adjusted for no board). Published monthly estimates assume 66 hours/week (≈3,432 hours/year). These were adjusted to reflect the enslaved work schedule of 14 hours/day × 365 days/year (5,110 hours annually) by multiplying baseline earnings by the ratio of 1.4889. Children ages five to ten were valued at one-quarter of the adult annual rate, consistent with historical wage differentials for youth labor. At the same time, those over ten were classified as adults. Headcounts were estimated as follows: 1815–1839, twenty adults and four children; 1840–1849, twenty-two adults and three children; 1850–1859, twenty-five adults and five children; 1860–1864, thirty adults and no children. Group totals for each period were calculated as (adults × adult annual value) + (children × child annual value), with period totals representing the sum of yearly group totals.

4 Lebergott, *Manpower in Economic Growth*, Table A-3; Lebergott, "Labor Force and Employment, 1800–1960"; Margo, "Wages and Labor Markets in the United States, 1820–1860"; U.S. Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States.*

5 Lebergott, *Manpower in Economic Growth*, Table A-3; Lebergott, "Labor Force and Employment, 1800–1960"; Margo, "Wages and Labor Markets in the United States, 1820–1860"; U.S. Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States.*

6 Georgia, An Act for Raising and Granting His Majesty a Supply for Defraying the Expences of the Government, and for Other Purposes Therein Mentioned (7 March 1755), in Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, vol. 18 (Colonial Office Records, Georgia Archives); Alvin Rabushka, Taxation in Colonial America (Princeton University Press, 2010).

7 Georgia, An Act to Revise and Amend the Several Laws in Relation to Taxes, and for Other Purposes Therein Mentioned (13 December 1804), in Howell Cobb, A Digest of the Statute Laws of the State of Georgia, (A. Burke, 1851), pp. 1065–1071; Howell Cobb, Compilation of the General and Public Statutes of the State of Georgia, Adopted December 10, 1859 (Christy, Kelsea & Burke, 1859).

8 Georgia General Assembly, Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville at an Annual Session in November and December, 1852 (Benjamin Brantly, State Printer, 1853); Sjoquist, "A Brief History of the Property Tax in Georgia," pp. 4–6.

9 U.S. Census Office, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, vol. 1: "Population of the United States in 1860" (Government Printing Office, 1864).

10 **Cobb**, *Digest of the Statute Laws of the State of Georgia*, pp. 1065–1071.

11 Betty Wood, "*Slavery in Colonial Georgia*," New Georgia Encyclopedia, last modified July 27, 2021, accessed November 10, 2025, https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/slavery-in-colonial-georgia/; Library of Congress, *Slavery in the Colonies*, accessed October 20, 2025, https://www.loc.gov.

12 Rabushka, *Taxation in Colonial America*, pp. 867–870.

[13] Sjoquist, "A Brief History of the Property Tax in Georgia." See also Cobb, *Digest of the Statute Laws of the State of Georgia*, pp. 1065–1071; and Cobb, *Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia*.

[14] In 1851, Georgia amended its tax laws to impose a $150 levy on enslaved individuals who were held in name only—commonly referred to as "nominally slaves." This measure targeted informal arrangements in which White enslavers transferred enslaved people to free Black individuals or allowed them to live as free without undergoing official manumission through legislative approval, which Georgia law required. The levy functioned as a punitive tax to discourage sham ownership practices designed to bypass state emancipation restrictions. David L. Sjoquist at the Center for State and Local Finance at Georgia State University mistakenly reports that a $150 tax was imposed on all enslaved persons in Georgia. In reality, this levy, introduced in an 1851 amendment to the tax code, applied only to persons "nominally slaves," targeting informal manumission practices. It was a punitive measure, not a standard head tax. See Sjoquist, "A Brief History of the Property Tax in Georgia." See also Cobb, *Digest of the Statute Laws of the State of Georgia*, pp. 1065–1071; and Cobb, *Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia*.

[15] Sjoquist, "A Brief History of the Property Tax in Georgia." See also Cobb, *Digest of the Statute Laws of the State of Georgia*; and Cobb, *Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia*.

[16] Fulton County Tax Digests (1854–1864), Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.

[17] Missing data points were estimated using linear interpolation between known years. The formula used is:
Vmissing = Vprior + Vsubsequent divided by 2. Where Vmissing is the estimated value for the missing year, and Vprior and Vsubsequent are values from adjacent years.
For example, the enslaved population in 1859 was calculated by averaging the numbers from 1858 (2,381 enslaved persons) and 1860 (3,039), resulting in an estimated 2,710 individuals. The same approach was applied to appraised values. See U.S. Census Bureau, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*; and Fulton County Tax Digests (1854–1864).

[18] Georgia General Assembly, Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1852, p. 63.

[19] James C. Cobb, *The Law and the Practice of Taxation in Georgia* (University of Georgia Press, 1859), pp. 1065–1071.

[20] Fulton County Tax Digests (1854–1864). Data compiled and analyzed by the author.

[21] Sjoquist, "A Brief History of the Property Tax in Georgia." See also Cobb, *Digest of the Statute Laws of the State of Georgia*, pp. 1065–1071; and Cobb, *Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia*.

[22] Sean Vanatta and Dan Du, "Civil War Industry and Manufacturing," New Georgia Encyclopedia, last modified August 24, 2020, accessed November 10, 2025, https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/civil-war-industry-and-manufacturing/; and John S. Lupold, "Columbus," New Georgia Encyclopedia, last modified June 21, 2022, https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/columbus/.

[23] Wendy Hamand Venet, A Changing Wind: Commerce and Conflict in Civil War Atlanta (Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 29, 159.

[24] Matthew D. Campmier, "Slavery and Confederate Military Strategy and Policy, 1860-1865" (PhD dissertation, The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2020), pp.45–46.

[25] Fulton County Tax Digests (1854–1864).

Chapter Two

The Profiteers of Slavery: Enslavers and the Value of Enslaved People as Property in Fulton County, 1854-1864

Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD

Abstract

The following tables present qualitative and quantitative data from the Fulton County Property Tax Digest identifying annually the

1. *Name and number of enslavers*;
2. *Value of enslaved people* in comparison to enslavers'
   - *land,*
   - *city/town property* (residential and commercial structures, barns, timber, etc.)*, and*
   - *whole property* (total estate)*;*
3. *Number of people enslaved* by each enslaver; and
4. *Value placed on those enslaved* by enslavers.

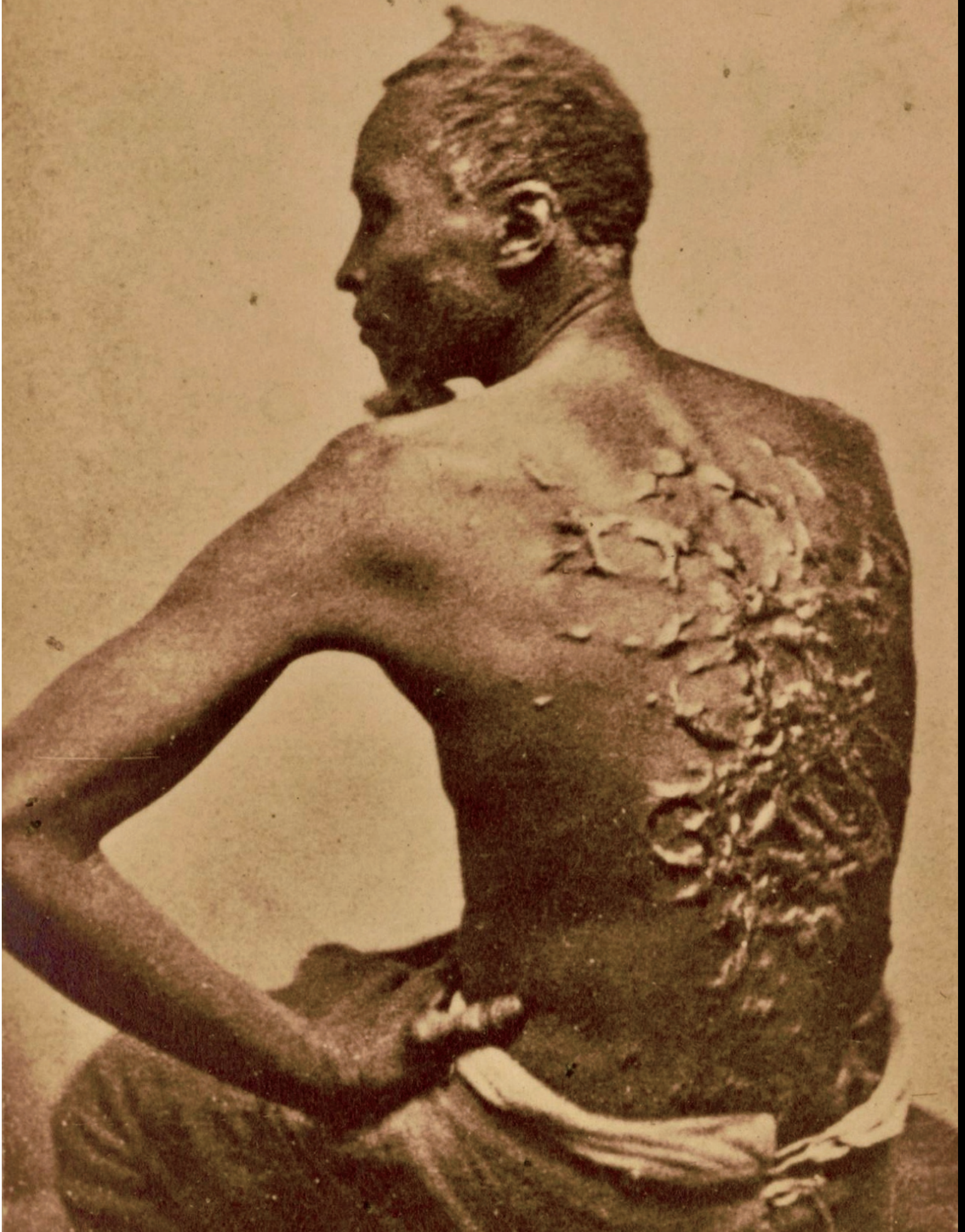
The data does several things. (1) It compares enslavers' property values with those of non-enslavers, showing the proportion of wealth concentrated among those who enslaved people. (2) The data illustrates how the value of enslaved individuals contributed significantly to the overall taxable property in Fulton County from 1854 to 1864. This underscores the county's financial dependency on revenue generated from taxes on enslaved people, which provided seed money, labor, and a steady flow of revenue to purchase land, build the county's infrastructure (e.g., courthouse, jail, roads, etc.), and pay for operational costs (e.g., salaries) and public services. (3) The data makes plain how the exploitation of enslaved individuals enriched enslavers while also benefiting the county as a whole. Even non-enslavers indirectly benefited, as taxes on enslaved people's value helped subsidize public services and reduced the tax burden for all White residents, regardless of their enslaver status.

Methodology

To create the tables for this study, the enslavers' names and wealth were sourced from the Fulton County Tax Digests and the 1860 U.S. Slave Schedule, located at the Georgia Archives in Morrow, Georgia. Names were transcribed from the original tax digests or drawn from previously transcribed records available through Ancestry.com. While some names may contain misspellings due to poor inscriptions or transcription errors, this does

not diminish their historical relevance, nor does it excuse or absolve those individuals, whether their names are accurately spelled or not, from their involvement in the institution of slavery or the harm caused to those they enslaved in Fulton County, Georgia. Inconsistencies were identified in the original tax digests. However, recalculations were conducted to produce the most accurate inventory of enslavers and their wealth. As a result, the tables contain a comprehensive list of slaveholders in Fulton County, along with the value of enslaved individuals in relation to their enslavers' overall wealth. The list of slaveholders will continue to expand as the tax digests for the years 1859, 1861, and 1863 are found.


AM I NOT A MAN AND A A BROTHER



In Fulton County, one in every three slaveholders owned neither land nor a home. Their entire wealth—100 percent—was tied to the value of enslaved Black people's bodies, labor, and intellect. More than 75 percent of these propertyless slaveholders lived in Atlanta. Those they enslaved were leased to factories, workshops, and to state and local governments as "Negroes for hire."

While Black laborers toiled to build the city, the county, and the state, the profiteers of slavery claimed the profits and the glory, not those whose value and work made Atlanta and the remainder of Fulton County rise.


AUCTION & NEGRO SALES.
LAMP, PINE

Downtown Atlanta was a slave market. Auction houses, slave yards, warehouses, and storefronts allowed agents to engage in the selling of men, women, and children.

Auctions presided over by the sheriff took place on Fulton County's courthouse steps on the first Tuesday of every month.

Yet the buying, selling, and trading of Black people occurred daily throughout Atlanta's commercial district, carried out by professional slave merchants.

Robert A. Crawford was the largest "Negro dealer" in Atlanta. When the Battle of Atlanta disrupted the local economy, Crawford relocated his operations to Macon, Georgia, where he continued to sell human beings during the final year of the Civil War.

ROBT. M. CLARKE. Atlanta, Georgia.

$1420 Atlanta, Geo., Dec 25th 1860

Received of Joseph Silver

Fourteen Hundred and Twenty Dollars

being in full for the purchase of One Negro Slave named Jim

One Thousand Seventeen Hundred the right and title of said Slave

One warrant and defend against the claims of all persons whatsoever, and that

wise warrant him sound and healthy. In witness One Hand and Seal

Dan'l Brown

G. M. Clarke (SEAL)

ROBT. M. CLARKE. Atlanta, Georgia.

$1466 Atlanta, Geo. Dec 23 1860

Received of Joseph Silver

Fourteen Hundred & Sixty six Dollars

being in full for the purchase of One Negro Slave named Dick

Fourteen Hundred & Sixty six the right and title of said Slave

His warrant and defend against the claims of all persons whatsoever, and that

wise warrant him sound and healthy. In witness One Hand and Seal

Dan'l Brown

G. M. Clarke (SEAL)

ROBT. M. CLARKE. Atlanta, Geo.

$1950 Atlanta, Geo. Dec 25th 1860

Received of Joseph Silver

Fifteen Hundred Dollars

being in full for the purchase of One Negro Slave named Nick

Fifteen Hundred the right and title of said Slave

His warrant and defend against the claims of all persons whatsoever, and that

wise warrant him sound and healthy. In witness His Hand and Seal

Dan'l Brown

G. M. Clarke (SEAL)

ROBT. M. CLARKE. Atlanta, Geo.

$2950 Atlanta, Geo. Dec. 25th 1860

Received of Joseph Silver

Twenty Nine Hundred & fifty Dollars

being in full for the purchase of two Negro Slaves named Jim

and Edmund the right and title of said Slaves

These warrant and defend against the claims of all persons whatsoever, and that

wise warrant them sound and healthy. Warrant them and Seal

Dan'l Brown

G. M. Clarke

Two days before Christmas 1862, Joseph Silver purchased five young men in Atlanta, Georgia, from D. W. Brun and Robert M. Clarke. Four original receipts dated **December 23, 1862**, identify Clarke as a "commission merchant and Negro broker."

Despite President Lincoln's **Emancipation Proclamation**, set to take effect just days later, the local slave trade continued uninterrupted and showed no fear of slavery's end. The person sold was described as "sound and healthy," with the sellers guaranteeing ownership and title.

The sales included **Samuel** (17 yrs, $1,400), **Simon** (24 yrs, $1,450), **Dick** (19 yrs, $1,670), and **Jim** and **Edmond** (together, $2,950). Signed by Brun and Clarke, the receipts confirm the routine commerce of human lives in Atlanta's wartime economy and the persistence of slavery's financial machinery, even on the eve of emancipation.

Slave Trade Brokers
(Historical Reference)

- G. M. Adair
- Amoss, Ligon, and Company
- W. K. Bagby
- W. M. Chissolm
- W. M. Chisolm
- Robert M. Clarke
- Robert A. Crawford
- Henry Dean
- John , J. Ford
- Robert *L*, Craorfroard
- Henry Dean
- Lawson Fields
- Field, Gresham, and Company
- Fields and Gresham
- Addison D. Frazer
- H. C. Halcomb
- W. H. Henderson and Co.
- M. W. Hutcheson
- Thomas F. Lowe
- William H. McMilllian
- McCrosky and Harley
- J. A. Ricee
- S. Solomon and Brothers
- Whitaker and Turner
- Whitaker and Turner
- Wm Watkins
- J. L. Winter and Co.

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Members of Fulton County's slaveocracy stole over $8.9 million in labor from over 4,200 enslaved Black individuals from 1854 to 1864.

The profiteers of slavery were Atlanta mayors James M. Calhoun, John Glen, William Markham, and John F. Mims.

Other prominent figures were Clarke Howell, Lemuel Grant, C. H. Chandler, Lucius Gartrell, George W. Adair Joseph Thompson, Mary J. Mimms, Richard Peters, Alfred Austell, and Joseph Winship, among many others.



Fulton County's economy depended heavily on the labor of its youngest enslaved people. Nearly **55 percent** of the county's enslaved population in 1860 was under the age of twenty-five.

While about **18 percent** were between seventeen and twenty-five years old—entering their peak years of productivity—another **37 percent** were children and adolescents.

This youthful majority reveals how deeply the county's wealth was built on generational exploitation. Enslaved children were not spared from labor; many began working as early as **age seven.**

Figure 2.1 The abolitionist emblem "Am I Not a Man and a Brother?" became the iconic symbol for anti-slavery societies in the United States and Great Britain. *Credit:* The Library of Congress. Picture frame is AI-generated.

Figure 2.2 Photograph of Gordon, an enslaved man, displaying the extensive keloid scarring from repeated whippings, 1863. *Credit:* Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; originally published in Harper's Weekly, July 4, 1863.

Figure 2.3 Photographed by George N. Barnard in 1864, a Black man pictured in a military uniform before an Atlanta slave warehouse owned by "Negro Broker" Robert A Crawford, located at 8 Whitehall Street, now Peachtree Street. *Credit:* Library of Congress.

Figure 2.4 Four receipts of five individuals sold into slavery just days before Christmas 1862. *Credit:* George H. LaBarrie Galleries, Inc.

Figure 2.5 Historical reference to slave traffickers in Atlanta, Georgia. *Credit:* Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD, "Slave Trade Brokers," AI-generated image, 2025.

Figure 2.6 Unnamed US Colored Troop soldier and his family, photographed after the Civil War. *Credit*: Library of Congress.

Figure. 2.7 Ai generated image of Slave Trade Brokers to be used a historical reference. This reproduction is for historical education and archival research and is not an original document. *Credit:* Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD

Figure 2.8 Unnamed US Colored Troop soldier and his family, photographed after the Civil War. *Credit:* Library of Congress.

1854

Table 2.1 Names of Enslavers and Value of Enslaved Persons, Compared to Value of Enslavers' Overall Wealth.

District	Enslaver	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved	Aggregate land value for enslavers (in Fulton)	Aggregate city/town property value for enslavers	Aggregate value of whole property for enslavers	Percent value of enslaved people to whole property
Atlanta	George W. Anderson	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Atlanta	A. J. Arnold	4	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	100%
Atlanta	Richard W. Allen	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,644.00	82%
Atlanta	Nathan L. Angier	1	$700.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	$12,122.00	6%
Atlanta	A. Alexander	1	$500.00	$0.00	$5,800.00	$16,540.00	3%
Atlanta	J. F. Alexander	3	$2,300.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	$7,900.00	29%
Atlanta	Joshua Butler	1	$550.00	$700.00	$1,700.00	$3,350.00	16%
Atlanta	George J. Boothe	5	$2,500.00	$0.00	$1,050.00	$4,475.00	56%
Atlanta	Thomas Baker	1	$700.00	$0.00	$1,850.00	$2,715.00	26%
Atlanta	Joseph Barnes	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$6,030.00	33%
Atlanta	William Barnes	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,400.00	$7,170.00	28%
Atlanta	Hugh M. Boyd	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$3,350.00	60%
Atlanta	John M. Bering	1	$600.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$12,050.00	5%
Atlanta	Samuel Bryant	1	$700.00	$0.00	$3,683.00	$8,451.00	8%
Atlanta	James Blackman Jr.	6	$3,500.00	$15,500.00	$0.00	$21,325.00	16%
Atlanta	James Blackman Sr.	9	$3,600.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$6,488.00	55%
Atlanta	A. J. Brady	3	$1,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$13,525.00	7%
Atlanta	William M. Butt	7	$3,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,200.00	60%
Atlanta	Stephen T. Biggers	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,400.00	$7,108.00	28%
Atlanta	Robert Beasley (Agent)	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$400.00	100%
Atlanta	Robert M. Clarke	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,300.00	43%
Atlanta	Merideth CollierJr.	1	$500.00	$2,600.00	$0.00	$6,575.00	8%
Atlanta	James Crew	1	$500.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$4,500.00	11%
Atlanta	Jane L. Crew (Agent)	1	$250.00	$0.00	$0.00	$250.00	100%
Atlanta	Andrew J. Collier	2	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	83%
Atlanta	Merideth Collier Sr.	11	$4,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,600.00	46%
Atlanta	William H. Craft	3	$1,750.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$7,300.00	24%
Atlanta	Isaac N. Craver	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$6,300.00	$10,825.00	14%
Atlanta	James M. Collier	3	$1,700.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,635.00	30%
Atlanta	James M. Calhoun	9	$3,250.00	$0.00	$7,600.00	$14,465.00	22%

Atlanta	Mary E. Calhoun (Agent)	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Atlanta	William Y. C. Campbell	1	$700.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$3,430.00	20%
Atlanta	Russell W. Clay	7	$4,000.00	$0.00	$11,500.00	$24,750.00	16%
Atlanta	Michael Cowigan	10	$6,800.00	$0.00	$5,700.00	$28,109.00	24%
Atlanta	Caldwell & Griffin	15	$6,500.00	$4,400.00	$1,500.00	$16,900.00	38%
Atlanta	James A. Collins	3	$1,700.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$4,240.00	40%
Atlanta	John Cobb	1	$100.00	$0.00	$375.00	$762.00	13%
Atlanta	Hayden Coe	5	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$16,445.00	15%
Atlanta	Johnathan Cole (Agent for Hairs of H. Corry)	1	$400.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	$3,660.00	11%
Atlanta	Mrs. M. A. Casellaw (Agent)	2	$2,400.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$3,900.00	62%
Atlanta	John W. Christians	3	$1,400.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$12,217.00	11%
Atlanta	Johnathan Carmichael	3	$1,382.00	$0.00	$1,850.00	$5,547.00	25%
Atlanta	Thomas M. Darnall	1	$800.00	$4,000.00	$5,000.00	$17,500.00	5%
Atlanta	Lorenza D. Davis	18	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,090.00	83%
Atlanta	George A. Dudley Sr.	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Richard Du*	5	$2,500.00	$0.00	$14,000.00	$52,300.00	5%
Atlanta	Charles F. Dean	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	54%
Atlanta	David Denerash	6	$6,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$12,100.00	50%
Atlanta	Lemuel Dean	7	$4,000.00	$0.00	$8,450.00	$17,650.00	23%
Atlanta	James Dunahoo	3	$2,500.00	$9,000.00	$0.00	$12,235.00	20%
Atlanta	James Davis	6	$3,600.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$9,080.00	40%
Atlanta	John W. Davis	1	$625.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	$6,365.00	10%
Atlanta	N. Dalrigny	1	$200.00	$200.00	$1,800.00	$3,000.00	7%
Atlanta	Terrence Dooman	2	$1,350.00	$1,000.00	$19,300.00	$22,825.00	6%
Atlanta	John B. Duncan	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	20%
Atlanta	William H. Eidson	5	$2,500.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$4,000.00	63%
Atlanta	William Forsyth	16	$8,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$13,500.00	59%
Atlanta	John Farrar	5	$2,000.00	$2,100.00	$2,200.00	$7,050.00	28%
Atlanta	A. B. Forsyth	3	$1,600.00	$1,300.00	$5,500.00	$8,759.00	18%
Atlanta	William H. Ferguson	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,010.00	20%
Atlanta	William H. Ferguson	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,695.00	49%
Atlanta	William G. Forsyth	1	$700.00	$0.00	$800.00	$1,900.00	37%
Atlanta	E. G. Frazier (Agent)	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,965.00	20%
Atlanta	Mrs. Julia Frazier	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$3,200.00	38%
Atlanta	Edmund R. Gresham	6	$3,100.00	$0.00	$2,700.00	$5,800.00	53%
Atlanta	Nathaniel E. Gardner	10	$6,000.00	$3,000.00	$8,500.00	$18,735.00	32%

Atlanta	Thomas Ervin by I. C. Farrar	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,640.00	45%
Atlanta	John Glen	2	$700.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$7,345.00	10%
Atlanta	Joshua Gilbert	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,750.00	55%
Atlanta	Lemuel P. Grant	2	$1,400.00	$6,000.00	$46,500.00	$65,636.00	2%
Atlanta	Francis Gideon (Estate)	30	$12,640.00	NA	NA	NA	100%
Atlanta	Thomas P. C. Hays	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$720.00	$5,820.00	34%
Atlanta	Clarke Howell	14.5	$8,700.00	$0.00	$500.00	$38,488.00	23%
Atlanta	Singleton G. Howell	7	$5,250.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$9,923.00	53%
Atlanta	Pascal House	3	$1,400.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,900.00	48%
Atlanta	David N. Hamilton	1	$385.00	$0.00	$3,100.00	$5,101.00	8%
Atlanta	Eli Y. Hamicut	1	$500.00	$0.00	$1,100.00	$1,900.00	26%
Atlanta	John L. Harris	6	$3,500.00	$0.00	$400.00	$4,200.00	83%
Atlanta	Benjamin F. Harris	3	$2,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,100.00	100%
Atlanta	Eli J. Husley	5	$2,400.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$4,622.00	52%
Atlanta	Ian B. Haygood	5	$3,725.00	$0.00	$9,800.00	$19,801.00	19%
Atlanta	Edmund W. Holland	8	$6,100.00	$1,500.00	$13,700.00	$54,685.00	11%
Atlanta	Andrew Howard	5	$2,735.00	$3,060.00	$5,300.00	$13,390.00	20%
Atlanta	Amos Hammond	21	$8,500.00	$5,800.00	$0.00	$22,400.00	38%
Atlanta	B. Sons (Trustee)	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100%
Atlanta	William A. Shelby (Guardian)	3	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100%
Atlanta	Dr. F. L. Shelby (Admin)	9	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,540.00	99%
Atlanta	Daniel Hook	1	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$6,471.00	0%
Atlanta	Mary W. Lasseter (Agent)	5	$2,200.00	$0.00	$700.00	$2,900.00	76%
Atlanta	Henry C. Holcombe	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$7,360.00	14%
Atlanta	Mrs. H. C. Hathaway	2	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$5,200.00	0%
Atlanta	Flemming M. Haderman	1	$0.00	$600.00	$1,900.00	$4,095.00	0%
Atlanta	Henry Hurt (Trustee)	6	$3,000.00	$7,000.00	$0.00	$10,830.00	28%
Atlanta	William Herring	1	$300.00	$0.00	$12,300.00	$14,400.00	2%
Atlanta	James M. Hudson	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$5,100.00	$7,600.00	13%
Atlanta	Ruben Haynes	4	$2,350.00	$0.00	$2,100.00	$5,470.00	43%
Atlanta	William H. Harwell	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,770.00	73%
Atlanta	Julius A. Hayden (Admin of R. Cone, Deceased)	5	$3,600.00	$3,500.00	$23,300.00	$33,855.00	11%
Atlanta	Mary L. Cone (Agent)	2	$100.00	$0.00	$28,200.00	$46,900.00	0%
Atlanta	Hayden & Whaley	5	$3,450.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$10,450.00	33%

Atlanta	Minnie L. Houston (Trustee)	2	$950.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,050.00	90%
Atlanta	Charles A. Hardson	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$3,618.00	41%
Atlanta	Hester Hilburns (By John Byrd)	7	$2,200.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$3,850.00	57%
Atlanta	Thomas M. Jones	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$250.00	$1,250.00	80%
Atlanta	Elisha Johnson, Dec'd) (Admin)	15	$6,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$43,870.00	14%
Atlanta	Benjamin O. Jones	3	$2,500.00	$0.00	$12,300.00	$17,910.00	14%
Atlanta	Jacob M. Johnson	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,900.00	$5,640.00	18%
Atlanta	William Y Ivy	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$10,315.00	17%
Atlanta	William B. Jones	2	$1,600.00	$2,500.00	$3,500.00	$8,610.00	19%
Atlanta	Richard Johnson	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100%
Atlanta	Benjamin Kelly	1	$200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$325.00	62%
Atlanta	William Kay	5	$2,450.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$18,150.00	13%
Atlanta	Lillie Harvey (Agent)	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100%
Atlanta	William M. Kirkpatrick	4	$2,500.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$7,800.00	32%
Atlanta	John Kile Sr.	3	$1,900.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$4,930.00	39%
Atlanta	John Lovejoy	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,350.00	10%
Atlanta	Lewis L. Ledbetter	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$3,690.00	27%
Atlanta	Theophilus Luckey	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Alexander F. Luckie	25	$11,400.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$19,595.00	58%
Atlanta	Mrs. Frances A. Lipham	11	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,650.00	65%
Atlanta	Eugenia S. Luckie	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,350.00	85%
Atlanta	Louis Lawshe (Trustee for wife and children)	3	$2,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,300.00	100%
Atlanta	Warner Lyon	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$715.00	70%
Atlanta	Henry B. Latimer	6	$4,500.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$20,653.00	22%
Atlanta	C. T. Harris (Trustee)	6	$3,200.00	$900.00	$0.00	$4,100.00	78%
Atlanta	James Loyd	16	$8,625.00	$6,000.00	$25,000.00	$45,775.00	19%
Atlanta	Mrs. Margaret E. Laime (By Holcombe)	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,430.00	49%
Atlanta	Sarah J. McDaniel (Agent)	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$4,270.00	28%
Atlanta	Joseph S. Martin	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$3,600.00	42%
Atlanta	Robert E. Magnum	1	$300.00	$0.00	$5,150.00	$7,180.00	4%
Atlanta	Magnum & Adams	1	$800.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$11,300.00	7%
Atlanta	Edward W. Monday	7	$3,500.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$5,100.00	69%
Atlanta	William Markham	1	$800.00	$0.00	$43,450.00	$46,525.00	2%

Atlanta	James McDonald	1	$100.00	$1,000.00	$14,400.00	$16,000.00	1%
Atlanta	Ira McDaniel	8	$3,200.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$9,600.00	33%
Atlanta	Phillip E. McDaniel	4	$2,600.00	$0.00	$4,900.00	$8,460.00	31%
Atlanta	Hiram Meadors (Guardian)	4	$2,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,905.00	72%
Atlanta	Exer Beall (Guardian)	3	$1,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,495.00	68%
Atlanta	J. McDaniel	1	$500.00	$0.00	$7,300.00	$9,975.00	5%
Atlanta	A. W. Mitchell	15	$6,600.00	$0.00	$4,200.00	$25,025.00	26%
Atlanta	J. O. McDaniel	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,860.00	52%
Atlanta	Thomas S. Maby	15	$8,000.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	$21,000.00	38%
Atlanta	Daniel McShefrey	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,490.00	47%
Atlanta	P. O. Neil	3	$2,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,741.00	80%
Atlanta	Robert M. Newton	4	$2,150.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$9,403.00	23%
Atlanta	Ruben E. Oslin	1	$700.00	$1,500.00	$8,000.00	$18,330.00	4%
Atlanta	Mary A. Edwards (Agent)	1	$880.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$3,880.00	23%
Atlanta	Joseph L. Oglesby	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$605.00	66%
Atlanta	John S. Oliver	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	William P. Orme	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,115.00	63%
Atlanta	Orme & Alexander	1	$600.00	$1,800.00	$27,800.00	$38,700.00	2%
Atlanta	Mrs. Y. G. Ogibbly	1	$500.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$4,500.00	11%
Atlanta	Mrs. Sarah Oslin	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Atlanta	B. H. Overby	22	$11,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$22,500.00	49%
Atlanta	John E. Odena (By Hezekiah Wells, Guardian for his Children)	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	100%
Atlanta	Francis P. Perdue	2	$900.00	$0.00	$160.00	$1,980.00	45%
Atlanta	Richard Peters	8	$4,100.00	$20,400.00	$21,400.00	$89,700.00	5%
Atlanta	Chapman Powell	8	$3,700.00	$3,000.00	$10,300.00	$18,660.00	20%
Atlanta	Henry T. Peeples	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$2,900.00	$7,195.00	21%
Atlanta	Anderson M. Parker	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$5,350.00	19%
Atlanta	Mrs. Carey Parker (Agent)	6	$3,300.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	73%
Atlanta	Mrs. E. A. Peters (Trustee)	11	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Columbus M. Payne	1	$500.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$4,725.00	11%
Atlanta	Edward Payne	8	$4,000.00	$17,100.00	$27,837.00	$44,939.00	9%
Atlanta	Louis J. Parr	2	$1,600.00	$10,000.00	$16,000.00	$57,864.00	3%
Atlanta	John B. Peck	1	$200.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$3,530.00	6%
Atlanta	Albert C. Pulliam	4	$3,200.00	$1,500.00	$4,000.00	$13,750.00	23%
Atlanta	Ary Pascock (Agent)	2	$900.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$2,420.00	37%

Atlanta	Thomas J. Pascock (Agent)	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$3,500.00	29%
Atlanta	Benjamin Parr	1	$600.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$2,100.00	29%
Atlanta	Elzy B. Reynolds	7	$2,600.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$5,335.00	49%
Atlanta	John F. Reynolds	1	$450.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$3,590.00	13%
Atlanta	Charles Rhodes	3	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,260.00	44%
Atlanta	Thomas R. Ripley	1	$700.00	$1,300.00	$2,000.00	$6,455.00	11%
Atlanta	William H. Roberts	9	$4,850.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$11,130.00	44%
Atlanta	Jesse Reneau	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100%
Atlanta	William H. Sharp	5	$2,700.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	$5,048.00	53%
Atlanta	R. C. Shumate	1	$100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$100.00	100%
Atlanta	John Simpson	6	$2,250.00	$0.00	$13,500.00	$16,420.00	14%
Atlanta	George Schoenberger	5	$3,200.00	$0.00	$3,075.00	$17,400.00	18%
Atlanta	Gulrednus Smith	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$825.00	73%
Atlanta	Arabella Jones(Agent)	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Atlanta	Jasper Smith	6	$3,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$8,802.00	34%
Atlanta	Augustin H. Stokes	9	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,050.00	50%
Atlanta	Mrs. M. A. Ghewer (Trustee)	4	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100%
Atlanta	Miss M. J. Stokes (Trustee)	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Mrs. L. L. Byrd (Trustee)	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Richard Shackleford	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,600.00	22%
Atlanta	Mrs. E. Smith	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	James F. Searey	2	$1,600.00	$2,600.00	$3,200.00	$13,233.00	12%
Atlanta	M. R. Spence	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	92%
Atlanta	Jonas S. Smith	7	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,575.00	79%
Atlanta	William H. Thurman	1	$700.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$4,900.00	14%
Atlanta	Stephen Terry	2	$775.00	$0.00	$2,400.00	$4,155.00	19%
Atlanta	Jeremiah F. Trout	10	$4,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$26,300.00	15%
Atlanta	James L. Terry	1	$700.00	$0.00	$2,400.00	$3,725.00	19%
Atlanta	Joseph Thompson	30	$10,000.00	$3,000.00	$50,060.00	$70,560.00	14%
Atlanta	James J. Vaughn	1	$750.00	$0.00	$600.00	$1,850.00	41%
Atlanta	E. W. Vaughn (Trustee)	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	100%
Atlanta	William R. Venable	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	$2,615.00	50%
Atlanta	W. L. Wright	6	$5,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$12,560.00	40%
Atlanta	Mary Wright (Trustee)	8	$3,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	100%
Atlanta	Mrs. Nancy Waddail	17	$6,800.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$10,300.00	66%
Atlanta	A. G. Ward	6	$2,800.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$9,220.00	30%

Atlanta	Mrs. Jane Wilson	3	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,020.00	98%
Atlanta	Roger L. Whigham	3	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$910.00	99%
Atlanta	Afford W. Wording	11	$5,700.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$12,650.00	45%
Atlanta	A Wooding (Mrs. Mary S. White)	1	$600.00	$0.00	$800.00	$1,500.00	40%
Atlanta	William Weaver	9	$3,600.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$5,350.00	67%
Atlanta	Sarah J. Wright (Agent)	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$3,653.00	36%
Atlanta	John D. Williams	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,637.00	43%
Atlanta	John C. White	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,400.00	$6,820.00	29%
Atlanta	James Whits	1	$300.00	$0.00	$1,010.00	$2,154.00	14%
Atlanta	John R. Wallace	1	$1,000.00	$300.00	$2,000.00	$3,316.00	30%
Atlanta	Samuel Walker	18	$7,700.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$15,675.00	49%
Atlanta	Thomas A. Warwick	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$100.00	$7,180.00	22%
Atlanta	Joseph Winship	14	$9,500.00	$0.00	$21,800.00	$53,287.00	18%
Atlanta	Miss Almeda Wilson	1	$300.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$1,500.00	20%
Atlanta	Miss Y. Wilson	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$700.00	100%
Atlanta	John T. Westmoreland	13	$8,000.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	$16,000.00	50%
Atlanta	Willis B. Westmoreland	7	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,800.00	83%
Atlanta	Mrs. Martha Williams	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100%
Atlanta	Harrison Westmoreland	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$3,300.00	45%
Atlanta	Mrs. Mary T. Walker (Agent)	6	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	96%
Atlanta	James E. Williams	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,600.00	5%
Atlanta	Elizabeth Paradis (Agent)	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Atlanta	Jared J. Whitaker	5	$3,000.00	$3,500.00	$13,500.00	$23,630.00	13%
Atlanta Defaulter	C A Hudson	1	$300.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$3,400.00	9%
Black Hall	William Avery	1	$1,000.00	$2,400.00	$0.00	$7,635.00	13%
Black Hall	Meredith Brown	11	$5,800.00	$9,800.00	$1,415.00	$18,838.00	31%
Black Hall	Nicholas Bacon	1	$200.00	$830.00	$0.00	$1,785.00	11%
Black Hall	Robert W. Bullard	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	$8,525.00	23%
Black Hall	Abner Connally	1	$1,000.00	$700.00	$0.00	$1,815.00	55%
Black Hall	Mrs. Rhonda Carter	21	$11,110.00	$0.00	$0.00	$13,745.00	81%
Black Hall	Stephen P. Cash	7	$4,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,345.00	86%
Black Hall	Hellers M. Cox	4	$1,600.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$4,755.00	34%
Black Hall	Christopher C. Conolly	1	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	90%
Black Hall	John M. Conolly	3	$950.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	59%

Black Hall	Mrs. Elizabeth Conolly	1	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,780.00	51%
Black Hall	Price Conolly (Guardian)	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$900.00	44%
Black Hall	Margaret Conolly (Guardian)	1	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,135.00	79%
Black Hall	William Conolly (Guardian)	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,320.00	53%
Black Hall	William Head	4	$2,300.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$3,700.00	62%
Black Hall	Mrs. Susan Howard	13	$7,200.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$8,700.00	83%
Black Hall	Turner Humphreys	24	$12,000.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$20,680.00	58%
Black Hall	Samuel R. Hill	2	$1,700.00	$300.00	$600.00	$2,800.00	61%
Black Hall	Benjamin Little	3	$1,500.00	$5,100.00	$0.00	$7,520.00	20%
Black Hall	James B. Lofton	10	$4,400.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$7,475.00	59%
Black Hall	Henry T. McDaniel	5	$2,700.00	$3,000.00	$800.00	$7,710.00	35%
Black Hall	Francis M. Pitts	1	$700.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,085.00	23%
Black Hall	Adam Pool	14	$9,000.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$16,900.00	53%
Black Hall	William A. Perkins	11	$4,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,402.00	44%
Black Hall	Thomas J. Perkins	4	$2,600.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$9,260.00	28%
Black Hall	Daniel Ferguson (Estate)	1	$100.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,370.00	7%
Black Hall	Samuel Pegg	17	$8,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$13,335.00	64%
Black Hall	Allen J. Pool	9	$5,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,760.00	57%
Black Hall	James R. Rosser	2	$1,200.00	$900.00	$0.00	$2,681.00	45%
Black Hall	John Ratteree (Agent)	7	$2,800.00	$2,000.00	$2,000.00	$28,145.00	10%
Black Hall	Mary C. Scaife	14	$7,100.00	$900.00	$0.00	$8,713.00	81%
Black Hall	Edward Taliaferro	12	$7,000.00	$500.00	$0.00	$9,200.00	76%
Black Hall	Mrs. Susan Taliaferro	29	$11,600.00	$4,187.00	$0.00	$17,420.00	67%
Black Hall	John M. Walker	5	$4,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,200.00	51%
Black Hall	Thomas Walker	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$5,830.00	21%
Black Hall Defaulter	Maxwell R Berry	2	$900.00	$2,500.00	$2,500.00	$20,000.00	5%
Buckhead	Laughlin Arundell	4	$2,200.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,715.00	59%
Buckhead	Joseph Ballinger	13	$6,300.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$9,525.00	66%
Buckhead	Elias Campbell	1	$700.00	$2,800.00	$0.00	$4,070.00	17%
Buckhead	William Cannon	3	$1,400.00	$300.00	$0.00	$1,860.00	75%
Buckhead	Wesley G. Collier	4	$1,600.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,038.00	40%
Buckhead	John Evins	12	$6,450.00	$6,590.00	$0.00	$15,767.00	41%
Buckhead	William H. C. Evins	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,680.00	93%
Buckhead	Mrs. Selina Ellington	8	$5,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,597.00	71%
Buckhead	Nancy Bruce (Trustee)	2	$1,200.00	$2,100.00	$0.00	$4,985.00	24%

Buckhead	Solomon Goodwin	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,115.00	71%
Buckhead	Phillip House	7	$2,000.00	$1,600.00	$0.00	$3,950.00	51%
Buckhead	James Head	5	$2,600.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	58%
Buckhead	Willis A. Johnson	3	$2,000.00	$940.00	$0.00	$14,045.00	14%
Buckhead	Birch Jett	3	$1,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,235.00	31%
Buckhead	Isaiah Kirksey	18	$7,700.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$9,600.00	80%
Buckhead	James Orail	2	$250.00	$300.00	$0.00	$790.00	32%
Buckhead	Benjamin Plaster	7	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$6,175.00	49%
Buckhead	Solomon K. Pace	9	$4,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$11,320.00	35%
Buckhead	Edwin Plaster	16	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,765.00	61%
Buckhead	Sarah Plaster (Agent)	7	$3,500.00	$700.00	$0.00	$4,610.00	76%
Buckhead	Pruckey H. Randall	11	$6,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$18,500.00	32%
Buckhead	James H. Smith	5	$2,200.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$5,135.00	43%
Buckhead	Robert N. Thomerson	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,675.00	90%
Buckhead	James Wilson	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$924.00	87%
Buckhead	Charity Wlbourne	1	$800.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	40%
Cooks	Simeon Akeridge	1	$100.00	$800.00	$0.00	$3,275.00	3%
Cooks	James Campbell	10	$3,700.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$57,885.00	6%
Cooks	Cora* Conolly	7	$3,800.00	$7,000.00	$0.00	$14,380.00	26%
Cooks	Cornelius Connally	2	$800.00	$1,200.00	$2,500.00	$4,515.00	18%
Cooks	James Corsey	4	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,570.00	47%
Cooks	Elijah Dunnahoo	1	$700.00	$750.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	12%
Cooks	Martin Dufut	6	$2,000.00	$0.00	$500.00	$6,925.00	29%
Cooks	Henry G. Dean	11	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$15,800.00	38%
Cooks	Edmond R. Elliott	3	$1,600.00	$850.00	$1,650.00	$4,175.00	38%
Cooks	George Elliott	6	$2,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,428.00	27%
Cooks	Hiram H. Embry	2	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,459.00	16%
Cooks	Pleasant A. Goldin	4	$1,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,375.00	72%
Cooks	Jeremiah C. Huff	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,650.00	42%
Cooks	William H. Elliot	28	$16,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$38,615.00	41%
Cooks	Charles W. Elliot	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,020.00	15%
Cooks	James W. Higgins	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,580.00	5%
Cooks	Moses Higgins	3	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$170.00	588%
Cooks	Edward L. McGriffe	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,300.00	12%
Cooks	James L. Mason	5	$3,950.00	$5,410.00	$0.00	$11,360.00	35%
Cooks	Matthew Osburn	9	$4,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,225.00	44%
Cooks	Thomas B. Fill, (Dec'd) Estate	3	$2,050.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,050.00	100%
Cooks	Sanford Smith	22	$15,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$31,915.00	48%
Cooks	Jesse Wood	1	$400.00	$4,000.00	$425.00	$6,135.00	7%
Oak Grove	James Hooper	5	$2,200.00	$550.00	$0.00	$2,820.00	78%

Oak Grove	Solomon Hopkins	6	$2,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,965.00	91%
Oak Grove	Charles Isom	2	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Stones	Mrs. Sarah Armstrong	1	$500.00	$100.00	$0.00	$657.00	76%
Stones	Henry W. Avery	2	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,235.00	73%
Stones	John Boyd	17	$6,850.00	$1,380.00	$0.00	$9,557.00	72%
Stones	William Bryant	7	$2,400.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$6,875.00	35%
Stones	Henry Bankston	3	$2,200.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,660.00	47%
Stones	Jessie Childers	3	$1,800.00	$3,030.00	$0.00	$6,137.00	29%
Stones	William A. Chambless	19	$7,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,800.00	70%
Stones	Timothy Chambless	9	$4,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$7,750.00	58%
Stones	Thomas W. Connally	10	$5,000.00	$5,000.00	$2,500.00	$14,280.00	35%
Stones	Elizabeth Fain	8	$4,600.00	$1,800.00	$0.00	$6,200.00	74%
Stones	William Gilbert	26	$13,700.00	$6,225.00	$0.00	$22,543.00	61%
Stones	William A. M. Green	10	$5,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,600.00	58%
Stones	Cynthia Green	14	$5,800.00	$5,500.00	$0.00	$12,050.00	48%
Stones	Clement C. Green	10	$5,500.00	$3,300.00	$0.00	$9,810.00	56%
Stones	Edmund R. Herring	2	$1,550.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,278.00	29%
Stones	Joel Herring	5	$1,400.00	$900.00	$0.00	$3,635.00	39%
Stones	Guardian of M.M. M. Margaret M. E. & P. H. Herring	8	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Stones	Noah Hornsby	8	$4,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,300.00	63%
Stones	William Hathcock	3	$1,600.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	40%
Stones	James Kennedy	4	$2,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,755.00	43%
Stones	Thomas Kennedy	13	$6,500.00	$2,620.00	$0.00	$9,895.00	66%
Stones	Thomas N. Kennedy	4	$2,500.00	$1,400.00	$0.00	$4,800.00	52%
Stones	Thomas N. Kennedy (Guardian for Payton N. Peacock)	4	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$3,100.00	48%
Stones	John Lee	1	$600.00	$1,800.00	$0.00	$2,680.00	22%
Stones	Andrew Malcomson	5	$2,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,135.00	49%
Stones	Azariah Mims	3	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	77%
Stones	James Oliver	6	$3,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$7,155.00	42%
Stones	Merrill J. Peacock	2	$1,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$4,360.00	23%
Stones	James T. Peacock	5	$3,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,730.00	65%
Stones	Selina Pratt	6	$2,900.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$4,800.00	60%
Stones	Louis P. Peacock	2	$1,000.00	$1,000.00	$1,300.00	$3,871.00	26%
Stones	Jacob Redwine	6	$4,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,620.00	52%
Stones	Willis Roberts	1	$800.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$4,231.00	19%
Stones	Mrs. Susan Russell	5	$2,850.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,730.00	60%
Stones	Algeria Robins	1	$800.00	$1,655.00	$50.00	$3,540.00	23%

Stones	John M Smith	7	$2,600.00	$3,250.00	$0.00	$7,230.00	36%
Stones	Micajah Suttles	7	$3,600.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$6,950.00	52%
Stones	Wiley Suttles	1	$800.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$2,287.00	35%
Stones	Samuel Sewell	11	$4,900.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$8,205.00	60%
Stones	Amos Vincent	5	$3,800.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$5,185.00	73%
Stones	Augustus Wilson	10	$5,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,840.00	57%
Stones	Francis White	1	$860.00	$625.00	$0.00	$1,910.00	45%
Stones	William A. Wilson	8	$5,300.00	$4,800.00	$0.00	$11,390.00	47%
Stones	Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson	4	$2,500.00	$900.00	$0.00	$3,560.00	70%
Stones	Robert Yancy	1	$800.00	$500.00	$0.00	$1,965.00	41%
Unknown	Mrs. Elizabeth Wright	6	$2,300.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$4,300.00	53%
Unknown	Unknown Defaulter	2	—	—	—	—	100%

Table 2.1.1 Percentage of Enslaved People's Value Compared to All Enslavers' Total Wealth in Fulton County

Number of enslavers	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved population	Aggregate value of enslavers' land	Aggregate value of enslavers' city/town property	Aggregate value of enslavers' whole property
362	1,867.50	$961,592.00	$392,752.00	$927,910.00	$3,250,565.00

Table 2.1.2 Value of Enslavers' Land, City/Town Property, and Whole Property to All Taxable Residents' Property.

Taxable residents		Aggregate value of enslaved population	Total aggregate land value	Total aggregate value of city/town property	Total aggregate value of whole property
Enslavers	361	$961,592.00	$392,752.00	$927,910.00	$3,250,565.00
Non-Enslavers (White)	1,614	$0.00	$473,025.00	$257,825.00	$1,620,817.00
Free Blacks	34	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
All	**1,979**	**$961,592.00**	**$865,777.00**	**Error of Fulton County: $650,775.00**	**$4,871,382.00**

Table 2.1.3 Percentage of Enslaved People's Value Compared to Enslavers' Land, City/Town Property Value, and Whole Property

Value of enslaved people to aggregate value of enslavers' land	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' city/town property	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' whole property
244.76%	103.59%	29.57%

Table 2.1.4 Enslavers vs. Non-Enslavers: Taxable Population and Property

Group	% Taxable Population	% Taxable Property
Enslavers	18%	67%
Non-Enslavers	82%	33%

Table 2.1.5 Percentage of Enslaved People's Value Compared to Value of All Residents' Whole Property

Percentage
19.73%

Table 2.1.6 County's Infrastructure, Operation Costs, and Public Services Paid from Taxation on Enslaved People

Percentage
19.73%

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Table 2.6 Names of Enslavers and Value of Enslaved Persons, Compared to Value of Enslavers' Overall Wealth.

District	Enslaver	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved	Aggregate land value for enslavers	Aggregate city/town property value for enslavers	Aggregate value of whole property for enslavers	Value of enslaved people to whole property
Atlanta	Richard W Allen	5	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	89.3%
Atlanta	Agent for Mary A Arnold	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,520.00	98.7%
Atlanta	George W Adair	5	$2,800.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$4,265.00	65.65%
Atlanta	Aaron Alexander	1	$500.00	$0.00	$13,200.00	$23,000.00	2.17%
Atlanta	Geo. W H Anderson	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Jamie F Alexander	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$8,840.00	16.97%
Atlanta	Guardian of Loucifer Brown	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,368.00	21.11%
Atlanta	Samuel Anthony	13	$5,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,850.00	88.89%
Atlanta	Joseph Barnes	5	$2,100.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	$7,615.00	27.58%
Atlanta	Johnson W Bridwell	1	$500.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$3,080.00	16.23%
Atlanta	Francis M Berry	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,250.00	$2,250.00	44.44%
Atlanta	Stephen Biggers	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$3,900.00	$6,430.00	27.99%
Atlanta	Joshua Butler	1	$550.00	$600.00	$1,800.00	$3,375.00	16.30%
Atlanta	George L Boothe	4	$1,800.00	$150.00	$1,000.00	$4,775.00	37.70%
Atlanta	Jacob Baker	1	$700.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$3,835.00	18.25%
Atlanta	Dr BF Bomar	4	$2,700.00	$0.00	$800.00	$3,900.00	69.23%
Atlanta	Executor of William Oglesby	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	60.00%
Atlanta	A I Brady	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$4,100.00	$15,590.00	7.70%
Atlanta	William Barnes	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$3,650.00	$7,250.00	24.83%
Atlanta	Maxwell P Berry	3	$1,600.00	$2,500.00	$3,750.00	$11,370.00	14.07%
Atlanta	William M Butt	6	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,650.00	53.76%
Atlanta	Agent for Kiyiah Boyd	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$3,250.00	61.54%
Atlanta	J B Badger	12	$5,000.00	$2,460.00	$5,000.00	$14,660.00	34.11%
Atlanta	Thomas Baker	1	$650.00	$0.00	$2,100.00	$3,115.00	20.87%
Atlanta	Robert W Bullard	3	$2,000.00	$300.00	$9,000.00	$12,370.00	16.17%
Atlanta	Barrington P Bray	1	$700.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$1,715.00	40.82%
Atlanta	Agent for W B Robinson	7	$3,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	100.00%
Atlanta	J E Barttit	1	$800.00	$0.00	$3,100.00	$7,359.00	10.87%

Atlanta	Agent for Wife and Children(Alexander Corry)	1	$500.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$2,715.00	18.42%
Atlanta	Mrs. Helen M Cox	3	$800.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$7,000.00	11.43%
Atlanta	Willis Carlisle	3	$1,400.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$4,375.00	32.00%
Atlanta	James M Collier	4	$3,000.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$6,750.00	44.44%
Atlanta	Francis H Coleman	1	$350.00	$0.00	$0.00	$683.00	51.24%
Atlanta	Robert M Clark	3	$1,250.00	$800.00	$1,000.00	$3,620.00	34.53%
Atlanta	Andrew J Collier	2	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$660.00	75.76%
Atlanta	Isaac N Craven	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	$9,500.00	12.63%
Atlanta	Crussell & Swift	2	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100.00%
Atlanta	James R Crew	1	$300.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$6,500.00	4.62%
Atlanta	Agent for Wife(James R Crew)	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Meredith Collier Jr	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	10.00%
Atlanta	John Cobb	2	$700.00	$0.00	$300.00	$1,075.00	65.12%
Atlanta	Ezekiel V Calhoun	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,735.00	28.82%
Atlanta	Hubbard W. Cowart	10	$6,800.00	$0.00	$4,200.00	$26,540.00	25.62%
Atlanta	William A. Chambless	20	$6,500.00	$500.00	$0.00	$10,600.00	61.32%
Atlanta	John Collier	8	$4,900.00	$3,000.00	$11,500.00	$23,725.00	20.65%
Atlanta	Hilliard L Corier	1	$600.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$4,615.00	13.00%
Atlanta	Thomas L Cooper	1	$800.00	$0.00	$4,600.00	$5,900.00	13.56%
Atlanta	Meredith Collier	10	$4,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$9,750.00	41.03%
Atlanta	Haydon Cox	6	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$14,440.00	17.31%
Atlanta	James M Calhoun	9	$4,400.00	$1,100.00	$8,000.00	$19,210.00	22.90%
Atlanta	Mary E Calhoun	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Caldwell & Griffin	16	$6,000.00	$3,000.00	$1,800.00	$14,300.00	41.96%
Atlanta	George W Collier	3	$1,600.00	$3,800.00	$4,000.00	$13,515.00	11.84%
Atlanta	William H Craft	7	$4,525.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$17,375.00	26.04%
Atlanta	Martha E Cooper	1	$250.00	$0.00	$600.00	$850.00	29.41%
Atlanta	Administer of D Cooper	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	38.46%
Atlanta	George A Dudley	5	$1,800.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,800.00	64.29%
Atlanta	Charles J Dean	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,100.00	63.64%
Atlanta	James T Doon	4	$1,600.00	$1,500.00	$8,150.00	$49,050.00	3.26%
Atlanta	Agent for S & L Mowry	2	$1,000.00	$1,000.00	$12,000.00	$14,000.00	7.14%
Atlanta	Agent for W.C. Grenalting Trustee for Mrs. Hilda B Daniel & Children	8	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Lemuel Dean	8	$4,000.00	$1,000.00	$7,000.00	$15,370.00	26.02%
Atlanta	Thomas M Darnell	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$17,204.00	5.81%

Atlanta	James Dowey	7	$4,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,900.00	95.92%
Atlanta	David Demrost	6	$5,000.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$12,282.00	40.71%
Atlanta	William Ezzard	7	$5,200.00	$4,200.00	$6,200.00	$22,330.00	23.29%
Atlanta	William H Edison	5	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,550.00	98.04%
Atlanta	Mary Edmonson	1	$700.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$3,200.00	21.88%
Atlanta	William Ezzard Guardian for William A Green	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,100.00	57.14%
Atlanta	Guardian for Cordelia E Green	8	$4,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,330.00	72.67%
Atlanta	Guardian of S F A Mann	3	$1,500.00	$900.00	$0.00	$2,400.00	62.50%
Atlanta	Administrator of William Ausby	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$770.00	90.91%
Atlanta	Agent for Mrs. Cynthia Green	14	$5,800.00	$5,500.00	$0.00	$12,050.00	48.13%
Atlanta	John Farmer	6	$2,400.00	$2,100.00	$2,400.00	$7,680.00	31.25%
Atlanta	Simeon Frankford	1	$750.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$14,870.00	5.04%
Atlanta	Thomas Fowloe	4	$2,400.00	$0.00	$3,400.00	$8,665.00	27.70%
Atlanta	William G Forsyth	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$800.00	$2,610.00	38.31%
Atlanta	Agent for A I Miller	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Ambrose B Forsythe	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$7,100.00	$10,013.00	17.98%
Atlanta	Julia M L Frazier	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$3,000.00	33.33%
Atlanta	Jesse C Farrah	2	$1,000.00	$3,150.00	$0.00	$4,810.00	20.79%
Atlanta	William H Ferguson	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,715.00	48.45%
Atlanta	Joshua Gilbert	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,350.00	42.55%
Atlanta	Richard C Greer	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,815.00	99.17%
Atlanta	John Glenn	2	$700.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$6,250.00	11.20%
Atlanta	James Gilbert	1	$400.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$2,215.00	18.06%
Atlanta	Lemuel P Grant	3	$2,000.00	$6,400.00	$38,000.00	$63,450.00	3.15%
Atlanta	Nathaniel E Gardner	10	$5,700.00	$3,000.00	$9,500.00	$19,390.00	29.40%
Atlanta	Thomas F Grubb	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$3,700.00	27.03%
Atlanta	John B Gordon	4	$2,500.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$3,700.00	67.57%
Atlanta	Lucius Gartrell	49	$24,400.00	$3,000.00	$16,200.00	$57,520.00	42.42%
Atlanta	Luther I Glenn	5	$2,400.00	$0.00	$600.00	$3,935.00	60.99%
Atlanta	Edward W Holland	8	$5,500.00	$1,340.00	$16,960.00	$58,200.00	9.45%
Atlanta	C H Holcomb	2	$1,000.00	$1,000.00	$6,000.00	$11,400.00	8.77%
Atlanta	Grun B Haggood	5	$3,575.00	$2,000.00	$10,200.00	$20,200.00	17.70%
Atlanta	William H Harrill	2	$1,400.00	$100.00	$7,500.00	$9,820.00	14.26%
Atlanta	John L Harris	6	$3,000.00	$0.00	$500.00	$3,715.00	80.75%
Atlanta	Andrew Howard	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$12,197.00	12.30%
Atlanta	Paschal House	3	$1,300.00	$0.00	$600.00	$1,900.00	68.42%
Atlanta	William I Hudson	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$400.00	100.00%

Atlanta	James M Hudson	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$5,400.00	$7,400.00	13.51%
Atlanta	John M Holbrook	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,220.00	98.36%
Atlanta	Clark C Howell	19.5	$10,000.00	$2,500.00	$10,000.00	$40,388.00	24.76%
Atlanta	Henry Hurt Trustee for Mary E Jones	3	$1,300.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$5,675.00	22.91%
Atlanta	Amos W Hammond	15	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,635.00	37.61%
Atlanta	Administrator for John A. Shelby	11	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,050.00	82.64%
Atlanta	Guardian for W A Shelby	3	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Singleton G Howell	7	$4,800.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$7,943.00	60.43%
Atlanta	George W Humphries	2	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Agent for Wife (William C Hanham)	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$700.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Eli Hulsey	5	$2,500.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$6,996.00	35.73%
Atlanta	William Herron	1	$400.00	$0.00	$10,700.00	$11,312.00	3.54%
Atlanta	Reubin Hayne	5	$1,650.00	$0.00	$2,150.00	$3,800.00	43.42%
Atlanta	M A H Meadow	5	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,658.00	41.01%
Atlanta	Julin S Haydon	5	$3,000.00	$5,000.00	$30,000.00	$46,975.00	6.39%
Atlanta	R Cone	2	$100.00	$0.00	$34,700.00	$52,884.00	0.19%
Atlanta	Trustee for Lucina Underwood	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	$14,000.00	14.29%
Atlanta	Oswald Houston	2	$950.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,100.00	86.36%
Atlanta	Agent for Mary W Sasitor	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Paterson Hodge	1	$400.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	$4,400.00	9.09%
Atlanta	M E Heggie	11	$5,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,020.00	91.36%
Atlanta	Agent for Mr. Arabella Jones	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Agent for Mrs. Martha Williams	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Thomas C Howard	18	$10,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	70.00%
Atlanta	William F Ivy	4	$1,600.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$10,410.00	15.37%
Atlanta	Phillip I Immal	3	$1,300.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	$4,340.00	29.95%
Atlanta	Johnson & Ferguson Administrator of A E Johnson	14	$6,000.00	$3,000.00	$30,000.00	$47,707.00	12.58%
Atlanta	Thomas M Jones	2	$800.00	$0.00	$250.00	$1,050.00	76.19%
Atlanta	Benjamin O Jones	4	$2,200.00	$3,500.00	$12,000.00	$19,710.00	11.16%
Atlanta	Jacob M Johnson	3	$2,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	22.22%
Atlanta	Jacob I Jinkin	15	$6,500.00	$425.00	$0.00	$8,400.00	77.38%
Atlanta	John Kile Senior	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$4,510.00	22.17%
Atlanta	Benjamin Kelby	1	$200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$260.00	76.92%

Atlanta	William G Kellogg	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$21,100.00	8.53%
Atlanta	William N Kockpatrick	9	$4,000.00	$350.00	$6,000.00	$12,070.00	33.14%
Atlanta	Thomas Kile	8	$4,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$30,025.00	13.32%
Atlanta	Trustee for Wife & Children (A Cargil)	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Trustee for Mary A & Catherine T Dougherty	1	$600.00	$150.00	$25,000.00	$26,007.00	2.31%
Atlanta	William C Lawshe	5	$2,400.00	$0.00	$1,250.00	$4,250.00	56.47%
Atlanta	Warner Lyons	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$715.00	69.93%
Atlanta	John Lovejoy	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,700.00	8.05%
Atlanta	Joseph P Logan	14	$5,800.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$7,800.00	74.36%
Atlanta	Mrs. Margaret E Lane	3	$1,550.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,790.00	55.56%
Atlanta	Henry B Latimore	6	$3,800.00	$1,500.00	$9,100.00	$19,667.00	19.32%
Atlanta	Trustee for Mrs. C L Harris	6	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Seymore B Love	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$450.00	$2,505.00	71.86%
Atlanta	Eugenine S Luckie	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	92.31%
Atlanta	Agent for Frances A Lipham	21	$8,400.00	$2,400.00	$0.00	$11,230.00	74.80%
Atlanta	Agent for Theophiley Luckie	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	85.71%
Atlanta	A F Luckie & Son	1	$800.00	$0.00	$800.00	$5,775.00	13.85%
Atlanta	E S Luckie Admin of A. J Luckie	23	$9,200.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$13,475.00	68.27%
Atlanta	James Loyd	19	$9,750.00	$4,000.00	$22,000.00	$46,290.00	21.06%
Atlanta	Edward W Munday	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$1,050.00	$2,935.00	44.29%
Atlanta	Henry W McDaniel	1	$500.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$3,157.00	15.84%
Atlanta	Mrs. Mary E Mangrum	2	$700.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$3,200.00	21.88%
Atlnta	William C Moore	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,800.00	50.00%
Atlanta	William Markham	3	$1,700.00	$0.00	$43,325.00	$49,580.00	3.43%
Atlanta	Anderson Moody	1	$100.00	$0.00	$700.00	$3,287.00	3.04%
Atlanta	William I Mann	3	$1,000.00	$200.00	$6,000.00	$7,370.00	13.57%
Atlanta	James McDaniel	1	$100.00	$1,500.00	$10,200.00	$13,300.00	0.75%
Atlanta	Henry T McDaniel	4	$2,200.00	$3,000.00	$2,000.00	$8,145.00	27.01%
Atlanta	James G Mclin	1	$500.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$1,700.00	29.41%
Atlanta	Geo T McLaughlin	1	$800.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$1,872.00	42.74%
Atlanta	Joseph H Mead	7	$3,000.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$4,620.00	64.94%
Atlanta	John F Mims	17	$7,700.00	$2,500.00	$4,000.00	$30,330.00	25.39%
Atlanta	Robert Medlock	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	93.33%
Atlanta	John W Medlock	10	$5,000.00	$2,000.00	$4,200.00	$12,500.00	40.00%
Atlanta	Jethroe W Manning	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,260.00	46.95%
Atlanta	H Matinbrink	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$9,500.00	$13,095.00	9.93%

Atlanta	Edwin W McDaniel	6	$3,800.00	$0.00	$10,350.00	$15,887.00	23.92%
Atlanta	I O McDaniel	8	$3,500.00	$3,000.00	$8,500.00	$15,191.00	23.04%
Atlanta	Alexander W Mitchell	10	$4,500.00	$0.00	$11,000.00	$17,130.00	26.27%
Atlanta	John B McMichael Agent for S L McMichael	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$7,000.00	14.29%
Atlanta	Andrew Neese	1	$650.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,730.00	23.81%
Atlanta	Johnathan Norcross	4	$2,400.00	$1,000.00	$2,500.00	$7,802.00	30.76%
Atlanta	Alison Nelson	3	$1,500.00	$332.00	$0.00	$1,510.00	99.34%
Atlanta	Reubin E Oslin	1	$700.00	$600.00	$6,000.00	$8,960.00	7.81%
Atlanta	Richard Orms	0.5	$500.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	$2,700.00	18.52%
Atlanta	Basil H Overby	34	$16,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$30,500.00	52.46%
Atlanta	William P Orm	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,510.00	46.36%
Atlanta	Sarah Oslin	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$770.00	90.91%
Atlanta	Edward Parson	1	$225.00	$2,500.00	$300.00	$3,682.00	6.11%
Atlanta	William C Parker	1	$350.00	$0.00	$3,400.00	$3,983.00	8.79%
Atlanta	Avey Peacock	1	$800.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$3,319.00	24.10%
Atlanta	Guardian for T S Peacock	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$4,575.00	21.86%
Atlanta	Chapman Powell	6	$2,150.00	$2,500.00	$7,000.00	$14,147.00	15.20%
Atlanta	Columbus M Payne	1	$500.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	$2,090.00	23.92%
Atlanta	Henry T Puples	6	$3,700.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$11,850.00	31.22%
Atlanta	Richard Peters	7	$3,900.00	$15,000.00	$40,000.00	$67,800.00	5.75%
Atlanta	Edwin Payne	6	$2,800.00	$18,300.00	$16,000.00	$45,312.00	6.18%
Atlanta	Harrison Petty	9	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Anderson M Parker	1	$1,100.00	$0.00	$4,800.00	$7,325.00	15.02%
Atlanta	Agent for Wife (Anderson M Parker)	7	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	A C Pulliam	6	$4,300.00	$3,500.00	$3,500.00	$13,730.00	31.32%
Atlanta	John B Peck	1	$300.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$5,350.00	5.61%
Atlanta	William W Roarke	1	$200.00	$0.00	$11,675.00	$25,275.00	0.79%
Atlanta	Sholom E Runey	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,905.00	27.54%
Atlanta	Agent for Wife (Thomas R Riphy) Pg. 86	1	$600.00	$1,403.00	$1,500.00	$2,100.00	28.57%
Atlanta	Charles C Rhody	4	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$2,620.00	38.17%
Atlanta	John L Rhea	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Elly B Reynolds	8	$3,600.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$7,575.00	47.52%
Atlanta	John F Reynolds	1	$550.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$4,050.00	13.58%
Atlanta	Zachariah A Rice	1	$600.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$12,300.00	4.88%
Atlanta	Agent for Wife/Children (Jessie Rennian)	2	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$900.00	100.00%
Atlanta	James F Seavey	2	$1,000.00	$2,800.00	$4,300.00	$17,505.00	5.71%

Atlanta	William H Sharp	6	$4,500.00	$66.00	$6,150.00	$20,135.00	22.35%
Atlanta	Windsor L Smith	6	$2,250.00	$0.00	$13,000.00	$15,870.00	14.18%
Atlanta	Amhurst H Stone	1	$800.00	$0.00	$3,300.00	$6,750.00	11.85%
Atlanta	Trustee for Wife (Bartley M Smith)	5	$1,750.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,750.00	100.00%
Atlanta	William I Small	1	$675.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$3,195.00	21.13%
Atlanta	Benjamin D Shumate	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$850.00	$3,240.00	61.73%
Atlanta	Alvan K Seage	1	$800.00	$0.00	$2,900.00	$3,720.00	21.51%
Atlanta	Seag & Abbot	1	$1,300.00	$0.00	$500.00	$11,140.00	11.67%
Atlanta	Trustee for E T Smith	5	$1,800.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$6,000.00	30.00%
Atlanta	Jones L Smith	7	$5,750.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,420.00	77.49%
Atlanta	Augustin Stoke	8	$4,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,590.00	75.13%
Atlanta	Trustee for N I Stoke	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Trustee for Mrs. Bird	4	$2,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Benjamin Shomath Executor of Mason	1	$200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$200.00	100.00%
Atlanta	William Thurman	3	$1,300.00	$25.00	$4,100.00	$6,815.00	19.08%
Atlanta	John I Thrasher	22	$13,850.00	$0.00	$0.00	$19,000.00	72.89%
Atlanta	Joseph Thompson	30	$12,000.00	$500.00	$54,115.00	$77,965.00	15.39%
Atlanta	James L Terry	1	$700.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	$3,470.00	20.17%
Atlanta	Stephen Terry	2	$800.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$3,960.00	20.20%
Atlanta	Agent for Wife(Ivumiah F Trout)	6	$2,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,400.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Isaac H Underwood	2	$900.00	$0.00	$600.00	$1,500.00	60.00%
Atlanta	William R Venable	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$3,500.00	42.86%
Atlanta	James Vaughn	1	$750.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,085.00	24.31%
Atlanta	Felix R Walker	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,075.00	52.03%
Atlanta	William Weaver	9	$3,500.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$4,975.00	70.35%
Atlanta	Samuel Wood	6	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	93.75%
Atlanta	James White	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,430.00	16.46%
Atlanta	Cyrus H Wallace	2	$700.00	$0.00	$1,550.00	$2,250.00	31.11%
Atlanta	L R Wallace & Brother	1	$800.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$25,300.00	3.16%
Atlanta	John R Wallace	1	$800.00	$0.00	$800.00	$2,200.00	36.36%
Atlanta	Mrs. Nancy Waddle	17	$6,000.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$9,750.00	61.54%
Atlanta	John C White	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,350.00	$9,385.00	21.31%
Atlanta	Joseph Winship	12	$7,750.00	$0.00	$18,200.00	$43,095.00	17.98%
Atlanta	Trustee for Lucinda Trambell	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	46.15%
Atlanta	John M Walker	7	$5,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$9,500.00	52.63%
Atlanta	Isaac Winship	10	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$20,860.00	23.97%
Atlanta	Arthur G Ware	4	$3,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$8,025.00	37.38%
Atlanta	Miss Almeda Wilson	1	$300.00	$0.00	$900.00	$1,200.00	25.00%

Atlanta	Samuel Walker	18	$7,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$14,800.00	47.30%
Atlanta	John D Williams	1	$600.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,130.00	28.17%
Atlanta	William Watkins	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$175.00	$2,600.00	46.15%
Atlanta	James E Williams	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	11.11%
Atlanta	Thomas C H Wilson	1	$700.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$2,360.00	29.66%
Atlanta	Frances M Well	13	$6,000.00	$0.00	$800.00	$16,405.00	36.57%
Atlanta	Alfred W Wooding	1	$700.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$700.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Jarret I Whitaker	5	$3,000.00	$800.00	$18,000.00	$28,290.00	10.60%
Atlanta	Elizabeth Wright	6	$2,300.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$3,500.00	65.71%
Atlanta	Thomas M Wilke	11	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,875.00	23.30%
Atlanta	Agent for Elizabeth Parady	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$700.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Agent for Mary T Walker	5	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Agent for Sarah Wright	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$4,715.00	25.45%
Atlanta	M L Wright	6	$4,500.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$12,015.00	37.45%
Atlanta	Trustee for Mary Wright	7	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Trustee for Mrs. Ann P Hill	2	$700.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$2,800.00	25.00%
Atlanta	John G Westmoreland	10	$6,400.00	$150.00	$2,300.00	$12,750.00	50.20%
Atlanta	Willy F Westmorland	6	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,350.00	74.77%
Atlanta	R P Zimmerman	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,358.00	6.29%
Atlanta Defaulter	Frazier G Guardian for E B Frazier	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,930.00	10.07%
Atlanta Defaulter	George G Hull	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$12,000.00	8.33%
Atlanta Defaulter	H S M Wiley	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	50.00%
Black Hall	William Avery	1	$900.00	$2,410.00	$0.00	$6,920.00	13.01%
Black Hall	George Adair Administrator of E M Poole	7	$3,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$13,957.00	25.79%
Black Hall	James Beasley	6	$4,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,560.00	49.07%
Black Hall	Meredith Brown	8	$3,650.00	$6,200.00	$2,000.00	$18,638.00	19.58%
Black Hall	John M Connally	3	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,705.00	58.65%
Black Hall	Christopher C Connally	1	$900.00	$700.00	$0.00	$1,675.00	53.73%
Black Hall	Ahmer Connally	1	$1,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,100.00	47.62%
Black Hall	Thomas Cato	2	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$730.00	54.79%
Black Hall	Boda Carter	21	$11,750.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$14,300.00	82.17%
Black Hall	Elizabeth Connally	1	$800.00	$615.00	$0.00	$1,620.00	49.38%
Black Hall	Guardian of Margaret F Connally	1	$800.00	$200.00	$0.00	$1,150.00	69.57%
Black Hall	Price Connally	1	$500.00	$500.00	$0.00	$1,030.00	48.54%

Black Hall	William Connally	1	$700.00	$550.00	$0.00	$1,274.00	54.95%
Black Hall	K L Cowart	6	$3,725.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,365.00	50.58%
Black Hall	James Davis	6	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,885.00	35.41%
Black Hall	Charner Humphrey Jr	2	$1,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,100.00	100.00%
Black Hall	William Head	3	$1,800.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,125.00	43.64%
Black Hall	Samuel Hill	5	$2,000.00	$700.00	$0.00	$2,870.00	69.69%
Black Hall	Richard Head	8	$3,200.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	53.33%
Black Hall	Edward Harper	1	$500.00	$1,300.00	$0.00	$3,864.00	12.94%
Black Hall	I G Kellum	8	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,230.00	94.56%
Black Hall	Agent for Susan B Howard	12	$4,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	80.00%
Black Hall	James B Lofton	11	$4,400.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$7,350.00	59.86%
Black Hall	Benjamin Little	3	$1,325.00	$5,050.00	$0.00	$7,625.00	17.38%
Black Hall	Thomas M Poole	12	$4,600.00	$5,155.00	$0.00	$10,625.00	43.29%
Black Hall	Thomas I Parkerson	4	$2,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$8,850.00	22.60%
Black Hall	Executor of Daniel Fergueson	1	$100.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,370.00	7.30%
Black Hall	Allen I Poole	8	$4,600.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$8,790.00	52.33%
Black Hall	Executor of L W Tomtinson	13	$6,000.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$12,430.00	48.27%
Black Hall	Samuel G Pegg	6	$3,350.00	$800.00	$0.00	$4,704.00	71.22%
Black Hall	Adam Poole	13	$8,650.00	$5,800.00	$0.00	$17,940.00	48.22%
Black Hall	James R Rosser	2	$1,200.00	$1,400.00	$0.00	$3,110.00	38.59%
Black Hall	Alexander Ratterree	7	$2,800.00	$8,900.00	$2,500.00	$20,805.00	13.46%
Black Hall	Mary C Scarpe	18	$6,750.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,588.00	88.96%
Black Hall	Edward M Taliaferro	14	$8,400.00	$700.00	$0.00	$10,550.00	79.62%
Black Hall	Mrs. Susan Taliaferro	27	$12,500.00	$4,187.00	$0.00	$18,237.00	68.54%
Black Hall	Unknown	0.5	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100.00%
Stones	Sarah Armstrong	1	$500.00	$120.00	$0.00	$696.00	71.84%
Stones	John W Boyd	15	$5,350.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,933.00	77.17%
Stones	Henry Bankston	3	$2,100.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,379.00	47.96%
Stones	William Bryant	8	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,300.00	41.10%
Stones	Jesse Guilder	4	$2,800.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,230.00	38.73%
Stones	Timothy Chambly	9	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,580.00	60.79%
Stones	Agent for Salina Pratt	7	$2,500.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	71.43%
Stones	Thomas W Connally	9	$4,500.00	$5,000.00	$2,300.00	$13,650.00	32.97%
Stones	C M Connally	7	$3,500.00	$10,133.00	$0.00	$20,083.00	17.43%
Stones	James F Donahoe	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,652.00	18.78%
Stones	Elizabeth Fam	7	$3,000.00	$1,800.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	60.00%
Stones	Wm A M Green	10	$4,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,600.00	52.63%
Stones	William Gilbert	31	$16,500.00	$7,300.00	$0.00	$25,140.00	65.63%

Stones	C Humphrey	8	$5,050.00	$11,700.00	$2,500.00	$20,831.00	24.24%
Stones	Clement C Green	14	$5,500.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$11,650.00	47.21%
Stones	William Hathcock	3	$1,600.00	$2,300.00	$0.00	$4,600.00	34.78%
Stones	William Holbrook	3	$900.00	$1,600.00	$0.00	$4,170.00	21.58%
Stones	John B Holbrook	2	$1,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$4,480.00	33.48%
Stones	Joel Herron	8	$3,400.00	$2,800.00	$0.00	$6,862.00	49.55%
Stones	James Kenedy	4	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,629.00	44.41%
Stones	Thomas Kenedy	11	$5,500.00	$3,010.00	$0.00	$9,390.00	58.57%
Stones	Thomas A Kenedy	3	$1,825.00	$2,500.00	$950.00	$6,365.00	28.67%
Stones	Guardian for A Peacock	4	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,900.00	51.72%
Stones	John Lee	2	$800.00	$1,750.00	$0.00	$2,940.00	27.21%
Stones	Andrew Makemson	4	$2,600.00	$2,600.00	$0.00	$5,725.00	45.41%
Stones	Azariah Mims	3	$1,200.00	$600.00	$0.00	$2,820.00	42.55%
Stones	Agent for Susannah Russell	5	$3,000.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,900.00	61.22%
Stones	James Oliver	7	$3,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$7,600.00	39.47%
Stones	Merrit I Peacock	2	$1,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$4,510.00	22.17%
Stones	James T Peacock	4	$2,600.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$4,150.00	62.65%
Stones	Lewis P Peacock	2	$1,050.00	$1,300.00	$700.00	$3,550.00	29.58%
Stones	Willis Roberts	1	$700.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$4,157.00	16.84%
Stones	Jacob Radwin	5	$3,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$6,150.00	48.78%
Stones	John M Smith	7	$3,000.00	$3,250.00	$205.00	$7,885.00	38.05%
Stones	Mieagy Suttie	7	$3,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	54.55%
Stones	Wily Suttle	1	$800.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$2,307.00	34.68%
Stones	Samuel Sewell	11	$4,600.00	$2,300.00	$0.00	$7,360.00	62.50%
Stones	James Turner	1	$715.00	$0.00	$0.00	$715.00	100.00%
Stones	Aaron Vincent	5	$3,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$4,330.00	69.28%
Stones	Augustus A Wilson	11	$4,450.00	$3,750.00	$0.00	$9,400.00	47.34%
Stones	William A Wilson	8	$4,800.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$10,925.00	43.94%
Stones	Elizbeth Wilson	3	$2,100.00	$800.00	$0.00	$3,025.00	69.42%
Stones	Frances M White	1	$900.00	$625.00	$0.00	$1,830.00	49.18%
Stones	F M White	1	$900.00	$625.00	$0.00	$1,830.00	49.18%
Stones	Robert Yancy	1	$600.00	$200.00	$0.00	$881.00	68.10%
Cooks	James H Campbell	9	$2,700.00	$1,600.00	$0.00	$5,640.00	47.87%
Cooks	James A Coarsey	5	$1,400.00	$1,400.00	$0.00	$3,462.00	40.44%
Cooks	Martin Defoor	6	$2,800.00	$2,300.00	$0.00	$8,340.00	33.57%
Cooks	N Dalvena	1	$50.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,750.00	2.86%
Cooks	Elijah Donahoe	1	$600.00	$3,000.00	$600.00	$5,480.00	10.95%
Cooks	Hiram Embry	5	$2,300.00	$3,815.00	$0.00	$8,805.00	26.12%
Cooks	George Elliot	6	$2,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,008.00	24.98%
Cooks	Edwin R Elliott	3	$800.00	$950.00	$1,500.00	$3,520.00	22.73%

Cooks	Pleasant Goldin	4	$2,000.00	$300.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	66.67%
Cooks	Edward Harper	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,864.00	20.70%
Cooks	Felix Hardman	8	$6,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$12,860.00	46.66%
Cooks	Jeremiah C Huff	1	$700.00	$700.00	$0.00	$1,670.00	41.92%
Cooks	Lewis L Ledbetter	2	$1,000.00	$800.00	$0.00	$2,649.00	37.75%
Cooks	James F Leonard	1	$400.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$5,465.00	7.32%
Cooks	James L Mason	5	$3,600.00	$6,655.00	$0.00	$11,255.00	31.99%
Cooks	Edward L McGriff	1	$400.00	$1,800.00	$0.00	$3,711.00	10.78%
Cooks	Thomas Moore	3	$1,850.00	$3,500.00	$300.00	$13,227.00	13.99%
Cooks	Mathew Oshwin	12	$4,800.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$10,680.00	44.94%
Cooks	Thomas B Fulder	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	100.00%
Cooks	William L Sam	4	$4,000.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$6,115.00	65.41%
Cooks	Jesse Wood	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,244.00	6.41%
Buckhead	Laughlin Arendal	4	$1,600.00	$500.00	$0.00	$2,962.00	54.02%
Buckhead	Executor of I M Balinger	13	$6,300.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$8,700.00	72.41%
Buckhead	Elias Campbell	1	$800.00	$3,537.00	$0.00	$4,842.00	16.52%
Buckhead	Welsby G Callier	4	$1,600.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,885.00	41.18%
Buckhead	Silas H Donelson	1	$700.00	$900.00	$0.00	$2,175.00	32.18%
Buckhead	Guardian for O B Ellington	7	$5,000.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$6,775.00	73.80%
Buckhead	Wm H C Evans	3	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,715.00	92.08%
Buckhead	John Liberty Evans	13	$6,450.00	$1,000.00	$2,550.00	$15,760.00	40.93%
Buckhead	Trustee for Nancy Bruce	2	$1,200.00	$2,100.00	$0.00	$4,225.00	28.40%
Buckhead	Solomon Goodwin	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,135.00	70.26%
Buckhead	Phillip House	7	$2,000.00	$1,600.00	$0.00	$3,990.00	50.13%
Buckhead	Ellison Huntley	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	100.00%
Buckhead	James Head	6	$2,500.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,300.00	58.14%
Buckhead	Henry Liby	4	$2,000.00	$5,600.00	$0.00	$12,680.00	15.77%
Buckhead	Burch Jett	3	$1,100.00	$600.00	$0.00	$3,255.00	33.79%
Buckhead	George R Lambert	2	$300.00	$700.00	$0.00	$1,350.00	22.22%
Buckhead	Edwin Plaster	17	$5,200.00	$2,800.00	$0.00	$8,745.00	59.46%
Buckhead	Agent for Sarah Plaster	7	$3,000.00	$500.00	$0.00	$3,960.00	75.76%
Buckhead	Agent for Rutty Ann Brockman	1	$400.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,480.00	27.03%
Buckhead	Solomon K Pase	10	$5,300.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$12,150.00	43.62%
Buckhead	Benjamin Plaster	6	$2,255.00	$1,332.00	$0.00	$4,033.00	55.91%
Buckhead	Pinckney H Randall	14	$6,000.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$16,300.00	36.81%
Buckhead	James W Smith	4	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,825.00	87.67%
Buckhead	James H Smith	6	$2,400.00	$600.00	$0.00	$5,174.00	46.39%
Buckhead	John Tomlinson	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,185.00	67.51%

Buckhead	Charity Wellborn	1	$850.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,910.00	44.50%
Oak Grove	Patrick Howell	7	$3,700.00	$400.00	$0.00	$3,870.00	95.61%
Oak Grove	William G Hurd	4	$1,900.00	$825.00	$0.00	$2,470.00	76.92%
Oak Grove	James M Isome	2	$600.00	$1,187.00	$0.00	$2,127.00	28.21%
Oak Grove	Isham Kirksey	19	$9,275.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$11,175.00	83.00%
Total	**398**	**2,039.5**	**$1,009,570.00**	**$443,642.00**	**$1,675,920.00**	**$3,384,905.00**	

Table 2.2.1 Value of Enslavers' Taxable Property in Fulton County

Number of enslavers	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved population	Aggregate value of enslavers' land	Aggregate value of enslavers' city/ town property	Aggregate value of enslavers' whole property
398	2,039.5	$1,009,570.00	$443,642.00	$1,031,355.00	$3,384,905.00

Table 2.2.2 Percentage of Enslaved People's Value to Enslavers' Taxable Property

Value of enslaved people to aggregate value of enslavers' land	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' city/town property	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' whole property
228%	98%	30%

Table 2.2.3 Value of Enslavers' Taxable Property Compared to All Taxable Residents

Taxable residents	Number of taxable residents	Total aggregate land value	Total aggregate value of city/town property	Total aggregate value of whole property
Enslavers	398	$443,642.00	$1,031,355.00	$3,384,905.00
Non-Enslavers (White)	1,309	$430,086.00	$644,565.00	$1,464,513.00
Free Black	21	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
All	1728	$873,728.00	$1,675,920.00	$4,849,418.00

Table 2.2.3 Enslavers vs. Non-Enslavers: Taxable Population and Property

Group	% Taxable population	% Taxable property
Enslavers	23%	77%
Non-Enslavers	70%	30%

Table 2.2.4 Percentage of Enslaved People's Value to All Residents' Whole Property

Percentage
21%

Table 2.2.5 County's Infrastructure, Operation Costs, and Public Services Paid from Taxation on Enslaved People

Percentage
21%

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Table 2.3 Names of Enslavers and Value of Enslaved Persons, Compared to Value of Enslavers' Overall Wealth.

District	Enslaver	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved persons	Aggregate land value (in Fulton)	Aggregate city/town property value	Aggregate value of whole property	Value of enslaved people to whole property
Atlanta	agent for Margaret Arnold	4	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	100%
Atlanta	Adair George W	5	$3,450.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$6,969.00	50%
Atlanta	Neami Auger	1	$600.00	$1,300.00	$10,800.00	$13,910.00	4%
Atlanta	agent for Mrs. K. Mary	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$500.00	100%
Atlanta	agent for L.K. Mary	1	$350.00	$0.00	$0.00	$350.00	100%
Atlanta	agent for Jamie G Calvin	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Alexander J H	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$7,150.00	28%
Atlanta	Agent for Marcus Brown	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,360.00	21%
Atlanta	Anthony Samuel	6	$2,900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,100.00	36%
Atlanta	Baker Jacob	1	$600.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$3,825.00	16%
Atlanta	Booth George J	2	$1,200.00	$250.00	$1,000.00	$4,610.00	26%
Atlanta	Brady Adolph J	4	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,400.00	$16,835.00	9%
Atlanta	Barry William	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,800.00	$6,740.00	30%
Atlanta	Agent for Koyiah Boyd	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	91%
Atlanta	Barry Travis M	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,225.00	45%
Atlanta	Barnes Joseph	6	$2,400.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$8,266.00	29%
Atlanta	Bomiar B. H.	4	$3,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$6,400.00	47%
Atlanta	Warn E Oglephy	1	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,900.00	74%
Atlanta	Button May Sarah	1	$600.00	$0.00	$300.00	$900.00	67%
Atlanta	Bray Bouister	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$5,900.00	25%
Atlanta	Ballard Wilson	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Atlanta	Badger J.B.	11	$5,000.00	$2,460.00	$5,000.00	$14,960.00	33%
Atlanta	Biggy Stephen	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,900.00	$6,131.00	33%
Atlanta	agent for W. B. Robinson	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Ballard Robert W	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	67%
Atlanta	Burt warn M	6	$2,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,230.00	84%

Atlanta	Blackman James	8	$5,100.00	$9,400.00	$0.00	$15,710.00	32%
Atlanta	Ezzard William	7	$5,000.00	$4,700.00	$11,650.00	$25,970.00	19%
Atlanta	Agent for Coretta Green	14	$6,000.00	$5,500.00	$0.00	$12,250.00	49%
Atlanta	Warn Terrell	3	$1,500.00	$800.00	$0.00	$2,400.00	63%
Atlanta	Agent or Ms. Cordelia Green	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$700.00	100%
Atlanta	Agent of A.M. Green	8	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,800.00	77%
Atlanta	Crussell Thomas G.W.	2	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Atlanta	Corey Alexander	1	$500.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$3,720.00	13%
Atlanta	Coe Hayden	1	$100.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$7,960.00	1%
Atlanta	Andrew J Collier	2	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100%
Atlanta	Meredith Collier	10	$3,500.00	$40.00	$0.00	$7,990.00	44%
Atlanta	William B Chapman	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	$9,055.00	13%
Atlanta	John Cobb	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,305.00	92%
Atlanta	Ezekiel N Calhoun	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,825.00	27%
Atlanta	William H Craft/	5	$2,725.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$5,325.00	51%
Atlanta	Wife Chesterson	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Robert M Clark	3	$1,075.00	$2,000.00	$2,300.00	$6,115.00	18%
Atlanta	A H Meadaus	6	$3,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,248.00	69%
Atlanta	James R Crem	1	$300.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$6,000.00	5%
Atlanta	John M Clay	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100%
Atlanta	Hubbard W Coyart	10	$6,800.00	$0.00	$5,200.00	$34,480.00	20%
Atlanta	John Calier	8	$4,500.00	$2,450.00	$10,000.00	$22,275.00	20%
Atlanta	Thomas L Cooper	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$6,100.00	26%
Atlanta	Hellen M Core	3	$800.00	$0.00	$3,600.00	$6,815.00	12%
Atlanta	Willis Carlisle	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$5,625.00	53%
Atlanta	George W Collier	4	$2,500.00	$4,000.00	$3,500.00	$14,855.00	17%
Atlanta	Robert Crawford	3	$2,400.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,230.00	46%
Atlanta	James M Calhoun	16	$5,000.00	$1,250.00	$6,000.00	$17,800.00	28%
Atlanta	Mary E Calhoun	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Atlanta	H.L. Corrier	1	$700.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$4,898.00	14%
Atlanta	R.J. Cowart	10	$6,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$11,467.00	56%
Atlanta	J.T. Cunningham	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	72%
Atlanta	Caldwell & Griffen	14	$4,000.00	$2,500.00	$1,800.00	$8,800.00	45%
Atlanta	C W Cornwell	3	$1,850.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$5,090.00	
Atlanta	Sarah E Epelde	1	$450.00	$0.00	$0.00	$450.00	100%
Atlanta	Wm Sews P Davis	3	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,550.00	90%

Atlanta	David Demarest	6	$6,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$12,980.00	46%
Atlanta	George A Dudly	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$3,010.00	66%
Atlanta	John A Done	5	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,800.00	28%
Atlanta	Martha Durcham	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,025.00	68%
Atlanta	Samuel Dean	9	$5,050.00	$800.00	$6,500.00	$15,070.00	34%
Atlanta	Thomas M Darnal	1	$800.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$14,946.00	5%
Atlanta	Daniel G. H.	4	$1,350.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$3,350.00	40%
Atlanta	HB Crawford	6	$4,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,800.00	100%
Atlanta	John Farrae	5	$2,200.00	$1,200.00	$2,500.00	$7,105.00	31%
Atlanta	Simeon Frankford	1	$700.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$10,000.00	7%
Atlanta	EE Fadzen	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,300.00	19%
Atlanta	Amberson B Forsythe	3	$1,700.00	$0.00	$6,450.00	$11,130.00	15%
Atlanta	William G. Forsythe	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$3,040.00	33%
Atlanta	Thomas Fomlen	6	$3,000.00	$700.00	$2,500.00	$8,710.00	34%
Atlanta	W.M H. Ferguson	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,150.00	48%
Atlanta	Jessie C Farrae	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,710.00	11%
Atlanta	Aaron G. Green	5	$5,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,800.00	65%
Atlanta	George Gray	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$820.00	61%
Atlanta	Thomas F. Grubb	1	$700.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$3,075.00	23%
Atlanta	Richard C. Green	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100%
Atlanta	William H. Gibbert	16	$8,000.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$10,210.00	78%
Atlanta	John Glen	2	$700.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$7,445.00	9%
Atlanta	Samuel P Grant	3	$2,000.00	$9,500.00	$30,000.00	$51,036.00	4%
Atlanta	Nathaniel E Gardner	11	$7,400.00	$3,000.00	$10,750.00	$24,175.00	31%
Atlanta	Lacy H Griffith	7	$3,500.00	$0.00	$250.00	$4,390.00	80%
Atlanta	Lucius Gartrell	48	$24,500.00	$4,400.00	$13,000.00	$59,200.00	41%
Atlanta	Luther J Glenn	5	$3,200.00	$300.00	$1,600.00	$6,430.00	50%
Atlanta	Joshua Gilbert	5	$2,000.00	$1,037.00	$1,000.00	$4,237.00	47%
Atlanta	William H Harwell	3	$2,200.00	$100.00	$2,000.00	$4,670.00	47%
Atlanta	Theophelus Harres	6	$3,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,110.00	74%
Atlanta	Franees M Haggood	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100%
Atlanta	John M. Halbrook	3	$1,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,375.00	95%
Atlanta	Edward W. Halland	8	$5,800.00	$1,340.00	$21,000.00	$57,665.00	10%
Atlanta	J.H. Unerwood	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$600.00	$1,600.00	63%
Atlanta	Holland Unerwood	3	$2,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	100%
Atlanta	William J Wodson	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$400.00	100%
Atlanta	Julins A Hayden	5	$3,000.00	$4,000.00	$28,800.00	$44,470.00	7%

Atlanta	Rember Coin	2	$50.00	$4,500.00	$27,750.00	$36,800.00	0%
Atlanta	J.A. Hayden/Mrs. Yoakum	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,800.00	$11,300.00	18%
Atlanta	Singleton G Howell	7	$5,150.00	$1,200.00	$3,500.00	$14,665.00	35%
Atlanta	Haggood B. Green	5	$3,900.00	$1,620.00	$8,300.00	$20,700.00	19%
Atlanta	G.H. Halcomb	3	$1,800.00	$1,000.00	$6,650.00	$12,200.00	15%
Atlanta	John S. Harres	6	$3,600.00	$0.00	$300.00	$4,000.00	90%
Atlanta	Mary W Laseter	2	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$900.00	100%
Atlanta	George W Humphines	4	$1,600.00	$1,000.00	$900.00	$4,440.00	36%
Atlanta	Alfred Holcomb	3	$1,800.00	$950.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	60%
Atlanta	Andrew Homard	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$8,450.00	$13,805.00	13%
Atlanta	Amos W Hammond	15	$7,500.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$16,165.00	46%
Atlanta	John S Shelby	13	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,400.00	93%
Atlanta	W.A. Shelby	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Mather Hagie	8	$4,000.00	$115.00	$2,300.00	$8,205.00	49%
Atlanta	Arabella Jones	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$500.00	100%
Atlanta	George G Hull	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$11,300.00	14%
Atlanta	James Haney	3	$1,900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,875.00	49%
Atlanta	Martha Williams	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100%
Atlanta	Renben Haynes	4	$1,600.00	$0.00	$2,150.00	$3,760.00	43%
Atlanta	William Herring	1	$250.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	$9,515.00	3%
Atlanta	James M Homard	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$6,725.00	18%
Atlanta	Thomas C Homard	17	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$14,500.00	69%
Atlanta	Susan P Homard	7	$1,800.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,875.00	63%
Atlanta	Philip J Imel	3	$1,400.00	$0.00	$2,700.00	$4,112.00	34%
Atlanta	Charles M Irmen	6	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,300.00	55%
Atlanta	A. E. Johnson	11	$5,300.00	$400.00	$17,700.00	$26,744.00	20%
Atlanta	Thomas M.	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Adam W	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	$7,389.00	16%
Atlanta	Benjamine O.	4	$2,000.00	$3,500.00	$10,500.00	$17,805.00	11%
Atlanta	Mary E Jones	8	$3,200.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$7,502.00	43%
Atlanta	Richard Huson	15	$6,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,350.00	77%
Atlanta	John Kite Senior	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$4,415.00	23%
Atlanta	Thomas Kiele	8	$5,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$30,050.00	17%
Atlanta	W.M. Kerlepatrick	9	$3,700.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$10,287.00	36%
Atlanta	William C. Lamshe	5	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,250.00	$3,125.00	48%
Atlanta	E. N. Lamshe	1	$800.00	$400.00	$3,300.00	$5,005.00	16%
Atlanta	John H. Lovejoy	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,700.00	9%

Atlanta	Mary A Dorty	1	$600.00	$150.00	$20,000.00	$21,587.00	3%
Atlanta	Lemis Lamshe	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	100%
Atlanta	Engelus S Luckey	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	92%
Atlanta	A. F. Luckey	23	$9,200.00	$2,500.00	$900.00	$13,751.00	67%
Atlanta	Henry B Latomba	5	$3,550.00	$3,200.00	$8,700.00	$17,950.00	20%
Atlanta	Mrs. F. A. Liphan	16	$4,500.00	$2,400.00	$0.00	$7,170.00	63%
Atlanta	James Loyd	14	$6,500.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	$8,870.00	73%
Atlanta	Jesser J Lampken	20	$10,100.00	$6,000.00	$18,000.00	$41,100.00	25%
Atlanta	Thomas F Lowe	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Atlanta	A.M. Linndbes	22	$8,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$10,200.00	78%
Atlanta	Mrs M.E. Lome	1	$300.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$1,540.00	19%
Atlanta	James McDanald	1	$100.00	$1,500.00	$13,750.00	$15,450.00	1%
Atlanta	William H Mell	38	$19,350.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$21,315.00	91%
Atlanta	Henry W. McDaniel	4	$2,300.00	$520.00	$300.00	$4,470.00	51%
Atlanta	Nicholas McSenton	3	$300.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,420.00	21%
Atlanta	Joseph H Mead	7	$3,000.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$4,745.00	63%
Atlanta	William C. Maore	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,760.00	51%
Atlanta	Lethen W. Manning	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,040.00	66%
Atlanta	Benjamine F. Moore	7	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100%
Atlanta	William Markham	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$37,900.00	$46,072.00	4%
Atlanta	S.J. Michael	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	$8,500.00	24%
Atlanta	Hanke Muhlenbrock	1	$450.00	$0.00	$15,250.00	$19,094.00	2%
Atlanta	James P McSin	1	$500.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	$2,200.00	23%
Atlanta	George J. McClaughlin	1	$800.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$1,950.00	41%
Atlanta	Alexander W. Mitchell	11	$5,500.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$13,625.00	40%
Atlanta	Mrs. M.L. Mangum	2	$800.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$2,300.00	35%
Atlanta	J.W. McAuthor	1	$800.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$2,765.00	29%
Atlanta	William J Mann	1	$0.00	$500.00	$0.00	$500.00	0%
Atlanta	John W. Medlock	11	$5,500.00	$2,500.00	$3,200.00	$13,050.00	42%
Atlanta	E.P. McDaniel	5	$4,000.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	$12,250.00	33%
Atlanta	J.O. McDaniel	8	$4,000.00	$0.00	$6,400.00	$12,100.00	33%
Atlanta	John F Mines	17	$7,700.00	$1,000.00	$4,000.00	$30,330.00	25%
Atlanta	Arabella Narh	12	$4,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,800.00	100%
Atlanta	Reubin E. Osliin	1	$850.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	$4,210.00	20%
Atlanta	Mrs. B.H. Overly	33	$15,500.00	$1,000.00	$6,000.00	$27,030.00	57%
Atlanta	W.M. P. Orm	1	$700.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$15,750.00	4%
Atlanta	William C. Parker	1	$350.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$3,570.00	10%

Atlanta	Amy Peacock	1	$800.00	$700.00	$2,500.00	$4,120.00	19%
Atlanta	Thoma J Peacock	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$4,500.00	22%
Atlanta	Payton A. Peocock	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$3,800.00	47%
Atlanta	William A Puckett	2	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,120.00	71%
Atlanta	Columbus M Payne	1	$600.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,585.00	23%
Atlanta	William G Peter	15	$9,500.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$13,270.00	72%
Atlanta	Chapman Powell	3	$1,200.00	$2,370.00	$7,000.00	$11,512.00	10%
Atlanta	Edward Parson	1	$225.00	$1,800.00	$250.00	$3,030.00	7%
Atlanta	Joseph Balentine	1	$250.00	$50.00	$400.00	$700.00	36%
Atlanta	Edwin Payne	8	$4,100.00	$11,700.00	$9,000.00	$32,573.00	13%
Atlanta	Erca Bealle	3	$1,725.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,350.00	51%
Atlanta	Richard Peters	4	$2,800.00	$11,000.00	$31,000.00	$53,900.00	5%
Atlanta	John B. Peck	1	$250.00	$0.00	$4,200.00	$6,085.00	4%
Atlanta	A.C. Puliam	7	$4,600.00	$2,000.00	$3,000.00	$12,100.00	38%
Atlanta	Anderson M Parker	1	$1,000.00	$1,200.00	$4,000.00	$6,315.00	16%
Atlanta	Oney Parker	7	$3,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,800.00	100%
Atlanta	Harrison Petty	9	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Daniel N Pittman	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,470.00	41%
Atlanta	James Riley	1	$200.00	$900.00	$7,675.00	$11,175.00	2%
Atlanta	Thomas R Pipley	1	$600.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$2,100.00	29%
Atlanta	Johey R Rhedes	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	67%
Atlanta	Elgy P Reynolde	8	$3,800.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$7,305.00	52%
Atlanta	John F. Regnold	1	$600.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$3,600.00	17%
Atlanta	G.A. Rice	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	$10,880.00	11%
Atlanta	Robert J. W. P. Jen	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100%
Atlanta	L. Ryne	2	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,583.00	0%
Atlanta	Jessie Renncas	2	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$900.00	100%
Atlanta	John L Phea	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	$7,900.00	16%
Atlanta	W.W. Roack	2	$600.00	$500.00	$8,700.00	$16,080.00	4%
Atlanta	John M Mather	1	$100.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$2,100.00	5%
Atlanta	Charles C Phodes	5	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$2,680.00	37%
Atlanta	Thomas J Smith	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$200.00	$1,700.00	88%
Atlanta	William H. Sharp	5	$4,150.00	$2,000.00	$6,000.00	$20,440.00	20%
Atlanta	Augustus H Stokes	8	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,100.00	82%
Atlanta	Suege Berd	4	$2,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,270.00	66%
Atlanta	Norcisse Stokes	5	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,970.00	63%
Atlanta	Wiindson S. Smith	6	$2,250.00	$0.00	$13,000.00	$16,420.00	14%

Atlanta	Amhurst W. Stone	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$7,600.00	13%
Atlanta	Mrs. C. H. Smith	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Aleen K Seag	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,300.00	$3,330.00	30%
Atlanta	B.D. Slumate	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$3,186.00	56%
Atlanta	M. Shumate	1	$200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$200.00	100%
Atlanta	Jonas J Smith	7	$6,200.00	$250.00	$0.00	$7,900.00	78%
Atlanta	William Thurman	3	$1,300.00	$60.00	$3,800.00	$5,955.00	22%
Atlanta	Fendal D Thurman	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	100%
Atlanta	Stephen Tooy	2	$700.00	$3,000.00	$6,400.00	$25,472.00	3%
Atlanta	James L Terry	1	$800.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	$4,180.00	19%
Atlanta	William H Thurman	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	54%
Atlanta	Amilia Fraut	6	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Hary A. Tombinson	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,210.00	62%
Atlanta	Joseph Thompson	26	$13,000.00	$0.00	$44,575.00	$71,825.00	18%
Atlanta	W.M. R. Venable	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,525.00	85%
Atlanta	Samuel Wood	6	$3,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,330.00	99%
Atlanta	James White	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,325.00	17%
Atlanta	Joseph Winship	13	$7,900.00	$0.00	$23,000.00	$53,410.00	15%
Atlanta	Ceyins H Walles	2	$600.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	$3,415.00	18%
Atlanta	Pese H Wallice J	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Atlanta	L.A. Franbell	5	$3,000.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	43%
Atlanta	Isaac Wenshep	15	$5,700.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$14,030.00	41%
Atlanta	John M Wainer	1	$700.00	$0.00	$3,700.00	$5,000.00	14%
Atlanta	Alexander Wallace	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Samuel Wlaker	19	$7,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$14,290.00	49%
Atlanta	Elizabeth Wright	6	$2,500.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$4,000.00	63%
Atlanta	Authur G. Ware	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	$5,340.00	34%
Atlanta	John S. Wright	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	55%
Atlanta	Thomas C. H. Wilson	1	$700.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$3,000.00	23%
Atlanta	Willes F Westmorland	5	$3,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,800.00	69%
Atlanta	E. M. Webb	2	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Atlanta	Nancy Waddall	17	$8,500.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$12,745.00	67%
Atlanta	John C White	6	$3,500.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	$14,320.00	24%
Atlanta	Mrs. E Warady	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Atlanta	Alfred W Warding	13	$7,900.00	$7,000.00	$800.00	$16,200.00	49%
Atlanta	William Watkins	2	$1,400.00	$750.00	$300.00	$3,975.00	35%
Atlanta	J. E. Williams	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	23%

Atlanta	Jered T Whitaker	4	$3,300.00	$0.00	$15,500.00	$26,300.00	13%
Atlanta	C.F. Wood	12	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,550.00	79%
Atlanta	A.P. Hill	2	$700.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,000.00	35%
Atlanta	Mary Wright	9	$4,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,030.00	89%
Atlanta	A. Gulsby truste for Mary Wright	6	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Almeda Wilson	1	$300.00	$0.00	$900.00	$1,200.00	25%
Atlanta	Thomas W Willes	10	$4,200.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	$15,600.00	27%
Atlanta	J.G. Westmorland	11	$8,500.00	$150.00	$2,900.00	$13,980.00	61%
Atlanta	R.P. Zimerman	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$650.00	62%
Atlanta Defaulters	Julins W. Brenan	1	$650.00	$0.00	$400.00	$3,115.00	21%
Atlanta Defaulters	Benjamine Kelly	1	$200.00	$300.00	$0.00	$560.00	36%
Atlanta Defaulters	Leah McGraff	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$400.00	$1,460.00	68%
Atlanta Defaulters	Robert J. Wilson	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$700.00	100%
Atlanta Defaulters	M.T. Walker	5	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100%
Black Hall	Avery William	1	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,860.00	15%
Black Hall	Maxwell R. Berry	2	$1,300.00	$2,500.00	$4,200.00	$10,075.00	13%
Black Hall	James Beasby	5	$3,800.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$9,300.00	41%
Black Hall	Meradeth Brown	8	$4,750.00	$4,200.00	$3,600.00	$19,324.00	25%
Black Hall	Abner Connally	1	$1,000.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,910.00	52%
Black Hall	John M. Connally	3	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,375.00	73%
Black Hall	Columbus C Connally	1	$1,000.00	$700.00	$0.00	$1,845.00	54%
Black Hall	Road Carter	23	$12,600.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$15,090.00	83%
Black Hall	David Crem	1	$1,000.00	$600.00	$0.00	$1,900.00	53%
Black Hall	Elizabeth Connaly	1	$600.00	$500.00	$0.00	$1,475.00	41%
Black Hall	Price Connally	1	$1,000.00	$200.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	59%
Black Hall	Margaret F Connally	2	$700.00	$500.00	$0.00	$1,575.00	44%
Black Hall	Davis Milton	8	$5,200.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$9,725.00	53%
Black Hall	John L Evans	6	$3,800.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$9,430.00	40%
Black Hall	Samuel K. Hill	5	$2,000.00	$700.00	$0.00	$2,938.00	68%
Black Hall	Bereal Sangford	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,120.00	54%
Black Hall	James B Softon	12	$6,300.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$9,780.00	64%
Black Hall	Lewis L. Ledbetter	2	$1,500.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$3,545.00	42%
Black Hall	Mrs. J. D. Well	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$500.00	100%

Black Hall	Benjamin Little	3	$1,500.00	$5,050.00	$0.00	$8,380.00	18%
Black Hall	Henry T McDaniel	4	$2,000.00	$2,000.00	$400.00	$8,362.00	24%
Black Hall	Allen J. Pool	13	$6,800.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$11,020.00	62%
Black Hall	Thomas M. Poole	16	$7,500.00	$4,809.00	$0.00	$15,292.00	49%
Black Hall	Nancy H. Tomilison	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,037.00	96%
Black Hall	L.P. Tomlison	1	$875.00	$0.00	$0.00	$912.00	96%
Black Hall	Daniel Prence	1	$750.00	$0.00	$0.00	$787.00	95%
Black Hall	Thomas J. Perkeson	5	$2,500.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$9,600.00	26%
Black Hall	Mary Rud/Mary Evatt	8	$3,500.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$28,105.00	12%
Black Hall	James R. Rosser	1	$1,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,435.00	29%
Black Hall	Edward M. Taliaferro	15	$7,550.00	$1,300.00	$0.00	$9,700.00	78%
Black Hall	Margarett Ann/Sarato F. Poole	7	$4,300.00	$2,100.00	$0.00	$7,086.00	61%
Black Hall	Susan Taliaferro	19	$14,500.00	$4,185.00	$0.00	$22,445.00	65%
Black Hall	Tell Ell Tomlinson	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,915.00	17%
Black Hall	Tells Tomlinson	1	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$975.00	92%
Black Hall	E.M. Tomlinson	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Black Hall	D.Y. Tomlinson	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,030.00	97%
Black Hall	John M Walker	8	$6,000.00	$3,600.00	$0.00	$10,350.00	58%
Black Hall	John D Williams	1	$800.00	$800.00	$1,200.00	$3,398.00	24%
Stones	Mrs. Sarah Armstroy	1	$600.00	$100.00	$0.00	$775.00	77%
Stones	Thenry Bankston	4	$2,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,015.00	50%
Stones	Bryant William	8	$4,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,855.00	51%
Stones	John A. Childers	5	$2,900.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,178.00	40%
Stones	Timothy Chambles	8	$3,600.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,400.00	56%
Stones	Mrs. Sarah Pratt	6	$2,800.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,800.00	74%
Stones	Thomas W. Counalby	9	$5,400.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$15,700.00	34%
Stones	Charles Connally	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	$9,725.00	21%
Stones	James Donchue	3	$2,500.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$11,200.00	22%
Stones	Elezbeth Ferguson	1	$100.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,450.00	7%
Stones	John J. Foein	1	$500.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$3,850.00	13%
Stones	Eleyhett Foun	7	$3,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$6,200.00	56%
Stones	William A. Green	18	$11,050.00	$0.00	$0.00	$13,850.00	80%
Stones	Clem C. Green	10	$5,000.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$10,800.00	46%
Stones	Wen A. M. Green	11	$4,500.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$8,600.00	52%
Stones	William Gitters	31	$16,000.00	$7,505.00	$0.00	$26,155.00	61%
Stones	John B Holbwock	2	$1,550.00	$2,100.00	$1,550.00	$4,230.00	37%
Stones	William Halebwoks	3	$1,200.00	$1,600.00	$0.00	$4,215.00	28%

Stones	Joel Herring	8	$3,600.00	$2,325.00	$800.00	$7,660.00	47%
Stones	Noah Hornsby	8	$3,250.00	$2,750.00	$0.00	$6,300.00	52%
Stones	Thomas Kenedy	11	$5,500.00	$2,647.00	$0.00	$9,175.00	60%
Stones	James Kenedy	4	$2,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,593.00	45%
Stones	Thomas A. Kenidy	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$900.00	$5,585.00	36%
Stones	John Lee	2	$800.00	$1,700.00	$0.00	$3,010.00	27%
Stones	Eyariah Mins	4	$1,500.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,450.00	43%
Stones	Andrew Makemson	4	$2,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,600.00	45%
Stones	James Oliven	20	$10,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$15,060.00	66%
Stones	James T Peacock	4	$2,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,550.00	56%
Stones	Meut J. Peacock	2	$1,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$4,345.00	23%
Stones	Lewis W. Weacock	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,035.00	40%
Stones	Jacob Redwine	5	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$6,850.00	44%
Stones	Willis Roberts	1	$700.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$4,233.00	17%
Stones	Susan Russell	5	$3,000.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,867.00	62%
Stones	Samuel Semell	10	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,060.00	50%
Stones	John M. Smith	8	$3,300.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$8,105.00	41%
Stones	Suttles Micagg	8	$3,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	58%
Stones	Wily Suttes	1	$800.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$2,385.00	34%
Stones	Vincent Amos	5	$3,800.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$5,485.00	69%
Stones	William Weance	5	$2,800.00	$1,200.00	$500.00	$5,465.00	51%
Stones	Augustus Wiliow	15	$7,500.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$11,850.00	63%
Stones	Francis M. White	1	$1,000.00	$900.00	$0.00	$1,925.00	52%
Stones	A. Wilson wm	9	$6,200.00	$6,300.00	$0.00	$14,770.00	42%
Stones	Mrs. Elebette Wilson	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,025.00	66%
Stones	Jessie M. Weaver	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,554.00	64%
Stones	Robert Ganey	1	$800.00	$500.00	$0.00	$1,830.00	44%
Cooks	James H. Campbell	9	$3,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,225.00	48%
Cooks	James A. Coursey	4	$1,150.00	$1,400.00	$0.00	$3,232.00	36%
Cooks	Martin Defour	6	$2,800.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	31%
Cooks	Elizah M Donchue	2	$800.00	$3,000.00	$513.00	$5,398.00	15%
Cooks	Dalvigny	1	$100.00	$1,520.00	$0.00	$2,420.00	4%
Cooks	Heram H. Embry	6	$2,775.00	$3,700.00	$400.00	$8,690.00	32%
Cooks	George Elliett	9	$5,125.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,643.00	59%
Cooks	Marshall M. Elliett	1	$1,000.00	$1,600.00	$300.00	$3,700.00	27%
Cooks	Edmund R. Elliett	3	$1,200.00	$1,000.00	$1,400.00	$3,850.00	31%
Cooks	Pleasant Golding	4	$2,050.00	$250.00	$0.00	$2,950.00	69%

Cooks	Felie Hardman	9	$7,700.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$14,465.00	53%
Cooks	Jeremiah C Huff	1	$800.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,100.00	38%
Cooks	James L. Mason	4	$3,000.00	$5,900.00	$400.00	$10,100.00	30%
Cooks	WM C. Mason	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,350.00	96%
Cooks	Thomas Moore	1	$800.00	$4,500.00	$400.00	$11,925.00	7%
Cooks	Mary Oconner	2	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$900.00	100%
Cooks	Mathem Ostwin	12	$6,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$9,360.00	64%
Cooks	T.B. Fielder	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	100%
Cooks	John J. Thrasker	21	$15,000.00	$6,000.00	$1,600.00	$29,890.00	50%
Cooks	Jessie Wood	1	$400.00	$4,000.00	$875.00	$6,830.00	6%
Buckhead	Laughlin Arrendell	4	$2,000.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$3,565.00	56%
Buckhead	J.M. Balinger	15	$7,000.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$9,375.00	75%
Buckhead	Elais Campbell	1	$850.00	$4,600.00	$0.00	$6,337.00	13%
Buckhead	James Campbell	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Buckhead	William Canon	4	$1,450.00	$700.00	$0.00	$2,250.00	64%
Buckhead	Wesley G. Colier	4	$2,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,440.00	45%
Buckhead	Silas H. Donalson	1	$800.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,230.00	36%
Buckhead	John Evans	13	$6,450.00	$2,600.00	$0.00	$15,470.00	42%
Buckhead	James M. Echhols	5	$3,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,625.00	94%
Buckhead	D.B Elington	7	$5,100.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$7,324.00	70%
Buckhead	Orphy Stomes	2	$1,200.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$4,515.00	27%
Buckhead	Salomon Goodwin	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	73%
Buckhead	Philip Hence	6	$2,400.00	$1,800.00	$0.00	$4,860.00	49%
Buckhead	James Head	4	$1,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,750.00	32%
Buckhead	Ellerwee Hunthy	1	$800.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,945.00	41%
Buckhead	Clark Howell	20.5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	$40,350.00	25%
Buckhead	Henry Lely	4	$2,020.00	$5,800.00	$0.00	$13,035.00	15%
Buckhead	John Jones	1	$800.00	$600.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	47%
Buckhead	Berch Jett	4	$1,300.00	$1,700.00	$0.00	$4,375.00	30%
Buckhead	Edwin Master	19	$5,200.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$9,125.00	57%
Buckhead	Mrs. Sarah Plaster	7	$3,000.00	$500.00	$0.00	$3,935.00	76%
Buckhead	Ruthy Ann Brockman	1	$450.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,495.00	30%
Buckhead	Benjamine Plaster	6	$2,455.00	$1,332.00	$0.00	$4,149.00	59%
Buckhead	Soloman K. Pase	12	$7,000.00	$6,200.00	$0.00	$13,780.00	51%
Buckhead	Peiching H. Kandall	16	$8,000.00	$10,200.00	$0.00	$20,100.00	40%
Buckhead	James H Smith	6	$2,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,260.00	44%
Buckhead	James W. Smith	4	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	73%

Buckhead	Charity Williams	1	$1,000.00	$800.00	$0.00	$2,130.00	47%
Oak Grove	James Hooper	6	$2,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,210.00	95%
Oak Grove	James M. Isome	2	$600.00	$1,100.00	$0.00	$2,150.00	28%
Oak Grove	Isah Keskey	19	$8,900.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$10,800.00	82%
Unknown	Unknown	37	$2,230.00	—	—	—	100%

Table 2.3.1 Value of Enslavers' Taxable Property in Fulton County

Number of enslavers	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved population	Aggregate value of enslavers' land	Aggregate value of enslavers' city/town property	Aggregate value of enslavers' whole property
396	2,129.5	$1,105,880.00	$421,385.00	$891,688.00	$3,181,691.00

Table 2.3.2 Percentage of Enslaved People's Value to Enslavers' Taxable Property

Value of enslaved people to aggregate value of enslavers' land	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' city/town property	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' whole property
262%	124%	35%

Table 2.3.3 Value of Enslavers' Taxable Property Compared to All Taxable Residents

Taxable residents	Number of taxable residents	Aggregate value of enslaved population	Total aggregate land value	Total aggregate city/ town property value	Total aggregate value of whole property
Enslavers	396	$1,105,880.00	$421,385.00	$891,688.00	$3,181,691.00
Non-Enslavers (White)	1,246	$0.00	$435,557.00	$677,286.00	$1,748,461.00
Free Blacks	17	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
All	**1,659**	**$1,105,880.00**	**$856,942.00**	**$1,568,974.00**	**$4,930,152.00**

Table 2.3.4 Enslavers vs. Non-Enslavers: Taxable Population and Property

Group	% Taxable population	% Taxable property
Enslavers	24%	65%
Non-Enslavers	76%	35%

Table 2.3.5 Percentage of Enslaved People's Value to Value of All Residents' Whole Property

Percentage
21%

Table 2.3.6 County's Infrastructure, Operation Costs, and Public Services Paid from Taxation on Enslaved People

Percentage
21%

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Table 2.4 Names of Enslavers and Value of Enslaved Persons, Compared to Value of Enslavers' Overall Wealth.

District	Enslaver	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved	Aggregate land value for enslavers (in Fulton)	Aggregate city/town property value for enslavers	Aggregate value of whole property for enslavers	Value of enslaved people to whole property
Atlanta	Mary A Gaulding	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Mrs. Sarah Armstrong	1	$700.00	$100.00	$100.00	$910.00	76.9%
Atlanta	N L Anger	1	$500.00	$1,505.00	$12,000.00	$14,655.00	3.4%
Atlanta	Samuel Anthony	6	$3,200.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$7,920.00	40.4%
Atlanta	J Moses	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100.0%
Atlanta	L J Moses	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100.0%
Atlanta	George W Adair	4	$3,400.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$7,925.00	42.9%
Atlanta	J F Alexander	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,400.00	20.8%
Atlanta	Adolph J Brady	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$4,400.00	$7,635.00	15.7%
Atlanta	George J Boothe	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$4,635.00	25.9%
Atlanta	William L Benton	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,100.00	95.2%
Atlanta	Trustee of Anna H Batt	4	$2,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,300.00	100.0%
Atlanta	F M Barry	1	$825.00	$0.00	$1,250.00	$2,075.00	39.8%
Atlanta	Mrs. Virg Bolton	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Sarah Butten	1	$600.00	$0.00	$300.00	$900.00	66.7%
Atlanta	Elisha Bice	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$700.00	$3,000.00	50.0%
Atlanta	Joshua B Badger	10	$6,000.00	$5,000.00	$6,600.00	$18,300.00	32.8%
Atlanta	Wilson Ballard	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	47.1%
Atlanta	Agent for Wm B Robinson	5	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Trustee for Mrs. E Beman	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$900.00	55.6%
Atlanta	Agent for Milton Boyd	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	$2,700.00	37.0%
Atlanta	James Blackman	8	$5,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$17,330.00	30.0%
Atlanta	Homer Blackman	8	$5,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,495.00	87.8%
Atlanta	Elizbeth Blackman	1	$950.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,250.00	42.2%
Atlanta	Bolling Bakoe	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$10,000.00	50.0%

Atlanta	Joseph Barnes	5	$2,500.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$7,920.00	31.6%
Atlanta	William Barnes	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,800.00	$6,569.00	30.4%
Atlanta	Agent for Wife and Children (Alexander Corry)	1	$600.00	$0.00	$2,700.00	$3,520.00	17.0%
Atlanta	Robert M Clark	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$6,600.00	19.7%
Atlanta	S Floyd	5	$2,900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,025.00	72.0%
Atlanta	J T Cunningham	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,820.00	87.9%
Atlanta	Andrew J Collier	2	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$875.00	91.4%
Atlanta	Wm H Craft	5	$3,500.00	$0.00	$1,250.00	$3,950.00	88.6%
Atlanta	George W D Cook	9	$7,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,945.00	76.4%
Atlanta	H L Currier	1	$700.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$4,900.00	14.3%
Atlanta	Ezekiel N Calhoun	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,425.00	20.6%
Atlanta	Willis Carlisle	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$400.00	$3,430.00	40.8%
Atlanta	James M Calhoun	14	$5,950.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$18,000.00	33.1%
Atlanta	Agent for Mary E Calhoun	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Meredith Colin	11	$3,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,030.00	48.4%
Atlanta	Isaac J Craven	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$5,800.00	$9,425.00	15.9%
Atlanta	James R Creen	1	$350.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$6,350.00	5.5%
Atlanta	Trustee for Wife(James R Creen)	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Chisolm & Adair	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,950.00	16.8%
Atlanta	George W Coline	5	$3,500.00	$4,000.00	$5,000.00	$17,405.00	20.1%
Atlanta	James M Coline	3	$2,700.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,425.00	49.8%
Atlanta	John Colier	10	$6,000.00	$3,000.00	$10,000.00	$29,350.00	20.4%
Atlanta	Thomas L Cooper	4	$3,300.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$9,190.00	35.9%
Atlanta	Hubbard W Cozart	10	$6,800.00	$1,500.00	$5,960.00	$38,725.00	17.6%
Atlanta	Trustee for Children(T J W Crussell)	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Robert J Cowart	12	$9,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$11,825.00	76.1%
Atlanta	James Caldwell	1	$800.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$2,650.00	30.2%
Atlanta	James Beasly	5	$4,000.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	$9,570.00	41.8%
Atlanta	Pveino Brown	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$6,425.00	28.0%
Atlanta	Wm M Butt	6	$3,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	88.6%
Atlanta	M R Berry	2	$1,500.00	$2,000.00	$5,000.00	$10,510.00	14.3%

Atlanta	B F Bomar	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$600.00	$2,210.00	54.3%
Atlanta	W E Oglesby	1	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Robert W Bullard	4	$3,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,800.00	86.8%
Atlanta	Stephen T Biggers	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$3,400.00	$5,530.00	28.9%
Atlanta	John A Done	1	$800.00	$2,000.00	$6,500.00	$10,100.00	7.9%
Atlanta	Mrs. Jackey Dudley	5	$3,500.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$4,700.00	74.5%
Atlanta	Mrs. Mary E Damson	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$2,500.00	40.0%
Atlanta	Thomas M Darnall	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$14,280.00	8.4%
Atlanta	Lemuel Dean	9	$4,600.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	$14,810.00	31.1%
Atlanta	T M Dean	4	$2,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,400.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Trustee for Children(George H Daniel)	4	$1,600.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$3,600.00	44.4%
Atlanta	Agent for Z H Gwaltings Trustee for Children	6	$3,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,700.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Wm Ezzard	7	$5,850.00	$100.00	$10,800.00	$25,470.00	23.0%
Atlanta	Guardian for Miss Cordelia Green	10	$6,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,200.00	80.5%
Atlanta	Agent for Cynthia Green	15	$6,500.00	$5,500.00	$0.00	$12,700.00	51.2%
Atlanta	Trustee for Wm Ferrell	3	$1,500.00	$800.00	$0.00	$2,300.00	65.2%
Atlanta	Guardian for S M Mann	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$700.00	100.0%
Atlanta	John Farr	6	$3,000.00	$1,200.00	$2,200.00	$7,585.00	39.6%
Atlanta	John H Flurnoy	6	$3,600.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$7,950.00	45.3%
Atlanta	Simeon Frankford	1	$700.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$9,350.00	7.5%
Atlanta	Ambrose B Forsythe	4	$2,800.00	$0.00	$5,750.00	$11,300.00	24.8%
Atlanta	Thomas Fowler	5	$2,500.00	$700.00	$3,100.00	$6,855.00	36.5%
Atlanta	Jessee C Farrar	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,645.00	10.8%
Atlanta	Wm G Forsyth	1	$900.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	$3,100.00	29.0%
Atlanta	Wm H Ferguson	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,170.00	50.5%
Atlanta	A E Johnson	9	$5,300.00	$500.16	$15,000.00	$279,900.00	1.9%
Atlanta	Elizbeth Ferguson	1	$0.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,375.00	0.0%
Atlanta	G J Fouracre	2	$1,800.00	$800.00	$3,500.00	$9,600.00	18.8%
Atlanta	Thomas T Grubb	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,900.00	$4,750.00	21.1%
Atlanta	John Fillins	20	$11,000.00	$1,000.00	$3,000.00	$38,365.00	28.7%

Atlanta	Lemuel P. Grant	3	$2,300.00	$16,500.00	$29,000.00	$68,108.00	3.4%
Atlanta	Lucius Gartrell	48	$24,600.00	$1,400.00	$11,900.00	$55,670.00	44.2%
Atlanta	Nathaniel E Gardner	10	$6,400.00	$3,000.00	$11,200.00	$21,970.00	29.1%
Atlanta	Joshua Gilbert	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$3,200.00	62.5%
Atlanta	John Glenn	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$7,340.00	13.6%
Atlanta	L J Glenn	5	$3,200.00	$360.00	$2,500.00	$8,215.00	39.0%
Atlanta	R H C Gillespie	3	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	55.6%
Atlanta	Green B Haygood	4	$3,550.00	$1,425.00	$9,000.00	$20,565.00	17.3%
Atlanta	Francis M Haygood	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.0%
Atlanta	John L Harris	6	$4,450.00	$0.00	$150.00	$4,700.00	94.7%
Atlanta	Theophilus Harris	6	$3,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,360.00	70.9%
Atlanta	H C Holcomb	1	$750.00	$1,200.00	$9,000.00	$16,495.00	4.5%
Atlanta	John R Halbrook	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,730.00	86.7%
Atlanta	Clem C Howell	1	$500.00	$200.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	41.7%
Atlanta	Trustee for Anna L Houston	1	$265.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$2,615.00	10.1%
Atlanta	Agent for Mrs. Mary Lassiter	4	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.0%
Atlanta	George G Hull	8	$4,800.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$14,425.00	33.3%
Atlanta	Wm J Hudson	1	$450.00	$0.00	$0.00	$450.00	100.0%
Atlanta	A W Hammond	14	$6,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$13,900.00	46.0%
Atlanta	John L Shelby	12	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	66.7%
Atlanta	Trustee for Mrs. W T Wilson	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Agent for Wm A Shelby	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Wm Herring	1	$200.00	$0.00	$11,500.00	$12,025.00	1.7%
Atlanta	Singleton G Howell	4	$3,750.00	$1,000.00	$4,000.00	$12,980.00	28.9%
Atlanta	George W Humphries	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,538.00	78.0%
Atlanta	Wm H Harville	1	$400.00	$25.00	$1,500.00	$2,125.00	18.8%
Atlanta	Edward W Holland	11	$9,000.00	$1,800.00	$22,000.00	$59,300.00	15.2%
Atlanta	J H Underwood	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$600.00	$2,000.00	70.0%
Atlanta	Reubin Haynes	5	$3,300.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$4,800.00	68.8%
Atlanta	R Cone	1	$50.00	$0.00	$27,800.00	$36,350.00	0.1%
Atlanta	J A Haydon	4	$2,400.00	$0.00	$26,400.00	$38,800.00	6.2%

Atlanta	Trustee for Mrs. L Underwood	4	$2,700.00	$0.00	$5,800.00	$11,325.00	23.8%
Atlanta	Andrews Howard(estate)	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$5,800.00	$10,000.00	18.0%
Atlanta	Wm P Hardin	2	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,150.00	35.0%
Atlanta	Thomas C Howard	17	$10,000.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$16,000.00	62.5%
Atlanta	Agent for Susan P Howard	7	$1,800.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,875.00	62.6%
Atlanta	Mather Hagie	5	$3,500.00	$100.00	$1,800.00	$5,840.00	59.9%
Atlanta	P J Immell	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$2,350.00	$3,920.00	38.3%
Atlanta	B O Jones	3	$1,800.00	$3,500.00	$4,000.00	$17,650.00	10.2%
Atlanta	Washington P Johnson	4	$2,300.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,350.00	43.0%
Atlanta	Thomas M Jones	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Agent for Miss E M Jones	3	$3,100.00	$1,300.00	$0.00	$4,600.00	67.4%
Atlanta	Mrs. Winniford L Rogers	4	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Adam W Jones	3	$2,500.00	$0.00	$14,350.00	$2,100.00	119.0%
Atlanta	Richard Johnson	15	$8,300.00	$0.00	$2,330.00	$13,080.00	63.5%
Atlanta	John Kile Sr	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$4,315.00	23.2%
Atlanta	Thomas Kile	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$20,025.00	10.0%
Atlanta	Joettrust Kelsey for James W Tyner & Children	4	$2,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Caleb W Key	4	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,380.00	74.0%
Atlanta	Agent for O A Lochrane	4	$1,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Margaret E Lane	6	$3,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,265.00	77.4%
Atlanta	Trust for Maryan Dotherby & Daughter	1	$500.00	$220.00	$20,000.00	$22,040.00	2.3%
Atlanta	S B Lowe	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$3,240.00	30.9%
Atlanta	Wm C Lamshe	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$4,865.00	61.7%
Atlanta	Er Lawshe	1	$850.00	$250.00	$3,100.00	$4,440.00	19.1%
Atlanta	Trustee for Wife & Children(Lewis Lawshe)	4	$2,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Henry B Latimore	3	$2,300.00	$3,300.00	$8,800.00	$15,795.00	14.6%
Atlanta	James Loyd	23	$15,760.00	$2,200.00	$20,000.00	$41,585.00	37.9%

Atlanta	Thomas A Lyons	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$2,250.00	$4,010.00	29.9%
Atlanta	T A M F & L J Lyons	1	$800.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$2,800.00	28.6%
Atlanta	Beyabeel Lankford	2	$2,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$7,250.00	27.6%
Atlanta	Patrick Linch	1	$40.00	$1,500.00	$2,500.00	$5,040.00	0.8%
Atlanta	Eugene S Luckey	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$350.00	85.7%
Atlanta	Agent of A F Luckey	22	$9,000.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$13,605.00	66.2%
Atlanta	Agent for Mrs. F A Lipham	14	$3,400.00	$2,400.00	$0.00	$6,340.00	53.6%
Atlanta	J P Logan	8	$5,000.00	$2,300.00	$0.00	$10,620.00	47.1%
Atlanta	John H Lovijoy	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$4,000.00	25.0%
Atlanta	James T Lewis	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	31.3%
Atlanta	Wm C Moor (Mail Agent)	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	$2,930.00	47.8%
Atlanta	Louisa Martin	2	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	0.0%
Atlanta	John McMaster	1	$100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$250.00	40.0%
Atlanta	Hankee Muhlinbrink	1	$400.00	$0.00	$15,800.00	$19,430.00	2.1%
Atlanta	Henry W McDaniel	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$3,660.00	49.2%
Atlanta	Joseph H Mead	7	$3,500.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$6,180.00	56.6%
Atlanta	Andrew M Maning	1	$100.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$1,300.00	7.7%
Atlanta	William Markham	3	$2,300.00	$0.00	$39,000.00	$50,280.00	4.6%
Atlanta	John M Myers	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Jether W Manning	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,590.00	77.2%
Atlanta	Wm C Moore	6	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Wm H Mell	35	$15,350.00	$0.00	$0.00	$17,100.00	89.8%
Atlanta	S J McMichael	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$9,000.00	22.2%
Atlanta	J O McDaniel	9	$5,000.00	$0.00	$6,700.00	$13,990.00	35.7%
Atlanta	A W Mitchell	10	$6,000.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	$12,670.00	47.4%
Atlanta	James McDonald	1	$100.00	$2,400.00	$12,750.00	$16,550.00	0.6%
Atlanta	J G Mclin	1	$700.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	$2,400.00	29.2%
Atlanta	George T McGlaughlin	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,510.00	51.8%
Atlanta	Leah McGarr	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$400.00	$1,625.00	61.5%
Atlanta	Joseph Marechal	1	$75.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$3,075.00	2.4%
Atlanta	Caper McClindon	10	$6,500.00	$1,000.00	$800.00	$9,500.00	68.4%
Atlanta	Issac G Mitchell	3	$1,700.00	$0.00	$2,700.00	$5,760.00	29.5%
Atlanta	John W Medlock	10	$5,000.00	$4,900.00	$3,400.00	$14,700.00	34.0%

Atlanta	N A McLendon	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	62.5%
Atlanta	T W McArthur	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$3,370.00	29.7%
Atlanta	P E McDaniel	4	$3,500.00	$0.00	$3,800.00	$8,600.00	40.7%
Atlanta	Basil H Overby	35	$17,500.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$29,700.00	58.9%
Atlanta	Wm A Puckett	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,770.00	67.8%
Atlanta	Wm C Parker	1	$350.00	$0.00	$2,950.00	$3,810.00	9.2%
Atlanta	C M Payne	1	$700.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,625.00	26.7%
Atlanta	Trust for L A Payne	6	$3,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,400.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Francis P Perdue	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,378.00	42.1%
Atlanta	Agent for Mariah Fleming	2	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100.0%
Atlanta	John M Pitman	11	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,100.00	65.9%
Atlanta	Wm C Parker Agent for A M Parker	9	$5,000.00	$1,000.00	$4,500.00	$10,500.00	47.6%
Atlanta	James T Peacock	4	$2,900.00	$0.00	$400.00	$3,515.00	82.5%
Atlanta	Exa Bell	2	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,483.00	25.8%
Atlanta	Wm G Peters	22	$15,500.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	$19,150.00	80.9%
Atlanta	Chapman Powell	6	$3,500.00	$2,300.00	$14,100.00	$21,545.00	16.2%
Atlanta	Albert C Pulliam	15	$9,600.00	$2,000.00	$3,000.00	$15,595.00	61.6%
Atlanta	Edward Parson	1	$225.00	$2,500.00	$175.00	$3,600.00	6.3%
Atlanta	Richard Peters	4	$4,100.00	$12,000.00	$32,200.00	$73,450.00	5.6%
Atlanta	C A Pitts	4	$2,500.00	$3,600.00	$0.00	$6,650.00	37.6%
Atlanta	James T Payne	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$840.00	83.3%
Atlanta	Trustee for E A Pittis	9	$4,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,580.00	98.3%
Atlanta	Wm W Roark	1	$200.00	$500.00	$11,200.00	$24,480.00	0.8%
Atlanta	John Rhea	1	$450.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	$6,950.00	6.5%
Atlanta	Charles H Rhodes	5	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$3,240.00	46.3%
Atlanta	Jabey R Rhodes	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,125.00	88.9%
Atlanta	Agent for Laura D Ripley	1	$600.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$2,600.00	23.1%
Atlanta	Mr Rose	4	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Y A Rice	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$12,590.00	15.9%
Atlanta	James Riley	1	$100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,050.00	9.5%
Atlanta	Trustee for Mrs. E C Rogers	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100.0%

Atlanta	Trustee for Kate W Robinson	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Joseph Runes	8	$3,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,400.00	46.9%
Atlanta	Ben F Runes	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	71.4%
Atlanta	John H Smith	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$1,100.00	$3,100.00	64.5%
Atlanta	James F Seavey	1	$850.00	$1,200.00	$4,000.00	$6,060.00	14.0%
Atlanta	John Silvey	1	$900.00	$0.00	$800.00	$1,760.00	51.1%
Atlanta	Windsor L Smith	6	$2,250.00	$0.00	$13,500.00	$16,670.00	13.5%
Atlanta	Amhirst W Stone	4	$3,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$12,300.00	24.4%
Atlanta	A K Seago	1	$750.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$3,260.00	23.0%
Atlanta	Trust for Mrs. C E Smith	5	$2,350.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,350.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Wm H Sharp	5	$4,700.00	$0.00	$6,325.00	$22,730.00	20.7%
Atlanta	Henry Stricklin	12	$6,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,010.00	73.3%
Atlanta	Wm H Stricklin	11	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,550.00	91.6%
Atlanta	A H Stokes	7	$5,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,650.00	59.0%
Atlanta	Trust for Louisa L Bird	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Miss N J Stokes	5	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Jonas S Smith	7	$6,100.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$9,400.00	64.9%
Atlanta	Jasper Smith	1	$925.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$4,925.00	18.8%
Atlanta	Samuel Sewell	12	$6,000.00	$500.00	$0.00	$9,710.00	61.8%
Atlanta	Biramon Shumate	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$1,100.00	$3,290.00	60.8%
Atlanta	ex of Mason Shumate	1	$200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$200.00	100.0%
Atlanta	J F Trout Agent for A Trout	5	$1,900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,900.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Wm H Thurman	2	$900.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,300.00	27.3%
Atlanta	John J Thrasher	23	$16,800.00	$9,000.00	$0.00	$29,470.00	57.0%
Atlanta	F D Thurman	2	$1,200.00	$750.00	$3,250.00	$5,360.00	22.4%
Atlanta	Agent for Mrs. F A Thomaston	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100.0%
Atlanta	James L Terry	1	$900.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	$4,830.00	18.6%
Atlanta	Stephen Terry	1	$350.00	$4,000.00	$7,000.00	$23,865.00	1.5%
Atlanta	Wm Terry	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100.0%
Atlanta	William Thurman	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$5,810.00	34.4%
Atlanta	V H Taliaferro	4	$2,700.00	$0.00	$3,750.00	$8,525.00	31.7%
Atlanta	Joseph Tompson	23	$11,500.00	$0.00	$50,135.00	$77,580.00	14.8%

Atlanta	Wm R Venable	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	82.4%
Atlanta	G M Walker Trustee for Anna Robinson	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	100.0%
Atlanta	C H Wallace	2	$500.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$3,030.00	16.5%
Atlanta	J R Wallace & C H Wallace	1	$300.00	$300.00	$10,800.00	$36,975.00	0.8%
Atlanta	Agent for Mrs. E Austy	1	$50.00	$0.00	$0.00	$50.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Benjamin F Walker	1	$800.00	$1,400.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	32.0%
Atlanta	Robert K Wilson	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$420.00	95.2%
Atlanta	Joseph Winship	21	$13,600.00	$0.00	$8,750.00	$54,985.00	24.7%
Atlanta	Martha Williams	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100.0%
Atlanta	D D Walker Trustee for Mrs. L A Trambell	5	$3,500.00	$0.00	$600.00	$7,300.00	47.9%
Atlanta	John M Weaver	1	$700.00	$0.00	$3,700.00	$5,100.00	13.7%
Atlanta	Trustee for Mrs. E Paredis	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100.0%
Atlanta	S H Wiles & W G Wiles Trustee for Mary J Gilhort	10	$6,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$8,500.00	70.6%
Atlanta	John D Williams	1	$800.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$3,175.00	25.2%
Atlanta	A G Ware	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	$4,930.00	24.3%
Atlanta	Agent for J R Wright Trustee for Nancy L Wright	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Nancy Waddall	16	$9,600.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$13,600.00	70.6%
Atlanta	John C White	7	$4,400.00	$0.00	$6,700.00	$12,510.00	35.2%
Atlanta	E B Walker	4	$2,600.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	$4,460.00	58.3%
Atlanta	R J Wilson	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,240.00	80.6%
Atlanta	Trustee for Jane Wilson	2	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100.0%
Atlanta	William Watkins	3	$2,600.00	$600.00	$4,500.00	$8,200.00	31.7%
Atlanta	Elizbeth Wright	6	$2,600.00	$0.00	$700.00	$3,300.00	78.8%
Atlanta	Trustee for Mr. E M Webb	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100.0%
Atlanta	Jerediah Whitaker	7	$5,500.00	$6,000.00	$8,000.00	$26,700.00	20.6%
Atlanta	Isaac Winship	15	$6,400.00	$0.00	$5,400.00	$13,575.00	47.1%
Atlanta	Samuel Walker	17	$6,800.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$13,310.00	51.1%
Atlanta	A W Wooding	13	$8,500.00	$3,000.00	$1,000.00	$14,070.00	60.4%
Atlanta	Samuel Woods	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,100.00	96.8%

Atlanta	Hillman Williams	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$5,255.00	38.1%
Atlanta	C F Wood	12	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,515.00	79.8%
Atlanta	J E Williams	1	$600.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$6,320.00	9.5%
Atlanta	Alex M Wallace	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,520.00	47.6%
Atlanta	J G Westmoreland	8	$3,300.00	$200.00	$2,650.00	$8,350.00	39.5%
Atlanta	Wm Lows	23	$13,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$14,200.00	91.5%
Atlanta	Thomas W Wilkes	16	$7,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$20,350.00	34.4%
Atlanta	Benjamin C Yaney	9	$6,300.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$14,850.00	42.4%
Atlanta Defaulter	Bavister Bray	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$5,900.00	25.4%
Atlanta Defaulter	James M Clay	2	$2,050.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,550.00	45.1%
Atlanta Defaulter	J E Dubose	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,150.00	52.2%
Atlanta Defaulter	Wm C Furcron	1	$500.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,600.00	19.2%
Atlanta Defaulter	Willis W Lanier	1	$500.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	$2,250.00	22.2%
Atlanta Defaulter	John B Peck	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$8,100.00	16.0%
Atlanta Defaulter	Agent for Arabella Jones	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100.0%
Atlanta Defaulter	Mrs. Mary Walker	5	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.0%
Atlanta Defaulter	M L Wright Trust for Wife	4	$3,400.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$13,100.00	26.0%
Atlanta Defaulter	Trustee for Ann P Hill	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$3,000.00	46.7%
Black Hall	William Avery	1	$900.00	$2,400.00	$0.00	$5,200.00	17.3%
Black Hall	Meredith Brown	7	$3,700.00	$5,000.00	$1,700.00	$16,130.00	22.9%
Black Hall	Abner Connally	1	$1,000.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,925.00	51.9%
Black Hall	Elizbeth Connally	2	$1,500.00	$600.00	$0.00	$2,390.00	62.8%
Black Hall	Wm Connally	2	$700.00	$550.00	$0.00	$1,619.00	43.2%
Black Hall	Price Connally	1	$550.00	$450.00	$0.00	$1,455.00	37.8%
Black Hall	Margaret Connally	1	$1,000.00	$200.00	$0.00	$1,778.00	56.2%
Black Hall	James Campbell	3	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,200.00	7.7%
Black Hall	Columbus C Connally	1	$1,000.00	$700.00	$0.00	$1,795.00	55.7%
Black Hall	John M Connally	3	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,425.00	70.2%

Black Hall	Roda Carter	24	$13,900.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$16,350.00	85.0%
Black Hall	John M Dorsee	14	$9,200.00	$2,500.00	$1,500.00	$16,600.00	55.4%
Black Hall	James Davis	6	$3,800.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$8,900.00	42.7%
Black Hall	L H Griffith	6	$4,000.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$6,100.00	65.6%
Black Hall	Samuel K Hill	6	$2,050.00	$700.00	$0.00	$2,950.00	69.5%
Black Hall	Noah Hornsby	9	$3,600.00	$2,750.00	$0.00	$6,600.00	54.5%
Black Hall	James B -Lofton	10	$6,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$11,690.00	51.3%
Black Hall	Lewis L Ledbetter	3	$1,600.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,200.00	38.1%
Black Hall	Trustee for Mrs. J D Wells	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100.0%
Black Hall	Benjamin Little	3	$1,600.00	$4,750.00	$0.00	$7,900.00	20.3%
Black Hall	Henry T McDaniel	2	$2,000.00	$2,000.00	$2,000.00	$7,460.00	26.8%
Black Hall	Thomas J Perkerson	5	$2,900.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$11,710.00	24.8%
Black Hall	Allen J Poole	14	$8,000.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$12,600.00	63.5%
Black Hall	T M Poole	18	$9,000.00	$6,030.00	$0.00	$16,965.00	53.1%
Black Hall	Nany H Tomlinson	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,314.00	91.3%
Black Hall	Sarah R Tomlinson	1	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$980.00	91.8%
Black Hall	Leonard P Tomlinson	1	$750.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	93.8%
Black Hall	Alexander Ratterree	15	$6,500.00	$1,200.00	$1,600.00	$23,740.00	27.4%
Black Hall	James K Rossee	1	$1,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,785.00	26.4%
Black Hall	H A Tomlinson	3	$2,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,600.00	61.1%
Black Hall	E M Taliaferro	17	$8,000.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$11,250.00	71.1%
Black Hall	E M Pools	7	$4,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,560.00	61.0%
Black Hall	R Taliferro	30	$15,000.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$22,600.00	66.4%
Black Hall	T M Tomlinson & Co	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,820.00	17.7%
Black Hall	T M Tomlinson	1	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$900.00	100.0%
Black Hall	E M Tomlinson	2	$1,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,100.00	100.0%
Black Hall	D G Tomlinson	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100.0%
Stones	William Bryant	9	$4,400.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,155.00	54.0%
Stones	Henry Bankston	4	$2,600.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,200.00	50.0%
Stones	Jessee Cherler	6	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,125.00	42.1%
Stones	Timothy Chambles	8	$3,600.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,180.00	58.3%
Stones	Agent for Salina Pratt	5	$2,500.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	71.4%
Stones	Charles W Connally	5	$2,500.00	$1,100.00	$5,500.00	$10,700.00	23.4%
Stones	Thomas W Connally	10	$6,000.00	$6,000.00	$3,000.00	$15,800.00	38.0%

Stones	James N Defer	4	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,075.00	42.4%
Stones	James Donehoo	3	$2,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$9,450.00	26.5%
Stones	John J Fain	1	$550.00	$3,100.00	$0.00	$4,050.00	13.6%
Stones	Mrs. Elizbeth Fain	5	$3,100.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,200.00	59.6%
Stones	William Gilbert	33	$16,700.00	$8,396.00	$25.00	$26,836.00	62.2%
Stones	Wm A M Green	12	$6,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$9,500.00	63.2%
Stones	William A Green	16	$9,350.00	$12,000.00	$0.00	$23,750.00	39.4%
Stones	Clement Green	11	$5,100.00	$3,350.00	$0.00	$12,930.00	39.4%
Stones	John Holbrook	2	$1,900.00	$2,100.00	$0.00	$4,365.00	43.5%
Stones	Joel Herring	9	$3,700.00	$5,750.00	$750.00	$10,775.00	34.3%
Stones	Wm Holbrook	3	$1,300.00	$2,600.00	$0.00	$4,870.00	26.7%
Stones	Thomas Kinidy	13	$6,500.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$10,520.00	61.8%
Stones	James Kenedy	4	$2,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	50.0%
Stones	Thomas A Kenedy	2	$1,700.00	$2,200.00	$1,000.00	$6,155.00	27.6%
Stones	John Lee	3	$1,100.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,600.00	30.6%
Stones	Ezariah Mims	4	$1,600.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,400.00	47.1%
Stones	Andrew Makemson	5	$2,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$6,445.00	38.8%
Stones	James Oliver	20	$10,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$15,600.00	64.1%
Stones	Mrs. Avy Peacock	1	$800.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$2,375.00	33.7%
Stones	Thomas P Peacock	1	$900.00	$1,800.00	$2,500.00	$6,455.00	13.9%
Stones	Payton A Peacock	4	$1,600.00	$600.00	$1,500.00	$4,200.00	38.1%
Stones	Lewis N Peacock	2	$1,400.00	$600.00	$0.00	$2,730.00	51.3%
Stones	Jacob Piedwin	5	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,035.00	37.3%
Stones	Willis Roberts	1	$900.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$4,395.00	20.5%
Stones	Susan Russell	6	$3,100.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,955.00	62.6%
Stones	John M Smith	8	$3,300.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,575.00	38.5%
Stones	Wiley G Suttles	1	$800.00	$1,400.00	$0.00	$2,625.00	30.5%
Stones	Mecagey Suttles	8	$3,500.00	$1,750.00	$0.00	$5,700.00	61.4%
Stones	Augustus A Wilson	16	$8,000.00	$3,250.00	$0.00	$12,800.00	62.5%
Stones	John S Wilson	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,953.00	33.9%
Stones	Jessee M Weaver	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,055.00	94.8%
Stones	William A Wilson	10	$5,400.00	$6,300.00	$0.00	$14,300.00	37.8%
Stones	Mrs. Elizbeth Wilson	3	$2,200.00	$900.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	68.8%
Stones	William Weaver	5	$3,000.00	$1,500.00	$500.00	$5,425.00	55.3%

Stones	Francis M White	1	$1,000.00	$700.00	$0.00	$2,020.00	49.5%
Stones	Robert Yancy	1	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	64.3%
Cooks	James Coursey	4	$1,500.00	$2,650.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	30.0%
Cooks	Elijah N Donehoo	2	$1,000.00	$3,500.00	$600.00	$6,280.00	15.9%
Cooks	Martin Deforr	6	$3,200.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$9,540.00	33.5%
Cooks	Hiram H Embry	11	$4,700.00	$3,700.00	$400.00	$10,026.00	46.9%
Cooks	George Elliett	9	$5,125.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,655.00	59.2%
Cooks	Edward R Elliett	3	$1,400.00	$1,000.00	$2,000.00	$4,550.00	30.8%
Cooks	Pleasant Golding	4	$2,300.00	$250.00	$0.00	$2,900.00	79.3%
Cooks	Erwin Hudson	2	$0.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$3,660.00	0.0%
Cooks	Felise Hardman	16	$12,000.00	$7,000.00	$0.00	$24,505.00	49.0%
Cooks	Jeremiah H Huff	1	$800.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,050.00	39.0%
Cooks	Thomas Moore	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$300.00	$16,310.00	7.4%
Cooks	Trustee Mary L Mangum	2	$1,300.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	50.0%
Cooks	James L Mason	4	$3,000.00	$5,900.00	$400.00	$10,100.00	29.7%
Cooks	Trustee for Sarah Mason	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	100.0%
Cooks	Mathew Osburn	13	$6,500.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$12,400.00	52.4%
Cooks	Mary S Fielder	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,150.00	69.6%
Cooks	Joseph A Thrasher	4	$2,500.00	$700.00	$0.00	$3,680.00	67.9%
Cooks	Jessee Wood	1	$450.00	$4,000.00	$875.00	$6,312.00	7.1%
Buckhead	Laughlin Arandell	4	$2,000.00	$1,300.00	$0.00	$3,640.00	54.9%
Buckhead	Executor of J M Balinger	14	$8,400.00	$2,450.00	$0.00	$11,525.00	72.9%
Buckhead	Elias Campbell	1	$850.00	$4,600.00	$0.00	$6,685.00	12.7%
Buckhead	Agent for Jane Campbell	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100.0%
Buckhead	Wesly G Collier	4	$2,200.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,105.00	43.1%
Buckhead	Wm E Cannon	4	$1,600.00	$800.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	61.5%
Buckhead	Silas H Donatson	1	$700.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$2,775.00	25.2%
Buckhead	Mrs. E Ellington Trust for D B Ellington	7	$6,300.00	$1,700.00	$0.00	$8,712.00	72.3%
Buckhead	Wm H C Evans	6	$4,200.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$5,835.00	72.0%
Buckhead	John Liberty Evans	13	$6,450.00	$2,900.00	$3,100.00	$15,450.00	41.7%

Buckhead	Trustee for Orphy Stowers	2	$1,000.00	$1,800.00	$0.00	$3,460.00	28.9%
Buckhead	Solomon Goodwin	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	76.9%
Buckhead	Clark Howell	20.5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	$40,350.00	24.8%
Buckhead	Phillip Honn	6	$2,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,895.00	51.1%
Buckhead	James Head	4	$1,600.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,225.00	37.9%
Buckhead	Henry Irbey	5	$3,000.00	$6,500.00	$0.00	$14,805.00	20.3%
Buckhead	Brick Jeff	4	$1,000.00	$1,700.00	$0.00	$4,430.00	22.6%
Buckhead	John Jones	1	$1,000.00	$600.00	$0.00	$1,850.00	54.1%
Buckhead	Solomon K Pase	13	$6,100.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$12,680.00	48.1%
Buckhead	Edwin Plaster	19	$5,000.00	$3,000.30	$0.00	$9,000.00	55.6%
Buckhead	Agent for Rutteyan Brockman	1	$450.00	$800.80	$0.00	$2,400.00	18.8%
Buckhead	Sarah Plaster	7	$3,000.00	$500.00	$0.00	$4,010.00	74.8%
Buckhead	John W Plaster	6	$2,600.00	$1,335.00	$0.00	$4,300.00	60.5%
Buckhead	P H Randall	9	$5,000.00	$10,200.00	$0.00	$15,900.00	31.4%
Buckhead	James W Smith	5	$2,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$5,450.00	36.7%
Buckhead	James H Smith	6	$2,700.00	$1,400.00	$0.00	$6,385.00	42.3%
Buckhead	James F Trimble	2	$1,000.00	$1,800.00	$0.00	$4,030.00	24.8%
Buckhead	Charity Wilburn	1	$1,000.00	$800.00	$0.00	$2,120.00	47.2%
Oak Groves	Solomon Hopkins	7	$2,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,120.00	83.3%
Oak Groves	James M Ishom	4	$2,000.00	$1,300.00	$0.00	$4,019.00	49.8%
Oak Groves	Isiah Kirksey	19	$8,200.00	$1,600.00	$0.00	$10,250.00	80.0%
Oak Groves	John L Wing	5	$2,900.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$6,557.00	44.2%
Oak Groves Defaulter	Wm P Orme	1	$700.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$15,750.00	4.4%
Oak Groves Defaulter	Henry Wilson	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100.0%
Oak Groves Defaulter	Maria Wilson	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	100.0%

Oak Groves Defaulter	A G Grier	5	$3,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	76.0%
Unknown	Unknown Taxable	11	$7,300.00	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Table 2.4.1 Value of Enslavers' Taxable Property in Fulton County

Number of enslavers	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved population	Aggregate value of enslavers' land	Aggregate value of enslavers' city/town property	Aggregate value of enslavers' whole property
421	2,234.5	$1,258,240.00	$438,647.26	$946,825.00	$3,715,542.00

Table 2.4.2 Percentage of Enslaved People's Value to Enslavers' Taxable Property

Value of enslaved people to aggregate value of enslavers' land	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' city/town property	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' whole property
287%	133%	34%

Table 2.4.3 Value of Enslavers' Taxable Property Compared to All Taxable Residents

Taxable residents	Number of taxable residents	Aggregate value of enslaved population	Total aggregate land value	Total aggregate value of city/town property	Total aggregate value of whole property
Enslavers	396	$1,258,240.00	$438,647.26	$946,825.00	$3,715,542.00
Non-Enslavers (White)	1,149	$0.00	$509,813.74	$695,695.00	$1,697071.00
Free Blacks	17	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
All	1,562	$1,258,240.00	$948,461.00	$1,622,520.00	$5,412,613.00

Table 2.4.4 Enslavers vs. Non-Enslavers: Taxable Population and Property

Group	% Taxable population	% Taxable property
Enslavers	25%	69%
Non-Enslavers	75%	31%

Table 2.4.5 Percentage of Enslaved People's Value to Value of All Residents' Whole Property

Percentage
23%

Table 2.4.6 County's Infrastructure, Operation Costs, and Public Services Paid from Taxation on Enslaved People

Percentage
23%

1858

Table 2.5 Names of Enslavers and Value of Enslaved Persons, Compared to Value of Enslavers' Overall Wealth.

District	Enslaver	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved	Aggregate land value (in fulton)	Aggregate city/town property value	Aggregate value of whole property	Percent value of enslaved people to whole property
Atlanta	Ephram R. Aldridge	2	$1,800.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	$5,400.00	33%
Atlanta	William F. Adair	1	$400.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$1,612.00	25%
Atlanta	Thomas M. Action	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,112.00	47%
Atlanta	Sarah Armstrong	1	$700.00	$500.00	$500.00	$1,300.00	54%
Atlanta	Alexander J.F.	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	$10,900.00	18%
Atlanta	W.C. Furcron/W.S. Admson	1	$400.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,012.00	20%
Atlanta	G. W . Adair	4	$3,600.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$9,125.00	39%
Atlanta	N. L. Angier	1	$500.00	$0.00	$11,000.00	$14,325.00	3%
Atlanta	S. Antony	7	$2,350.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$7,370.00	32%
Atlanta	R.J. Moses	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100%
Atlanta	L.J. Moses	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100%
Atlanta	Boiling Baker	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$10,450.00	48%
Atlanta	T. B. Boggus	4	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,145.00	57%
Atlanta	James Buckalor	6	$3,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,540.00	90%
Atlanta	Stephen T. Biggers	3	$2,200.00	$0.00	$3,400.00	$6,865.00	32%
Atlanta	W. B. Roberson	6	$3,500.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$6,500.00	54%
Atlanta	James Brasley	6	$4,600.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$10,122.00	45%
Atlanta	W.L. Bentan	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,012.00	40%
Atlanta	Elisha Buice Senior	2	$800.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,550.00	31%
Atlanta	Maxwell A. Berry	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	$10,500.00	11%
Atlanta	William L. Baldwin	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,572.00	9%
Atlanta	George J. Booth	2	$1,200.00	$260.00	$1,600.00	$4,610.00	26%
Atlanta	Zion Bridwell Jr.	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,900.00	21%
Atlanta	A.H. Butt	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,480.00	60%
Atlanta	Joseph Barnes	6	$2,600.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$9,105.00	29%
Atlanta	Rutha Ann Brockman	1	$400.00	$800.00	$0.00	$2,340.00	17%

Atlanta	J.B. Badger	11	$5,800.00	$5,000.00	$6,000.00	$17,550.00	33%
Atlanta	J.T. Banks	2	$2,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,600.00	46%
Atlanta	R.W. Bullard	13	$8,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,400.00	96%
Atlanta	Marcus A. Bell	1	$400.00	$0.00	$400.00	$16,426.00	2%
Atlanta	H. Braummler	1	$10.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$1,510.00	1%
Atlanta	William Barnes	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,900.00	$6,170.00	32%
Atlanta	Hamar Blackman	8	$5,070.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,866.00	86%
Atlanta	Elizabeth Blackman	1	$750.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,750.00	43%
Atlanta	J. E. Barths	1	$600.00	$0.00	$7,125.00	$8,495.00	7%
Atlanta	Elizabeth Brudishaw	1	$300.00	$600.00	$0.00	$900.00	33%
Atlanta	James Blackman	8	$5,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$17,376.00	32%
Atlanta	Pirino Brown	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$7,875.00	23%
Atlanta	Thomas G. W. Carmichael	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100%
Atlanta	Alex/Harrit Corry	1	$600.00	$0.00	$2,700.00	$3,220.00	19%
Atlanta	C.H. Chandler	6	$3,350.00	$0.00	$3,150.00	$20,500.00	16%
Atlanta	Meredith Collier	13	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,990.00	44%
Atlanta	George W. Collier	5	$2,500.00	$4,500.00	$4,000.00	$17,485.00	14%
Atlanta	W.M.H. Craft	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	67%
Atlanta	James Craft	1	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	100%
Atlanta	George Studrown	4	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,550.00	90%
Atlanta	John Collier	10	$5,500.00	$3,000.00	$14,300.00	$31,800.00	17%
Atlanta	James Caldwell	1	$750.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$2,550.00	29%
Atlanta	James M. Collin	3	$2,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,205.00	40%
Atlanta	Robert M. Clark	3	$1,325.00	$3,700.00	$2,500.00	$3,925.00	34%
Atlanta	James Craig	1	$600.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	$2,208.00	27%
Atlanta	C. P. Cassin	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,820.00	44%
Atlanta	W.L. Calhoon	4	$1,375.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,675.00	82%
Atlanta	H.W. Cozart	11	$7,000.00	$1,800.00	$7,000.00	$38,690.00	18%
Atlanta	O.N. Calhoun	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$950.00	53%
Atlanta	James M. Calhoun	13	$5,200.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$19,400.00	27%
Atlanta	Mary E. Calhoun	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Atlanta	J.R. Crew	2	$500.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$8,800.00	6%
Atlanta	Wife of J.R. Crew	1	$250.00	$0.00	$0.00	$250.00	100%
Atlanta	Missourio Cobb	5	$3,500.00	$0.00	$800.00	$3,300.00	106%

Atlanta	T.L. Cooper	4	$3,650.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$11,570.00	32%
Atlanta	R.J. Cowart	5	$4,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$11,350.00	35%
Atlanta	H.L. Courier	1	$700.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$4,878.00	14%
Atlanta	Warn A. Chisolm	4	$3,600.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$10,100.00	36%
Atlanta	A.J. Collier	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,175.00	85%
Atlanta	J.N. Craven	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$6,400.00	$9,998.00	15%
Atlanta	J.H. Dennis	1	$200.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$4,100.00	5%
Atlanta	James Loyd	17	$11,100.00	$2,000.00	$20,000.00	$36,600.00	30%
Atlanta	A.C. Pulliam	9	$6,300.00	$2,000.00	$2,500.00	$10,800.00	58%
Atlanta	J.W. Dawsing	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Atlanta	Lemuel Diane	8	$4,200.00	$0.00	$8,500.00	$15,620.00	27%
Atlanta	Thos S. Denny	11	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Mr.Ezzard/Cynthia Green	15	$6,500.00	$5,100.00	$0.00	$12,700.00	51%
Atlanta	Samuel F. A. Mann	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100%
Atlanta	W. M. Terry	3	$1,500.00	$800.00	$0.00	$2,300.00	65%
Atlanta	Mrs. Jackin Dudley	4	$2,950.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$4,450.00	66%
Atlanta	Thos M. Darnall	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$15,800.00	8%
Atlanta	David Demenst	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$8,000.00	63%
Atlanta	G.T. Dodd	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,100.00	19%
Atlanta	John M. Dorsey	8	$5,200.00	$3,000.00	$2,000.00	$11,615.00	45%
Atlanta	T.M. Diane	4	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,725.00	92%
Atlanta	William Ezzard	7	$4,900.00	$3,950.00	$10,000.00	$22,670.00	22%
Atlanta	John Farrar	7	$3,200.00	$1,200.00	$2,200.00	$8,500.00	38%
Atlanta	Vines Fish	22	$10,000.00	$1,400.00	$0.00	$19,400.00	52%
Atlanta	John J. Ford	4	$3,000.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	$10,650.00	28%
Atlanta	W.G. Forsythe	1	$900.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$3,690.00	24%
Atlanta	A. Fleming	1	$200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,320.00	15%
Atlanta	A. B. Forsythe	4	$2,700.00	$350.00	$6,000.00	$10,032.00	27%
Atlanta	Thomas Fawler	5	$3,000.00	$800.00	$3,500.00	$10,259.00	29%
Atlanta	Jesse C. Farrar	1	$500.00	$200.00	$0.00	$4,585.00	11%
Atlanta	W.H. Furguson	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,360.00	48%
Atlanta	Elizabeth Furguson	1	$50.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,550.00	3%
Atlanta	A.E. Johnson	8	$5,300.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$22,300.00	24%
Atlanta	John H. Gruff	7	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,400.00	74%

Atlanta	John J. Groves	12	$8,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,440.00	80%
Atlanta	Lacy H. Griffith	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$4,360.00	69%
Atlanta	J.F. Grubb	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$5,900.00	20%
Atlanta	John F Mims	20	$12,000.00	$0.00	$3,300.00	$37,700.00	32%
Atlanta	H.H. Glen	9	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	91%
Atlanta	John Glen	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$8,415.00	24%
Atlanta	Lemuel P. Grant	2	$1,500.00	$17,000.00	$42,000.00	$71,850.00	2%
Atlanta	Lucius Gartrell	42	$25,300.00	$4,100.00	$12,700.00	$54,190.00	47%
Atlanta	N.E. Gardner	10	$7,400.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$20,525.00	36%
Atlanta	Martha Gardan	3	$2,600.00	$300.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	47%
Atlanta	L.J. Glenn	10	$6,000.00	$360.00	$4,500.00	$12,060.00	50%
Atlanta	James Hill	2	$500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,400.00	15%
Atlanta	Augus F. Hurt	2	$600.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$3,700.00	16%
Atlanta	Harvil H. Wm	7	$2,500.00	$0.00	$300.00	$2,995.00	83%
Atlanta	A.J. Studman	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Atlanta	WM M Hill	3	$2,500.00	$0.00	$4,200.00	$9,620.00	26%
Atlanta	S.G. Howel	6	$5,500.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$15,039.00	37%
Atlanta	W.P. Hardin	2	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,050.00	59%
Atlanta	Peter Hugie	1	$300.00	$1,000.00	$1,000.00	$3,250.00	9%
Atlanta	C. W. Hunnicut	7	$3,500.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$9,833.00	36%
Atlanta	H.C. Holcom	1	$800.00	$1,000.00	$7,000.00	$14,000.00	6%
Atlanta	Theophilus Harris	7	$4,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,815.00	93%
Atlanta	G. B. Haygood	4	$3,500.00	$1,454.00	$8,800.00	$20,604.00	17%
Atlanta	P. Hayden	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$700.00	100%
Atlanta	John M. Halbrook	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,950.00	92%
Atlanta	William Herring	1	$150.00	$0.00	$12,800.00	$13,720.00	1%
Atlanta	A. W. Hammond	13	$5,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,230.00	53%
Atlanta	John S. Shely	13	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Mrs. W. T. Wilson	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Atlanta	G. W. Humpkins	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,350.00	89%
Atlanta	M.E. Higger	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	$3,755.00	48%
Atlanta	Anna L. Houston	1	$200.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$2,500.00	8%
Atlanta	F. M. Hazgood	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,620.00	99%
Atlanta	Rubin Haznes	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$4,500.00	67%

Atlanta	George G. Hull	8	$5,300.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	$14,525.00	36%
Atlanta	T. G. Heely	1	$800.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	$9,410.00	9%
Atlanta	E. W. Holland	11	$10,000.00	$1,500.00	$20,000.00	$39,000.00	26%
Atlanta	A. Howard	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$200.00	$2,580.00	58%
Atlanta	J. A. Hayden	4	$3,000.00	$2,000.00	$28,000.00	$39,250.00	8%
Atlanta	Mrs. L. Underwood	4	$2,200.00	$0.00	$5,750.00	$11,950.00	18%
Atlanta	R. Cone	1	$50.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$30,550.00	0%
Atlanta	D. H. Hayl	1	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	90%
Atlanta	G.S. Hayl	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Atlanta	T. C. Howard	19	$7,700.00	$1,200.00	$700.00	$31,400.00	25%
Atlanta	Susan P. Howard	5	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,450.00	49%
Atlanta	C. C. Howel	3	$1,800.00	$150.00	$0.00	$2,150.00	84%
Atlanta	Mrs. Winniford Rogers	5	$2,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,100.00	100%
Atlanta	Miss Elizabeth L. Jones	3	$3,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,300.00	100%
Atlanta	J.G. Johnson	1	$700.00	$1,560.00	$200.00	$5,100.00	14%
Atlanta	Gabrail M. Johnson	3	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$17,624.00	14%
Atlanta	B.O. Jones	4	$2,500.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$16,450.00	15%
Atlanta	Thos M. Jones	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Edger Jones	5	$2,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,700.00	100%
Atlanta	Richard Johnson	14	$6,400.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	$15,480.00	41%
Atlanta	Brother S. Jackson	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	14%
Atlanta	Jane H Tiner	4	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta	C. W. Key	4	$250.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,815.00	7%
Atlanta	John Kile	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$4,000.00	25%
Atlanta	Wm C. Laeshe	5	$2,600.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$7,100.00	37%
Atlanta	S. Chilorus	3	$1,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,100.00	81%
Atlanta	Er Lawshe	2	$1,750.00	$250.00	$3,000.00	$7,700.00	23%
Atlanta	Mary J. Peck	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100%
Atlanta	Mary A. Daugerty	1	$550.00	$220.00	$20,000.00	$21,634.00	3%
Atlanta	Mary N. Lasseter	3	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	100%
Atlanta	James M. Lee	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100%
Atlanta	Hilrey Lasster	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,100.00	$2,100.00	48%
Atlanta	Patrick Lynch	1	$40.00	$2,000.00	$2,150.00	$4,950.00	1%

Atlanta	Owen Lynch	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,995.00	7%
Atlanta	John H Lavijoz	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	$5,325.00	38%
Atlanta	E. S. Luckie	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,900.00	16%
Atlanta	A. F. Luckie	28	$10,000.00	$3,000.00	$1,600.00	$15,815.00	63%
Atlanta	F. A. Lipham	15	$4,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,625.00	59%
Atlanta	Joeseph P. Logan	8	$600.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$11,950.00	5%
Atlanta	T. F. Lawe	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,840.00	47%
Atlanta	M. F. Lyon	1	$800.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$5,400.00	15%
Atlanta	Mrs. M. R. Rase	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100%
Atlanta	S. B. Love	2	$1,100.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$4,040.00	27%
Atlanta	Joeseph H. Mead	7	$4,000.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	$6,950.00	58%
Atlanta	James McDonald	1	$1,000.00	$2,400.00	$6,000.00	$15,490.00	6%
Atlanta	F. M. Mills	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,940.00	62%
Atlanta	H. W. McDaniel	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$800.00	$3,145.00	41%
Atlanta	Issac G. Mitchell	3	$1,600.00	$0.00	$2,400.00	$6,580.00	24%
Atlanta	J. G. McLin	1	$600.00	$0.00	$1,750.00	$2,400.00	25%
Atlanta	W. C. Moore	1	$800.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	$3,272.00	24%
Atlanta	John M. Myers	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,810.00	99%
Atlanta	Wm Markham	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$45,700.00	$53,240.00	4%
Atlanta	T. J. Malone	6	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,025.00	99%
Atlanta	H. Mulenbronk	1	$500.00	$0.00	$15,850.00	$19,525.00	3%
Atlanta	Capel McLandon	10	$6,000.00	$1,500.00	$4,200.00	$16,000.00	38%
Atlanta	J.I. Miller	4	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Wm H. Mell	36	$17,550.00	$0.00	$0.00	$18,585.00	94%
Atlanta	Micheal Myers	1	$500.00	$0.00	$1,450.00	$1,965.00	25%
Atlanta	John W. Medlock	10	$3,000.00	$4,500.00	$3,200.00	$14,600.00	21%
Atlanta	N. A. McLendon	3	$2,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,100.00	74%
Atlanta	J. G. W. Mills	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$7,026.00	21%
Atlanta	M. Mills	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,000.00	50%
Atlanta	J.O. McDaniel	9	$4,500.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$7,800.00	58%
Atlanta	P. E. McDaniel	4	$3,400.00	$0.00	$3,800.00	$7,500.00	45%
Atlanta	A.W. Mitchell	10	$6,000.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	$14,900.00	40%
Atlanta	J.W. Manning	5	$2,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,690.00	82%
Atlanta	T.W. McAuthur	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,900.00	$3,600.00	28%

Atlanta	G. T. McLaughlin	1	$800.00	$0.00	$800.00	$2,112.00	38%
Atlanta	James M. Morris	3	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	62%
Atlanta	Isabella Nash	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$5,225.00	57%
Atlanta	C.T. ,John, & R.J. Nash	7	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	100%
Atlanta	J.S. McMichael	3	$2,500.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	$11,500.00	22%
Atlanta	B. C. Overby	35	$17,500.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$25,650.00	68%
Atlanta	James T. Peacock	5	$2,900.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$4,000.00	73%
Atlanta	F.P. Perdue	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,370.00	42%
Atlanta	Avy Pecock	1	$800.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,015.00	40%
Atlanta	Thomas J. Peacock	3	$2,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,945.00	34%
Atlanta	Chapman Powell	5	$2,500.00	$2,000.00	$15,000.00	$22,028.00	11%
Atlanta	Mases Mathis	1	$200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$200.00	100%
Atlanta	Urania Pope	4	$3,400.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	45%
Atlanta	Peters & Hardon	2	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$900.00	78%
Atlanta	Edwin Prust	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$600.00	$2,400.00	63%
Atlanta	Mr. C. Parker	1	$250.00	$0.00	$3,150.00	$4,120.00	6%
Atlanta	A.M. Parker	8	$5,000.00	$0.00	$5,200.00	$10,200.00	49%
Atlanta	Wm A Pucket	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	77%
Atlanta	Peters Wm G.	21	$9,500.00	$9,750.00	$2,500.00	$12,500.00	76%
Atlanta	James A. Pate	3	$2,900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,900.00	74%
Atlanta	T. S. Powell	5	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,900.00	90%
Atlanta	Mrs. Mary R. Bass	5	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,800.00	92%
Atlanta	C.M. Payne	1	$750.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$2,750.00	27%
Atlanta	L. A.Payne	6	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	100%
Atlanta	Richard Peters	6	$3,800.00	$12,000.00	$31,000.00	$53,200.00	7%
Atlanta	Z. A. Rice	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$9,500.00	$12,500.00	12%
Atlanta	Mahala Reaman	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,000.00	50%
Atlanta	E.E. Rawson	5	$4,000.00	$1,500.00	$6,500.00	$13,600.00	29%
Atlanta	Sitney Root	3	$2,700.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	$4,925.00	55%
Atlanta	W.W. Roark	1	$100.00	$0.00	$7,800.00	$24,425.00	0%
Atlanta	Robinson Wm C	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	100%
Atlanta	John Ryan	1	$600.00	$0.00	$600.00	$1,220.00	49%
Atlanta	Jabey R Rhodes	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Larua D Ripley	1	$600.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$2,600.00	23%

Atlanta	Leaver Richardson	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$4,300.00	42%
Atlanta	W.H. Roach	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Atlanta	John Rhea	1	$450.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	$6,950.00	6%
Atlanta	W.S. Ragsdal	1	$900.00	$600.00	$300.00	$2,390.00	38%
Atlanta	J.L. Rogers	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,750.00	53%
Atlanta	Mrs E. C. Rogers	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100%
Atlanta	M. A. Beasley	1	$250.00	$0.00	$0.00	$900.00	28%
Atlanta	B.D. Shumate	4	$2,300.00	$0.00	$2,100.00	$4,635.00	50%
Atlanta	C.H. Spear	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Atlanta	Wm H. Sharp	6	$5,800.00	$50.00	$5,500.00	$25,076.00	23%
Atlanta	E.M. Seago	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	$21,239.00	7%
Atlanta	A.J. Brady	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$4,850.00	$6,250.00	19%
Atlanta	J.H. Smith	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	George R. Frasier	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$600.00	100%
Atlanta	M.E. Wells	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$500.00	100%
Atlanta	Mrs. B.M. Smith	4	$1,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	100%
Atlanta	L.Winser Smith	6	$2,250.00	$0.00	$16,500.00	$19,260.00	12%
Atlanta	Augustus Shaw	1	$400.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$1,400.00	29%
Atlanta	A.H. Stokes	6	$3,900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,550.00	52%
Atlanta	Louisa L Bird	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Miss N.J. Stokes	5	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	100%
Atlanta	John Silvey	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$800.00	$2,100.00	48%
Atlanta	A.W. Stone	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$8,500.00	$13,000.00	9%
Atlanta	Trustee for wife (A.W. Stone)	5	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100%
Atlanta	J.S. Smith	7	$7,000.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$10,566.00	66%
Atlanta	A.K. Seago	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$4,320.00	46%
Atlanta	William Thurman	4	$1,700.00	$0.00	$2,400.00	$4,300.00	40%
Atlanta	Amelia Trout	5	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Dickerson H. Walker/ Lucinda A. Tramnull	5	$4,000.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$7,700.00	52%
Atlanta	Carolina C. Thomas	1	$200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$200.00	100%
Atlanta	Mrs. F. A. Thammson	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100%
Atlanta	A.J. Taylor	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100%
Atlanta	Joeseph Thompson	19	$10,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$66,140.00	15%

Atlanta	Wm H. Underwood	1	$200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$200.00	100%
Atlanta	W.R. Venable	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,870.00	75%
Atlanta	Sarah Venable	5	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Mrs. Martha Williams	1	$200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$200.00	100%
Atlanta	A.G Ware	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,700.00	$5,360.00	19%
Atlanta	John D. Williams	1	$900.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$3,540.00	25%
Atlanta	Joseph Winship	13	$7,900.00	$0.00	$16,800.00	$71,172.00	11%
Atlanta	Alex Spear	9	$6,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,185.00	86%
Atlanta	Jesse Wiggins	1	$875.00	$0.00	$250.00	$1,525.00	57%
Atlanta	Nancy Woodail	15	$11,400.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$15,410.00	74%
Atlanta	H.L. Wilson	1	$800.00	$0.00	$2,250.00	$3,050.00	26%
Atlanta	Mrs. Elizabetrh Wright	6	$2,600.00	$0.00	$700.00	$3,300.00	79%
Atlanta	Agliger Elizabeth Ansley	1	$50.00	$0.00	$0.00	$50.00	100%
Atlanta	Margaret E. Lane	6	$2,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,950.00	92%
Atlanta	A. M. Wallace	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,830.00	82%
Atlanta	Mary Singleton	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	83%
Atlanta	B.F. Walker	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,450.00	33%
Atlanta	Samuel Woods	5	$2,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,825.00	99%
Atlanta	C.H. Wallace	2	$700.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$4,000.00	18%
Atlanta	Lar McGar	1	$800.00	$0.00	$500.00	$1,355.00	59%
Atlanta	R.J. Wilson	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	77%
Atlanta	Jane Wilson	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$400.00	100%
Atlanta	A.W. Woodin	10	$6,900.00	$2,700.00	$800.00	$12,860.00	54%
Atlanta	C.F. Wood	14	$7,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,520.00	100%
Atlanta	Issac Winship	13	$6,500.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$15,100.00	43%
Atlanta	William Wadkins	5	$3,700.00	$800.00	$4,500.00	$10,050.00	37%
Atlanta	J.W. Wofford/Mrs. A.E. Foster	5	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100%
Atlanta	Hillman Williams	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$3,500.00	43%
Atlanta	Jerrad J. Whitaker	5	$3,300.00	$0.00	$14,000.00	$24,100.00	14%
Atlanta	Samuel Walker	17	$6,800.00	$6,325.00	$0.00	$14,650.00	46%
Atlanta	John C. White	9	$4,500.00	$2,000.00	$1,800.00	$13,900.00	32%
Atlanta	John M. Weaver	1	$700.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$5,700.00	12%

Atlanta	J. E. Williams	1	$700.00	$0.00	$3,300.00	$6,250.00	11%
Atlanta	H.M. Wiley	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100%
Atlanta	Boyd Milton	11	$5,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$13,500.00	37%
Atlanta	Wm B. Webb	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,450.00	87%
Atlanta	B.N. Wildford	2	$1,000.00	$500.00	$2,000.00	$3,800.00	26%
Atlanta	J.G. Westmoreland	8	$4,800.00	$200.00	$5,650.00	$13,350.00	36%
Atlanta	Wm Lawe	21	$13,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$14,600.00	92%
Atlanta	Marian Wilson	4	$2,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,400.00	100%
Atlanta	B.C. Yancy	9	$6,300.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$15,000.00	42%
Black Hall	J.F. Albert	1	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,965.00	18%
Black Hall	Ms. Ann P Hill	2	$800.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$2,365.00	34%
Black Hall	A.R. Alman	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,962.00	34%
Black Hall	Roda Carter	20	$12,000.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$13,300.00	90%
Black Hall	Meredeth Brown	7	$3,700.00	$0.00	$2,950.00	$14,995.00	25%
Black Hall	John M. Cannally	3	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,389.00	72%
Black Hall	C.C. Cannally	1	$1,000.00	$700.00	$0.00	$1,955.00	51%
Black Hall	Elizaqbeth Connally	2	$1,500.00	$600.00	$0.00	$2,540.00	59%
Black Hall	M.F. Connally	1	$1,000.00	$200.00	$0.00	$1,860.00	54%
Black Hall	Wm Connally	2	$700.00	$500.00	$0.00	$1,650.00	42%
Black Hall	Price Connally	1	$600.00	$1,150.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	40%
Black Hall	Elijah Humphries	7	$300.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$9,500.00	3%
Black Hall	S.K. Hill	6	$2,350.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,650.00	64%
Black Hall	Noah Hornsby	10	$4,000.00	$2,775.00	$0.00	$6,825.00	59%
Black Hall	James B. Lofton	10	$5,000.00	$3,200.00	$0.00	$9,435.00	53%
Black Hall	James Landrum	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,992.00	47%
Black Hall	Benjaman Little	4	$2,375.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$8,565.00	28%
Black Hall	H.B. Latimer	3	$2,400.00	$2,500.00	$9,900.00	$17,395.00	14%
Black Hall	C.W. Marchman	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,210.00	66%
Black Hall	Henry T McDaniel	5	$2,200.00	$4,000.00	$1,000.00	$7,882.00	28%
Black Hall	Thomas J. Perkerson	6	$3,000.00	$5,400.00	$0.00	$11,950.00	25%
Black Hall	A.J. Pool	15	$8,550.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	71%
Black Hall	T.M. Pool	15	$7,000.00	$7,000.00	$0.00	$15,265.00	46%
Black Hall	J.A. Robertson	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,125.00	71%
Black Hall	Alexander Ratterree	11	$3,500.00	$17,500.00	$1,400.00	$27,665.00	13%

Black Hall	Joseph Rivers	9	$3,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,850.00	51%
Black Hall	B.F. Rivers	4	$1,900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,900.00	66%
Black Hall	Henry Strickland	17	$9,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,465.00	87%
Black Hall	Wm H. Thurman	2	$1,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,350.00	30%
Black Hall	T.D. Thurman	2	$1,300.00	$700.00	$3,800.00	$6,010.00	22%
Black Hall	Edward M. Taliafero	16	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,950.00	73%
Black Hall	Margurith& Sarah Pool	7	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,410.00	42%
Black Hall	Richard Taliafero	30	$15,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$22,550.00	67%
Stones	Henry W. Avery	2	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	80%
Stones	Henry Bankston	4	$2,200.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,032.00	44%
Stones	William Bryant	9	$4,800.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,500.00	56%
Stones	Salina Pratt	8	$3,500.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$4,530.00	77%
Stones	Jessee Childress	6	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,864.00	38%
Stones	Chambless Timonthy	8	$4,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	62%
Stones	C.W. Cannally	5	$2,700.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	$11,400.00	24%
Stones	Thomas W. Cannally	9	$5,000.00	$6,000.00	$5,600.00	$17,500.00	29%
Stones	James N. Defoor	5	$4,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,700.00	52%
Stones	James Danchoo	3	$2,500.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$8,950.00	28%
Stones	Jesse Dollar	2	$800.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	25%
Stones	John J. Fain	1	$500.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$3,823.00	13%
Stones	Elizabeth Fain	5	$3,800.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,925.00	64%
Stones	S.H. Gilbert/W.G. Wiley/Mary J. Gilbert	10	$5,000.00	$2,025.00	$0.00	$7,025.00	71%
Stones	A.M. Green Wm	12	$6,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$11,350.00	53%
Stones	William Gilbert	36	$18,550.00	$7,747.00	$60.00	$29,357.00	63%
Stones	William A. Green	17	$9,300.00	$12,000.00	$0.00	$22,625.00	41%
Stones	C.C. Green	11	$5,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$12,750.00	39%
Stones	Joel Herring	10	$4,600.00	$5,950.00	$800.00	$11,470.00	40%
Stones	John B. Holbrooks	2	$1,800.00	$2,175.00	$0.00	$4,445.00	40%
Stones	William Holbrooks	3	$1,300.00	$2,600.00	$0.00	$4,820.00	27%
Stones	Thomas Kennedy	14	$7,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$11,018.00	64%
Stones	James Kennedy	4	$2,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,999.00	50%
Stones	Thos A. Kennedy	2	$2,000.00	$2,000.00	$1,000.00	$6,270.00	32%
Stones	John Lee	1	$200.00	$640.00	$0.00	$1,240.00	16%

Stones	A.Z. Mems	5	$1,800.00	$1,900.00	$0.00	$4,100.00	44%
Stones	Alex McWilliams	5	$2,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,200.00	40%
Stones	Oliver James	21	$7,350.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,660.00	58%
Stones	Lewis P. Peacock	2	$1,400.00	$875.00	$0.00	$2,705.00	52%
Stones	Patin Peacock	4	$1,500.00	$600.00	$1,000.00	$3,670.00	41%
Stones	Danul Haward Trustee for Elizabeth Pratt	4	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	100%
Stones	William Roberts	1	$900.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$3,944.00	23%
Stones	Susannah Russel	6	$300.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,887.00	6%
Stones	Jacob Rodwine	6	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,070.00	37%
Stones	John M. Smith	8	$3,400.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$7,975.00	43%
Stones	Wiley Suttles	1	$800.00	$1,400.00	$0.00	$2,898.00	28%
Stones	Micajah Sutles	7	$3,000.00	$2,200.00	$0.00	$6,550.00	46%
Stones	Samuel Snell	11	$6,700.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$9,275.00	72%
Stones	F.M. White	1	$1,100.00	$700.00	$0.00	$2,090.00	53%
Stones	Augustus A. Wilson	16	$8,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$13,800.00	58%
Stones	Wm A Wilson	11	$7,300.00	$6,500.00	$0.00	$16,800.00	43%
Stones	Elizabeth Wilson	3	$2,200.00	$500.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	79%
Stones	William Weaver	5	$3,000.00	$1,200.00	$400.00	$4,990.00	60%
Stones	Jesse M Weaver	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,375.00	95%
Cooks	B. F. Bomar	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	75%
Cooks	James A Courssy	4	$1,500.00	$2,625.00	$0.00	$4,930.00	30%
Cooks	Defoor Martin	5	$3,300.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$9,950.00	33%
Cooks	Elijah M. Donehoo	2	$1,200.00	$4,000.00	$700.00	$7,065.00	17%
Cooks	Noal Dalvugray	1	$50.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$2,250.00	2%
Cooks	Dean Hennry	15	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$16,400.00	61%
Cooks	H.H. Embry	12	$4,800.00	$3,721.00	$0.00	$9,656.00	50%
Cooks	Edmon R. Elliot	3	$1,500.00	$1,800.00	$1,600.00	$5,170.00	29%
Cooks	George Elliot	8	$4,500.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,140.00	55%
Cooks	S. L. Tilder	3	$2,500.00	$500.00	$0.00	$4,050.00	62%
Cooks	P.A. Golden	4	$2,500.00	$300.00	$0.00	$3,475.00	72%
Cooks	M.N. Grimis	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100%
Cooks	J.C. Huff	2	$1,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,275.00	44%
Cooks	Felix Hadman	14	$11,550.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$26,686.00	43%
Cooks	J.C. Franklin	7	$3,950.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,274.00	75%

Cooks	Mary L. Mangum	2	$1,200.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,275.00	37%
Cooks	Thomas Moore	2	$1,250.00	$12,000.00	$300.00	$16,965.00	7%
Cooks	James L. Mayson	4	$3,000.00	$7,450.00	$0.00	$11,115.00	27%
Cooks	Sarah Mayson	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	88%
Cooks	Mathew Ozburn	13	$6,500.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$12,400.00	52%
Cooks	Mary L. Fuldon	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,050.00	67%
Cooks	C.A. Petts	4	$2,800.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$7,175.00	39%
Cooks	G.W.D. Cook	9	$7,600.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$10,200.00	75%
Cooks	Jeremiah Sulivan	1	$375.00	$800.00	$1,040.00	$4,470.00	8%
Cooks	John J. Thrasker	22	$15,000.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$31,000.00	48%
Cooks	Ephraim	7	$4,900.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$7,400.00	66%
Cooks	J.A. Thrasher	2	$1,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	46%
Cooks	Augustus H. Webb	1	$800.00	$1,300.00	$0.00	$2,750.00	29%
Cooks	Jesse Wood	6	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,530.00	85%
Buckhead	Laughlin A. J. Armstrong	4	$2,000.00	$1,400.00	$0.00	$3,718.00	54%
Buckhead	John H Bellinger	16	$8,550.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$11,675.00	73%
Buckhead	William Canon	5	$1,700.00	$700.00	$0.00	$2,600.00	65%
Buckhead	Elias Campbell	1	$850.00	$4,400.00	$0.00	$6,685.00	13%
Buckhead	Jane Campbell	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$800.00	100%
Buckhead	Wesly G. Callier	4	$2,200.00	$2,510.00	$0.00	$5,583.00	39%
Buckhead	Silas H. Donaldson	1	$700.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,135.00	22%
Buckhead	D.B. Ellington	7	$6,000.00	$1,800.00	$0.00	$8,752.00	69%
Buckhead	Nancy E. Evins	6	$4,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,337.00	97%
Buckhead	John Leberty Evins	13	$6,700.00	$3,740.00	$3,000.00	$16,537.00	41%
Buckhead	Orpha Stawers	2	$900.00	$1,600.00	$0.00	$2,995.00	30%
Buckhead	Soloman Goodwin	2	$1,700.00	$300.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	77%
Buckhead	Philip House	6	$2,500.00	$200.00	$0.00	$5,053.00	49%
Buckhead	Clark Howell	21	$10,000.00	$11,500.00	$6,500.00	$41,850.00	24%
Buckhead	James Head	4	$1,600.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,375.00	37%
Buckhead	Henry Irby	5	$2,900.00	$6,000.00	$50.00	$13,507.00	21%
Buckhead	Birch Jett	4	$1,510.00	$3,360.00	$0.00	$5,265.00	29%
Buckhead	W.P. Johnson	4	$3,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$6,330.00	55%
Buckhead	John Janes	1	$1,000.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,950.00	51%
Buckhead	S.K. Paice	9	$4,500.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$12,650.00	36%

Buckhead	Nanncy C. Plaster	6	$2,800.00	$1,335.00	$0.00	$4,535.00	62%
Buckhead	Sarah Plaster	7	$3,200.00	$500.00	$0.00	$3,760.00	85%
Buckhead	Edwin Plaster	19	$6,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$10,400.00	58%
Buckhead	P.H. Randall	17	$7,500.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$20,300.00	37%
Buckhead	James M. Smith	8	$4,100.00	$1,600.00	$0.00	$6,834.00	60%
Buckhead	James W. Smith	5	$2,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$5,450.00	37%
Buckhead	James F. Trimble	5	$2,250.00	$1,800.00	$0.00	$4,900.00	46%
Oak Grove	Solomon Hopkins	7	$2,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,732.00	84%
Oak Grove	James Isam	4	$2,000.00	$1,700.00	$0.00	$4,461.00	45%
Oak Grove	Isarah Kerksey	18	$7,225.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$9,125.00	79%
Oak Grove	John L. Wing	5	$3,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,800.00	44%
Atlanta Defaulters	James M. Clay	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	63%
Atlanta Defaulters	Miss M.E. Cooper	1	$400.00	$0.00	$500.00	$900.00	44%
Atlanta Defaulters	Julia W. Frasier	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$2,800.00	43%
Atlanta Defaulters	W.L. High	4	$2,500.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$5,000.00	50%
Atlanta Defaulters	P.J. Immell	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$6,000.00	25%
Atlanta Defaulters	A. W. Janes	4	$2,500.00	$0.00	$6,700.00	$10,800.00	23%
Atlanta Defaulters	W. J. Kelley	5	$2,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	100%
Atlanta Defaulters	H. Lasiter	2	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,400.00	100%
Atlanta Defaulters	G.T. McDaniel	1	$800.00	$0.00	$900.00	$2,200.00	36%
Atlanta Defaulters	John B. Peck	1	$800.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	$8,195.00	10%
Atlanta Defaulters	A. Wm Shelby	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta Defaulters	N.H.S.P. Tomlinson	3	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,910.00	94%
Atlanta Defaulters	Julia A. Thrash	5	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100%
Atlanta Defaulters	Mrs. May Wright	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$8,000.00	13%

Atlanta Defaulters	C.A. Whaley	1	$900.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$5,400.00	17%
Buckhead Defaulter	Joseph Mattocks	3	$1,250.00	$500.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	63%
Unknown	Stephen Terry	1	$400.00	$4,500.00	$9,000.00	$21,448.00	2%
Unknown	Stephen Terry(Guardian for Wm Terry)	3	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100%
Unknown	V.H. Taliaferro	5	$2,600.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$7,850.00	33%

Table 2.5.1 Value of Enslavers' Taxable Property in Fulton County

Number of enslavers	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved population	Aggregate value of enslavers' land	Aggregate value of enslavers' city/town property	Aggregate value of enslavers' whole property
459	2,381	$1,320,880.00	$475,857.00	$970,275.00	$3,657,670.00

Table 2.5.2 Percentage of Enslaved People to Enslavers' Taxable Property

Value of enslaved people to aggregate value of enslavers' land	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' city/town property	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' whole property
287%	133%	34%

Table 2.5.3 Value of Enslavers' Taxable Property Compared to All Taxable Residents

Taxable Residents	Number of Taxable Residents	Aggregate Value of Enslaved Population	Total Aggregate Land Value	Total Aggregate Value of City/Town Property	Total Aggregate Value of Whole Property
Enslavers	459	$1,320,880.00	$475,857.00	$970,275.00	$3,657,670.00
Non-Enslavers (White)	1,221	$0.00	$489,366.00	$756,835.00	$2,092,245.00
Free Blacks	10	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
All	1,690	$0.00	$965,223.00	$1,727,110.00	$5,749,915.00

Table 2.5.4 Enslavers vs. Non-Enslavers: Taxable Population and Property

Group	% Taxable Population	% Taxable Property
Enslavers	27%	64%
Non-Enslavers	73%	36%

Table 2.5.5 Percentage of Enslaved People's Value to Value of All Residents' Whole Property

Percentage
23%

Table 2.5.6 County's Infrastructure, Operation Costs, and Public Services Paid from Taxation on Enslaved People

Percentage
23%

1860

Table 2.6 Names of Enslavers and Enslaved Counts, According to U.S. Slave Schedule, 1860

District	Enslaver	Number of enslaved persons
Atlanta Ward 1	James Isham	3
Atlanta Ward 1	J. W. Dorsey	36
Atlanta Ward 1	Mary Wright	5
Atlanta Ward 1	Martha S. Hamilton	5
Atlanta Ward 1	W. Grambling	1
Atlanta Ward 1	E. A. Autry	2
Atlanta Ward 1	P J Smel	3
Atlanta Ward 1	S. T. Downs	4
Atlanta Ward 1	Nancy Waddail	16
Atlanta Ward 1	J. A. Puckett	2
Atlanta Ward 1	S. H. Davis	11
Atlanta Ward 1	T. E. Bartlett	2
Atlanta Ward 1	C. P. Cassin	3
Atlanta Ward 1	John G. Pounds	3
Atlanta Ward 1	Lourang Turner	4
Atlanta Ward 1	Samuel T. Turner	1
Atlanta Ward 1	J. G. Mitchell	6
Atlanta Ward 1	A. M. Parker	2
Atlanta Ward 1	W. C. Parker	3
Atlanta Ward 1	W. S. Robertson	1
Atlanta Ward 1	J. J. Thrasher	24
Atlanta Ward 1	H. Braumiller	1
Atlanta Ward 1	M. Myers	2
Atlanta Ward 1	C. Vallintine	1
Atlanta Ward 1	M. M. Horton	2
Atlanta Ward 1	A. K. Seggo	5
Atlanta Ward 1	John Robson	5
Atlanta Ward 1	E S Alston	7
Atlanta Ward 1	A C Lelehentads	1
Atlanta Ward 1	John J Ford	4

Atlanta Ward 1	George Stewart	1
Atlanta Ward 1	Sarah Armstrong	1
Atlanta Ward 1	John Collier	9
Atlanta Ward 1	Vines Fish	13
Atlanta Ward 1	J G Trammell	6
Atlanta Ward 1	A J Brady	2
Atlanta Ward 1	E A Asham	1
Atlanta Ward 1	A J Ware	3
Atlanta Ward 1	James Caldwell	1
Atlanta Ward 1	R Peters	5
Atlanta Ward 1	B. O. Jones	4
Atlanta Ward 1	H. W. Cozardt	13
Atlanta Ward 1	S. A. Durham	1
Atlanta Ward 1	W. H. Gilbert	10
Atlanta Ward 1	James Beasley	5
Atlanta Ward 1	Jesse Weaver	2
Atlanta Ward 1	Felix Hardman	3
Atlanta Ward 1	W A Puckett	3
Atlanta Ward 1	Thomas G. Healey	5
Atlanta Ward 1	Judithell Haynes	4
Atlanta Ward 1	Thomas Scrutchins	8
Atlanta Ward 1	Clark & Grubb	18
Atlanta Ward 1	John S. Hambleton	8
Atlanta Ward 1	James Robinson	2
Atlanta Ward 1	John L. Cutting	3
Atlanta Ward 1	John T. Cunningham	3
Atlanta Ward 1	E. W. Holland	14
Atlanta Ward 1	Posey Maddox	4
Atlanta Ward 1	T. F. Foster	4
Atlanta Ward 1	S. H. Griffin	5
Atlanta Ward 1	H. H. Glenn	6
Atlanta Ward 1	James Kelly	5
Atlanta Ward 1	William Watkins	8
Atlanta Ward 1	G. W. Center	2

Atlanta Ward 1	J. D. Wells	2
Atlanta Ward 1	James Clark	8
Atlanta Ward 1	C. C. Howell	3
Atlanta Ward 1	John Ryan	1
Atlanta Ward 1	Peter Muligan	4
Atlanta Ward 1	Jo. F. Smith	7
Atlanta Ward 1	T. W. McArthur	3
Atlanta Ward 1	John H. Rice	3
Atlanta Ward 1	F. M. Richardson	5
Atlanta Ward 1	Wm. Chisolm	21
Atlanta Ward 1	H. W. McDaniel	2
Atlanta Ward 1	W. K. Bagbey	15
Atlanta Ward 1	W. H. Thrash	5
Atlanta Ward 1	James Goudey	6
Atlanta Ward 1	Thomas S. Reynolds	6
Atlanta Ward 1	James M. Morris	1
Atlanta Ward 1	Lewis Lawshee	6
Atlanta Ward 1	Robert Young	3
Atlanta Ward 1	David Demerest	5
Atlanta Ward 1	J. W. Henderson	2
Atlanta Ward 1	W. H. Mell	27
Atlanta Ward 1	E. A. Howard	4
Atlanta Ward 1	H. B. Latimer	5
Atlanta Ward 1	Thomas Dean	3
Atlanta Ward 1	M. C. Blanchard	11
Atlanta Ward 1	J. M. Calhoun (2nd Ward)	16
Atlanta Ward 1	P. E. McDaniel	3
Atlanta Ward 1	James Craig	4
Atlanta Ward 1	A. A. Gaulding	9
Atlanta Ward 1	A. W. Mitchell	7
Atlanta Ward 1	J. D. Simms	13
Atlanta Ward 1	G. T. Dodd	2
Atlanta Ward 1	Philip Dodd	1
Atlanta Ward 1	Salina Fetts	5

Atlanta Ward 1	E. M. Seago	4
Atlanta Ward 1	Jeremiah Trout	7
Atlanta Ward 1	W. M. Butt	6
Atlanta Ward 1	S. W. Smith	4
Atlanta Ward 1	Ira O. McDaniel	7
Atlanta Ward 1	Sidney Root	4
Atlanta Ward 1	W. C. Bufington	2
Atlanta Ward 1	S. B. Love	5
Atlanta Ward 2	J. M. Calhoun (2nd Ward)	16
Atlanta Ward 2	R. M. Clark	2
Atlanta Ward 2	A. L. Houston	1
Atlanta Ward 2	P. L. J. May	1
Atlanta Ward 2	Rice & Watkins	11
Atlanta Ward 2	T. S. Oglesby	2
Atlanta Ward 2	G. A. Pilgrim	1
Atlanta Ward 2	W. J. Kilbey	2
Atlanta Ward 2	J. W. Price	6
Atlanta Ward 2	M. J. Johnson	11
Atlanta Ward 2	W. F. Jack	1
Atlanta Ward 2	J. F. Jackson	2
Atlanta Ward 2	James R. Miller	6
Atlanta Ward 2	B. C. Yancey	11
Atlanta Ward 2	J. R. Crew	4
Atlanta Ward 2	F. M. Edleman	1
Atlanta Ward 2	William M. Crumby	3
Atlanta Ward 2	William Soloman	4
Atlanta Ward 2	P. E. McDaniel	9
Atlanta Ward 2	James Craig	7
Atlanta Ward 2	A. A. Gaulding	13
Atlanta Ward 2	A. W. Mitchell	2
Atlanta Ward 2	J. D. Simms	1
Atlanta Ward 2	G. T. Dodd	5
Atlanta Ward 2	Philip Dodd	4
Atlanta Ward 2	Salina Pettis	7

Atlanta Ward 2	E. M. Seago	6
Atlanta Ward 2	Jeremiah Trout	4
Atlanta Ward 2	W. M. Butt	7
Atlanta Ward 2	S. W. Smith	4
Atlanta Ward 2	Ira O. McDaniel	2
Atlanta Ward 2	Sidney Root	5
Atlanta Ward 2	W. C. Bufington	2
Atlanta Ward 2	S. B. Love	5
Atlanta Ward 2	Thomas F. Lowe	5
Atlanta Ward 2	R. J. Massey	5
Atlanta Ward 2	Sophia Massey	7
Atlanta Ward 2	E. P. Watkins	2
Atlanta Ward 2	Louisa L. Bird	2
Atlanta Ward 2	John T. Clark	3
Atlanta Ward 2	A. B. Seals	4
Atlanta Ward 2	W. B. Hardman	1
Atlanta Ward 2	W. L. Calhoun	3
Atlanta Ward 2	L. H. Salmond	8
Atlanta Ward 2	John A. Reynolds	1
Atlanta Ward 3	H. C. Holcomb	1
Atlanta Ward 3	G. B. Haygood	4
Atlanta Ward 3	C. F. Wood	15
Atlanta Ward 3	Owen Lynch	1
Atlanta Ward 3	A. F. Freeman	2
Atlanta Ward 3	John Favor	10
Atlanta Ward 3	T. L. Thomas	1
Atlanta Ward 3	Jane Wilson	1
Atlanta Ward 3	John H. Steel	1
Atlanta Ward 3	W. B. Webb	3
Atlanta Ward 3	Ann. E. Wilson	2
Atlanta Ward 3	J. M. Clark	4
Atlanta Ward 3	E. H. Williams	2
Atlanta Ward 3	John F. Faith	1
Atlanta Ward 3	F. Thurman	3

Atlanta Ward 4	H. H. Pettis	9
Atlanta Ward 4	Martha C. Badger	2
Atlanta Ward 4	Thopilous Harris	6
Atlanta Ward 4	Henry Letson	1
Atlanta Ward 4	Richard Johnson	11
Atlanta Ward 4	W. P. Harden	8
Atlanta Ward 4	Boling Baker	5
Atlanta Ward 4	J. R. D. Osburn	1
Atlanta Ward 4	William Gordon	1
Atlanta Ward 4	W. P. Inman	1
Atlanta Ward 4	W. A. Lansdale	1
Atlanta Ward 4	T. C. H. Wilson	1
Atlanta Ward 4	John Kile	2
Atlanta Ward 4	T. H. Dozier	2
Atlanta Ward 4	T. B. Boggens	3
Atlanta Ward 4	C. A. Whaley	7
Atlanta Ward 4	L. J. Glen	14
Atlanta Ward 4	E. E. Rawson	8
Atlanta Ward 4	John Edleman	1
Atlanta Ward 4	R. J. Coward	6
Atlanta Ward 4	William Landers	4
Atlanta Ward 4	Jane Stokes	12
Atlanta Ward 4	Stephen T. Biggers	4
Atlanta Ward 4	Anna Peek	3
Atlanta Ward 4	William Hill	3
Atlanta Ward 4	David Young	3
Atlanta Ward 4	R. R. Rogers	5
Atlanta Ward 4	William Barnes	5
Atlanta Ward 4	H. W. Brown	8
Atlanta Ward 4	Jane Tyner	2
Atlanta Ward 4	C. W. Johnson	2
Atlanta Ward 4	W. H. Harvell	1
Atlanta Ward 4	Sam Wood (Agt. for Corpt. Children)	4
Atlanta Ward 4	J. H. Mead	8

Atlanta Ward 4	W. C. Moore	1
Atlanta Ward 4	James Peacock	1
Atlanta Ward 4	J. M. Pittman	10
Atlanta Ward 4	Elizabeth Parker	1
Atlanta Ward 4	Sarah E. Parker	1
Atlanta Ward 4	James B. Parker	1
Atlanta Ward 4	C. H. Elzea	5
Atlanta Ward 4	V. A. Gascal	12
Atlanta Ward 4	Joshua Gilbert	4
Atlanta Ward 4	W. C. Moore	5
Atlanta Ward 4	F. M. Berry	2
Atlanta Ward 4	Sanders Perkins	1
Atlanta Ward 4	Mary L. Brown	4
Atlanta Ward 4	Patrick Lynch	3
Atlanta Ward 4	Joseph Barnes	6
Atlanta Ward 4	W. A. Lewis	2
Atlanta Ward 4	T. M. Jones	6
Atlanta Ward 4	N. C. Daniel	2
Atlanta Ward 4	James McMillian	1
Atlanta Ward 4	J. R. D. Mass	3
Atlanta Ward 4	Amanda Lynn	27
Atlanta Ward 4	W. H. M. McMillian	7
Atlanta Ward 4	T. A. Thomas	1
Atlanta Ward 4	W. H. Dabney	1
Atlanta Ward 4	J. R. Mayson	4
Atlanta Ward 4	Sarah Carlisle	2
Atlanta Ward 4	Marcus A. Bell	1
Atlanta Ward 4	G. S. A. Alexander	3
Atlanta Ward 4	W. T. Wilson	3
Atlanta Ward 4	A. M. Walace	6
Atlanta Ward 4	T. J. Simmsin (In trust for Wife)	3
Atlanta Ward 4	J. M. Wiley	1
Atlanta Ward 4	D. N. Pellman	1
Atlanta Ward 4	William McConnell	3

Atlanta Ward 4	G. W. Croft	1
Atlanta Ward 4	W. B. Beasley	1
Atlanta Ward 4	Alexander Shaw	1
Atlanta Ward 4	H. Muhlenbrink	4
Atlanta Ward 4	E. E. Erwin	1
Atlanta Ward 4	M. E. Dawson	4
Atlanta Ward 4	P. A. Hughes	1
Atlanta Ward 4	W. S. High	7
Atlanta Ward 4	J. T. Woodberry	1
Atlanta Ward 4	W. G. Fishback	2
Atlanta Ward 4	Jacque Dudley	2
Atlanta Ward 4	Jesse C. Fawor	1
Atlanta Ward 4	T. U. Wilks	26
Atlanta Ward 4	Bryant Morell	14
Atlanta Ward 4	W. J. Houston	2
Atlanta Ward 4	Thomas Clower	1
Atlanta Ward 4	Z. A. Rice	3
Atlanta Ward 4	Martha Alexander	13
Atlanta Ward 4	E. A. Gordon	1
Atlanta Ward 4	T. F. Grebb	1
Atlanta Ward 4	R. E. Oslin	1
Atlanta Ward 4	D. D. Hall	5
Atlanta Ward 4	T. R. Ripley	7
Atlanta Ward 4	Sarah Towns	2
Atlanta Ward 4	A. W. Stone	6
Atlanta Ward 4	J. T. Whitaker	8
Atlanta Ward 4	Maggie Parker	1
Atlanta Ward 4	J. H. Lovejoy	3
Atlanta Ward 5	N Dabnigy	1
Atlanta Ward 5	Joseph Thompson	33
Atlanta Ward 5	W. H. Harvill	6
Atlanta Ward 5	Sarah Oslin	1
Atlanta Ward 5	J. H. Wright	4
Atlanta Ward 5	A. B. Forsyth	2

Atlanta Ward 5	R. W. Simms	1
Atlanta Ward 5	John G. Westmoreland (Trustee for Lowes Est.)	24
Atlanta Ward 5	A. Coway (Agent Lo Comery, Est.)	4
Atlanta Ward 5	J. A. Taylor	5
Atlanta Ward 5	Mrs. E. C. Starr	18
Atlanta Ward 5	A. Austell	6
Atlanta Ward 5	W. G. Forsythe	3
Atlanta Ward 5	A. W. Hamonds	18
Atlanta Ward 5	W. A. Shelby	3
Atlanta Ward 5	B. D. Shumate	4
Atlanta Ward 5	W. G. Tucker	4
Atlanta Ward 5	C. H. Chandler	10
Atlanta Ward 5	J. R. Rhodes	2
Atlanta Ward 5	E. B. Walker	5
Atlanta Ward 5	John H. Seals	4
Atlanta Ward 5	Bertran Zackery	2
Atlanta Ward 5	Daniel O'Keep	6
Atlanta Ward 5	John W. Jones	3
Atlanta Ward 5	N. L. Anger	2
Atlanta Ward 5	Joseph Winship	20
Atlanta Ward 5	W. G. Ballard	2
Atlanta Ward 5	G. G. Heell	15
Atlanta Ward 5	J. P. Logan	7
Atlanta Ward 5	Thomas Wooten	2
Atlanta Ward 5	Thomas Heary	3
Atlanta Ward 5	E. S. Luckey	1
Atlanta Ward 5	B. M. Smith	5
Atlanta Ward 5	William Ezzard	8
Atlanta Ward 5	J. A. Hayden	16
Atlanta Ward 5	E. B. Reynolds	4
Atlanta Ward 5	A. G. Grear	9
Atlanta Ward 5	J. F. Alexander	5
Atlanta Ward 5	M. A. Dohorty	1
Atlanta Ward 5	S. G. Howell	5

Atlanta Ward 5	Thomas S. Powell	6
Atlanta Ward 5	Mary B. Boss	6
Atlanta Ward 5	J. N. Simmons	9
Atlanta Ward 5	Hayden Coe	9
Atlanta Ward 5	Horace Witt	1
Atlanta Ward 5	Lunda Underwood	8
Atlanta Ward 5	M. R. Berry	2
Atlanta Ward 5	Mary J. Mimms	20
Atlanta Ward 5	C. McLendon	11
Atlanta Ward 5	Jesse Reano	2
Atlanta Ward 5	J. M. Born	15
Atlanta Ward 5	Thomas J. Echols	4
Atlanta Ward 5	R. C. Gaines	2
Atlanta Ward 5	S. B. Robson	6
Atlanta Ward 5	B. H. Overbey	42
Atlanta Ward 5	S. E. Bleckley	7
Atlanta Ward 5	John M. Wearour	1
Atlanta Ward 5	J. S. Wilson	3
Atlanta Ward 5	N. J. Hamond	2
Atlanta Ward 5	T. L. Cooper	7
Atlanta Ward 5	Lucius Gartrell	36
Atlanta Ward 5	W. R. Vinable	7
Atlanta Ward 5	C. W. Hunnicutt	7
Atlanta Ward 5	S. W. Jones	2
Atlanta Ward 5	John Glenn	3
Atlanta Ward 5	William Markham	1
Atlanta Ward 5	J. W. Duncan	2
Atlanta Ward 5	L. F. McMills	3
Atlanta Ward 5	Lemuel Dean	9
Atlanta Ward 5	Edwin Payne	1
Atlanta Ward 5	Josiah Mills	4
Atlanta Ward 5	John G. McLin	1
Atlanta Ward 5	J. A. Smith	2
Atlanta Ward 5	W. M. Allrich	1

Atlanta Ward 5	G. A. Martin	1
Atlanta Ward 5	A. C. Wyly	6
Atlanta Ward 5	Jesse S. Fears	2
Atlanta Ward 5	S. B. Hoyt	1
Atlanta Ward 5	Isaac Winship	14
Atlanta Ward 5	W. P. Orine	2
Atlanta Ward 5	G. W. Adair	8
Atlanta Ward 5	C. Powell	6
Atlanta Ward 5	J. B. Payne	7
Atlanta Ward 5	Er. Lawshe	3
Atlanta Ward 5	M. E. Lane	7
Atlanta Ward 5	J. W. Hewell	4
Atlanta Ward 5	Pereno Brown	3
Atlanta Ward 5	H. L. Carrier	3
Atlanta Ward 5	F. A. Lipham	24
Atlanta Ward 5	James McDonald	1
Atlanta Ward 5	William Gabbett	6
Atlanta Ward 5	W. L. Baldwin	5
Atlanta Ward 5	Amelia Luckey	23
Atlanta Ward 5	John Silvey	1
Atlanta Ward 5	W. L. Ragsdale	1
Atlanta Ward 5	John Neal	18
Atlanta Ward 5	G. W. Lee (Agt. for James Ethridge)	5
Atlanta Ward 5	Urania Pope	3
Atlanta Ward 5	T. H. Segur	5
Atlanta Ward 5	John G. Johnson	1
Atlanta Ward 5	James Blackmon	8
Atlanta Ward 5	N. E. Gardner	12
Atlanta Ward 5	T. C. Howard	28
Buckhead	John W. Medlock	10
Buckhead	Eli Medlock	1
Buckhead	Ruthy Brockmon	2
Buckhead	G. W. Collier	4
Buckhead	Meredeth Collier	11

Buckhead	A. J. Collier	2
Buckhead	J. M. Collier	3
Buckhead	Moses Wood	1
Buckhead	Samuel Walker	21
Buckhead	Elizabeth Plaster	20
Buckhead	James W. Smith	3
Buckhead	Nancy E. Evans	7
Buckhead	J. F. Trimble	5
Buckhead	John L. Evans	11
Buckhead	Lochlin Arnold	4
Buckhead	S. H. Donaldson	1
Buckhead	George Elliot	9
Buckhead	E. M. Donnahoo	3
Buckhead	J. C. Franklin	23
Buckhead	William T. Thorpe	4
Buckhead	J. T. Akridge	1
Buckhead	James L. Mason	5
Buckhead	Matthew Ozburn	18
Buckhead	Martha Bollinger	16
Buckhead	James Peary	6
Buckhead	Burch Jett	4
Buckhead	W. H. Edison	4
Buckhead	B. F. Bomar	1
Buckhead	Felix Sours	1
Buckhead	C. A. Pitts	5
Buckhead	George W. Cook	7
Buckhead	M. D. Gaar	11
Buckhead	J. M. Warren	1
Buckhead	S. L. Fielder	3
Buckhead	James Loyd	12
Buckhead	Edmond Elliot	3
Buckhead	William Fincher	3
Buckhead	Robert Campbell	1
Buckhead	William Cannon	8

Buckhead	N. C. Plaster	5
Buckhead	W. G. Collier	5
Buckhead	D. B. Ellington	7
Buckhead	S. K. Pace	13
Buckhead	W. P. Johnson	5
Buckhead	P. H. Randall	23
Buckhead	W. A. Callahan	1
Buckhead	Phillip House	6
Black Hall	A. H. Webb	2
Black Hall	F. F. Burge	5
Black Hall	James Ormond	18
Black Hall	William McNaught	6
Black Hall	William Herring	4
Black Hall	John C. White	9
Black Hall	Elijah Humphries	5
Black Hall	L. P. Grant	5
Black Hall	W. H. Thurman	3
Black Hall	Edward Harper	1
Black Hall	E. M. Taliaferro	52
Black Hall	E. M. Pool	7
Black Hall	Stephen Terry	6
Black Hall	M. S. Pool	14
Black Hall	Nancy & Sara Tomlinson (G. C. Looney - Guardian)	4
Black Hall	A. W. Wooding	11
Black Hall	B. G. Evans	6
Black Hall	S. K. Hill	6
Black Hall	Homer Blackmon	3
Black Hall	W. H. Hen	6
Black Hall	W. H. Henderson	3
Black Hall	R. E. Mangum	1
Black Hall	T. J. Waddail	1
Black Hall	Joseph Reeves	15
Black Hall	J. W. Humphries	1
Black Hall	F. M. White	1

Black Hall	Elizabeth Connally	9
Black Hall	A. Rataree	10
Black Hall	James Haynee	2
Black Hall	T. J. Perkinson	6
Stones	J. A. Robinson	1
Stones	William Avery	2
Stones	A. A. Wilson	17
Stones	Sarah G. Clark	2
Stones	C. C. Green	14
Stones	Cynthia Green	17
Stones	Wm. A. Green Est	18
Stones	Elizabeth Donnahoo	4
Stones	W. A. Wilson	16
Stones	William Weaver	4
Stones	Henry Bankston	5
Stones	William Gilbert	29
Stones	C. W. Connally	6
Stones	T. W. Connally	9
Stones	William Bryant	9
Stones	Joel Herring	12
Stones	James Ollivier	16
Stones	J. N. Depoor	4
Stones	G. W. Pain	27
Stones	Noah Hornsby	5
Stones	Timothy Chambliss	8
Stones	J. S. Wilson	4
Stones	Thomas A. Kennedy	1
Stones	Thomas Kennedy	11
Stones	James Kennedy	6
Stones	Thomas Peacock	4
Stones	Jessee Dollar	3
Stones	J. J. Fain	1
Stones	E. Fain	4
Stones	J. M. Smith	1

Stones	A. Malcomson	7
Stones	Jessee Childers	8
Stones	William Holbrook	3
Stones	J. Redwine	7
Stones	J. Olliver	16
Stones	A. Hatcock	3
Stones	E. Mimms	7
Stones	John L. Wing	6
Cooks	Mrs. W. L. Boger	6
Cooks	E. L. Jones	2
Cooks	James F. Walker	1
Cooks	Thomas Moore	3
Cooks	B. F. Maudlive	1
Cooks	Martin Defoor	9
Cooks	P. A. Goldin	4
Cooks	Lucy Owens	2
Cooks	Henry Dean	17
Cooks	G. W. Johnson	6
Cooks	E. G. Ponder	82
Cooks	Henry Irby	4
Cooks	H. H. Embry	13
Cooks	Elias Campbell	1
Cooks	James H. Smith	8
Cooks	C Howell	25
Total		496

Table 2.6.1 Enslaved Population by Township (Male/Female), Fulton County, 1860

Township	Total number of enslaved people	Total male	Total female
Ward 1	604	279	325
Ward 2	209	94	115
Ward 3	51	27	24
Ward 4	408	176	232
Ward 5	724	344	380
Buckhead	320	162	158
Black Hall	222	109	113
Stones	317	176	141
Cooks	184	111	73
Total	3,039	1,478	1561

Table 2.6.2 Enslavers by Township, Fulton County, 1860

Township	Number of enslavers
Ward 1	106
Ward 2	44
Ward 3	15
Ward 4	96
Ward 5	104
Buckhead	47
Black Hall	30
Stones	38
Cooks	16
Total	496

1862

Table 2.7 Names of Enslavers and Value of Enslaved Persons, Compared to Value of Enslavers' Overall Wealth.

District	Enslaver	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved persons	Aggregate land value (in Fulton)	Aggregate city/town property value	Aggregate value of whole property	Percent value of enslaved people to whole property
Atlanta	G. W. Adair	13	$23,400.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$47,500.00	49.26%
Atlanta	A. G. Grier (Agent)	10	$10,000.00	$400.00	$0.00	$10,700.00	93.46%
Atlanta	E. M. Perl (Executor)	13	$13,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$58,600.00	22.18%
Atlanta	A. Austell	12	$18,000.00	$2,000.00	$76,500.00	$95,600.00	18.83%
Atlanta	Ineligible	10	$11,900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$34,330.00	34.66%
Atlanta	Ineligible	4	$4,000.00	$0.00	$6,875.00	$24,075.00	16.61%
Atlanta	Ineligible	6	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,800.00	88.24%
Atlanta	Ineligible	7	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$14,800.00	67.57%
Atlanta	Ineligible	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$600.00	$1,200.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Ineligible	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Ineligible	1	$1,800.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$5,300.00	33.96%
Atlanta	Ineligible	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,235.00	18.21%
Atlanta	Ineligible	12	$14,500.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$19,670.00	73.72%
Atlanta	Ineligible	1	$1,600.00	$0.00	$28,000.00	$49,600.00	3.23%
Atlanta	Ineligible	3	$3,300.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$12,100.00	27.27%
Atlanta	Ineligible	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$14,400.00	20.83%
Atlanta	Ineligible	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Ineligible	4	$6,300.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$13,990.00	45.03%
Atlanta	Ineligible	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$5,800.00	34.48%
Atlanta	Ineligible	3	$3,750.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$44,950.00	8.34%
Atlanta	M. C. Branchard	13	$11,600.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$15,725.00	73.77%
Atlanta	A. J. Brady	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$34,000.00	$82,300.00	3.65%
Atlanta	N. L. Baldwin	7	$6,350.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$16,350.00	38.84%
Atlanta	J. P. H. Brown	1	$1,400.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	$4,700.00	29.79%
Atlanta	M. Baswitz	1	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,800.00	42.11%
Atlanta	N. J. Ballard	2	$2,600.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$18,100.00	14.36%
Atlanta	H. W. Brown	8	$9,500.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$20,600.00	46.12%
Atlanta	Mrs. L. V. Brown (Agent)	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Ella L. Moore (Agent)	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	62.50%

Atlanta	F. D. Rogers (Agent)	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Mrs. R. A. Brockman	1	$1,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,900.00	30.61%
Atlanta	N. K. Bogley	5	$6,000.00	$4,500.00	$0.00	$12,690.00	47.28%
Atlanta	T. R. Bell	12	$12,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$16,180.00	74.17%
Atlanta	J. W. Bridwell	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$5,300.00	$6,755.00	17.76%
Atlanta	H. Browning (Agent)	2	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$900.00	100.00%
Atlanta	R. Austin (Agent)	1	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Dr. T. H. Bomer (Agent)	1	$800.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$5,000.00	16.00%
Atlanta	S. E. Foster (Agent)	2	$2,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Wife of S. E. Foster (Agent)	2	$2,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	100.00%
Atlanta	W. J. Brantley	6	$7,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$26,250.00	26.67%
Atlanta	Elizabeth Blackman	6	$4,000.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$6,400.00	62.50%
Atlanta	L. L. Berring (Gaurdian)	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	9.09%
Atlanta	N. B. Robinson (Agent)	6	$7,500.00	$3,000.00	$5,000.00	$15,500.00	48.39%
Atlanta	James Beasley	6	$6,200.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$13,865.00	44.72%
Atlanta	A. J. Beckham	9	$7,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,175.00	97.56%
Atlanta	H. W. Booth	2	$1,000.00	$510.00	$3,000.00	$6,110.00	16.37%
Atlanta	H. Brawmulller (Trustee for Wife)	1	$1,700.00	$0.00	$4,300.00	$6,000.00	28.33%
Atlanta	William Elkins (Agent)	5	$5,000.00	$400.00	$0.00	$11,600.00	43.10%
Atlanta	Mr. J. Bennett (Agent)	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	J. M. Bom	10	$10,000.00	$15,000.00	$6,000.00	$34,840.00	28.70%
Atlanta	G. A. Binkhart	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$8,400.00	14.29%
Atlanta	William Bacon	11	$19,000.00	$12,000.00	$5,000.00	$45,550.00	41.71%
Atlanta	G. Bersinger	4	$4,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$31,000.00	12.90%
Atlanta	Bell & Darmot	1	$3,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$63,300.00	5.21%
Atlanta	Elizabeth Bradshaw	1	$800.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$4,800.00	16.67%
Atlanta	J. M. Ball	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	27.27%
Atlanta	Marcus A. Bell	2	$3,600.00	$14,860.00	$60,000.00	$87,720.00	4.10%
Atlanta	S. T. Biggers	3	$2,500.00	$500.00	$600.00	$8,700.00	28.74%
Atlanta	S. T. Biggers (Trust for Wife & Son)	2	$2,750.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,050.00	90.16%
Atlanta	Liddy Clarke	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$13,700.00	8.76%
Atlanta	H. J. Cooke	4	$3,600.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$17,200.00	20.93%
Atlanta	James Caldwell (Trust for Wife)	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$4,500.00	33.33%

Atlanta	S. Chamberlain (Agent for Wife)	1	$750.00	$0.00	$0.00	$750.00	100.00%
Atlanta	H. W. Cozart	14	$12,300.00	$6,540.00	$23,400.00	$66,345.00	18.54%
Atlanta	James R. Crew	1	$500.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	11.11%
Atlanta	H. L. Curry	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$5,950.00	$14,040.00	35.61%
Atlanta	A. G. Chilsom	4	$7,000.00	$0.00	$5,165.00	$15,365.00	45.56%
Atlanta	C. M. Caldwell	2	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$22,300.00	17.94%
Atlanta	A. J. Collier	2	$2,500.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$14,600.00	17.12%
Atlanta	Mrs. E. Cutler (Agent)	4	$3,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	82.22%
Atlanta	S. Cleveland	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,200.00	58.82%
Atlanta	G. W. Collier	6	$4,800.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$44,050.00	10.90%
Atlanta	J. M. Calhoun	14	$14,000.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$47,600.00	29.41%
Atlanta	W. L. Calhoun	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	J. M. Clarke (Agent for Wife)	5	$4,000.00	$1,000.00	$13,000.00	$18,000.00	22.22%
Atlanta	N. B. Cox	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$12,000.00	41.67%
Atlanta	James Craig(Agent for wife)	4	$3,000.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	$8,500.00	35.29%
Atlanta	J. N Craven	4	$5,000.00	$55,250.00	$13,000.00	$75,975.00	6.58%
Atlanta	W. L. Cleveland	3	$2,400.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$30,760.00	7.80%
Atlanta	R. J. Convent	4	$6,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$18,700.00	32.09%
Atlanta	N. L. Crawley	1	$500.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$2,300.00	21.74%
Atlanta	A. W. Crawley	10	$8,000.00	$0.00	$56,000.00	$82,300.00	9.72%
Atlanta	Mrs. L. L. Cooper	5	$9,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$16,269.00	58.39%
Atlanta	J. E. Crane	3	$4,500.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$10,925.00	41.19%
Atlanta	J. M. Clarke (Agent for Wife)	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	C. P. Camon	6	$3,600.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$22,000.00	16.36%
Atlanta	N. P. Chisolm	4	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$23,000.00	26.09%
Atlanta	Miss C. Chisolm	3	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	57.14%
Atlanta	Elton Chisolm	3	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	57.14%
Atlanta	Penny Chisolm	4	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	R. A. Chisolm	6	$6,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$18,000.00	33.33%
Atlanta	M. L. Cahone	3	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$15,130.00	26.44%
Atlanta	R. L. Crawley	5	$9,500.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$27,800.00	34.17%
Atlanta	Mores Cole	1	$1,400.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$22,300.00	6.28%
Atlanta	Cole & Wiley	1	$1,800.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$6,050.00	29.75%
Atlanta	C. H. Chandler	10	$12,300.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$36,270.00	33.91%
Atlanta	J. L. Cutting	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$19,000.00	26.32%
Atlanta	J. N. Craven	4	$5,000.00	$5,250.00	$13,000.00	$25,975.00	19.25%
Atlanta	R. M. Clarke	4	$8,000.00	$0.00	$33,500.00	$59,425.00	13.46%

Atlanta	Crawford, Fraser & Co	4	$5,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$14,550.00	34.36%
Atlanta	W. W. Clayton	3	$7,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$32,875.00	22.81%
Atlanta	Castle Rock Coal Co. (S. B. Robson Pvrt)	11	$12,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$14,500.00	82.76%
Atlanta	Richard Doyle	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,200.00	$6,050.00	24.79%
Atlanta	G. T. Dodd	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	$11,900.00	21.01%
Atlanta	P. Dodd	1	$1,850.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	$10,850.00	17.05%
Atlanta	M. A. Doane	1	$1,500.00	$2,500.00	$6,000.00	$11,500.00	13.04%
Atlanta	M. A. Doane (Trustee for Wife)	3	$2,500.00	$1,260.00	$0.00	$3,760.00	66.49%
Atlanta	J. H. Dozier	1	$1,000.00	$600.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	W. H. Derhing	1	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	100.00%
Atlanta	John Doyle	2	$1,100.00	$0.00	$8,500.00	$9,600.00	11.46%
Atlanta	W. H. Derhing	1	$600.00	$0.00	$75,000.00	$77,100.00	0.78%
Atlanta	William Davis	2	$3,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Mr. M. F. Davis	14	$11,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,160.00	97.04%
Atlanta	D. Domanest	4	$6,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$13,500.00	44.44%
Atlanta	Mrs. E. Davis	31	$24,000.00	$300.00	$0.00	$24,300.00	98.77%
Atlanta	Mrs. C. M. Dalinging	1	$200.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$1,600.00	12.50%
Atlanta	Hill Davis	5	$9,000.00	$15,000.00	$5,000.00	$29,440.00	30.57%
Atlanta	L. B. Davis	6	$4,800.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$15,300.00	31.37%
Atlanta	L. B. Davis (D. McDonald)	7	$5,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,600.00	100.00%
Atlanta	C. C. Davis	12	$15,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$28,600.00	52.45%
Atlanta	L. M. Demick	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$3,300.00	45.45%
Atlanta	R. Dumphrey	10	$8,000.00	$0.00	$32,500.00	$50,800.00	15.75%
Atlanta	M. E. Dorsey	3	$2,800.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$8,800.00	31.82%
Atlanta	J. C. Davis	8	$12,600.00	$0.00	$24,600.00	$57,400.00	21.95%
Atlanta	H. G. Dean	12	$12,000.00	$4,500.00	$0.00	$19,000.00	63.16%
Atlanta	J. M. Dorsey	43	$43,000.00	$27,200.00	$0.00	$82,300.00	52.25%
Atlanta	J. M. Dermot	3	$3,300.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$8,450.00	39.05%
Atlanta	Luckey Dudley	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$3,500.00	28.57%
Atlanta	J. W. Duncan	2	$2,400.00	$0.00	$41,500.00	$49,600.00	4.84%
Atlanta	L. Dean	8	$10,000.00	$3,500.00	$30,400.00	$50,050.00	19.98%
Atlanta	T. M. Dean	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$10,000.00	20.00%
Atlanta	Pat Devereaux	1	$1,800.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$3,950.00	
Atlanta	R. J. Erskin (W. G. Peters, Trustee)	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$9,500.00	$11,500.00	17.39%
Atlanta	M. Erskin	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,300.00	18.87%
Atlanta	P. S. Emight	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	80.00%

Atlanta	E. Thorton (Gaurdian)	7	$10,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$18,400.00	54.35%
Atlanta	Charles Ellier	2	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,700.00	51.95%
Atlanta	E. Eimtime	1	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,700.00	7.22%
Atlanta	E. Emma Einnes (Agent)	5	$7,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	M. Roddy (Agent)	5	$4,400.00	$0.00	$9,300.00	$19,450.00	22.62%
Atlanta	E. M. Eimtime	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$20,500.00	14.63%
Atlanta	E. M. Edwards	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$58,000.00	5.17%
Atlanta	John Elkin	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,050.00	73.17%
Atlanta	Mrs. E. C. Erwin	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$3,000.00	40.00%
Atlanta	W. L. Ezzard	8	$8,000.00	$15,950.00	$24,500.00	$51,150.00	15.64%
Atlanta	Ezzard & Collier	4	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	A. H. Green	1	$1,500.00	$4,450.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	C. Green	18	$15,000.00	$8,600.00	$0.00	$24,800.00	60.48%
Atlanta	Selina W. Fav	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$5,000.00	40.00%
Atlanta	D. Ferquinn	4	$4,950.00	$0.00	$900.00	$15,975.00	30.99%
Atlanta	W. A. Fuller	3	$3,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$20,900.00	17.70%
Atlanta	W. P. Fainbrough	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$16,100.00	12.42%
Atlanta	William Forsyth	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$5,600.00	35.71%
Atlanta	Vines Fish	13	$13,000.00	$1,500.00	$3,000.00	$30,100.00	43.19%
Atlanta	John Farner	10	$9,000.00	$5,000.00	$4,500.00	$22,550.00	39.91%
Atlanta	W. G. Fisback	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,275.00	94.12%
Atlanta	M. J. Fluinn	3	$3,500.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$5,600.00	62.50%
Atlanta	L. Fullilove	3	$3,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,100.00	50.70%
Atlanta	A. T. Freeman	3	$3,000.00	$5,000.00	$5,500.00	$14,600.00	20.55%
Atlanta	J. P. Flemming	3	$4,000.00	$12,800.00	$0.00	$19,300.00	20.73%
Atlanta	W. P. Famer (Admin)	45	$22,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$23,500.00	95.74%
Atlanta	T. Famer (Agent)	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$3,600.00	$10,200.00	24.51%
Atlanta	William G. Forsyth	4	$3,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$8,100.00	37.04%
Atlanta	A. B. Forsyth	5	$6,000.00	$0.00	$17,300.00	$23,900.00	25.10%
Atlanta	J. J. Ford	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$27,100.00	18.45%
Atlanta	Jesse Famer	4	$4,000.00	$420.00	$1,700.00	$5,700.00	70.18%
Atlanta	Jesse Famer (Agent for Wife)	3	$4,500.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$78,000.00	5.77%
Atlanta	David Fitzgerald	1	$1,800.00	$0.00	$20,550.00	$24,550.00	7.33%
Atlanta	W. H. Filly	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,920.00	41.67%
Atlanta	T. L. Fraser	1	$900.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$3,900.00	23.08%
Atlanta	H. Goode (Trust for Wife & Children)	6	$700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	8.75%
Atlanta	G. F. Glazenier	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$3,900.00	$6,150.00	24.39%
Atlanta	John Glen	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$9,050.00	33.15%

Atlanta	N. E. Gardner	16	$16,000.00	$0.00	$33,000.00	$98,200.00	16.29%
Atlanta	M. Gardner (Agent)	5	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$13,000.00	61.54%
Atlanta	Charles Goodman	5	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$40,700.00	14.74%
Atlanta	A. Gumtz	3	$4,500.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$22,525.00	19.98%
Atlanta	William Gabbott	7	$7,250.00	$2,500.00	$2,200.00	$12,450.00	58.23%
Atlanta	Lucius Gartrell	14	$27,000.00	$1,190.00	$35,000.00	$71,850.00	37.58%
Atlanta	George Gibbon	10	$8,500.00	$0.00	$49,000.00	$190,915.00	4.45%
Atlanta	L. P. Grant	4	$6,000.00	$51,000.00	$61,500.00	$199,250.00	3.01%
Atlanta	James L. Grant	6	$7,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	38.89%
Atlanta	J. Glen (Admin for J. Tomlinson)	24	$24,000.00	$0.00	$32,200.00	$79,800.00	30.08%
Atlanta	Jacob Gimst	3	$4,500.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$13,750.00	32.73%
Atlanta	P. Gublechemn	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,150.00	46.51%
Atlanta	V. A. Gaschal	6	$8,000.00	$4,500.00	$38,000.00	$81,025.00	9.87%
Atlanta	Rich Goldsmith	2	$3,500.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$17,600.00	19.89%
Atlanta	G. M. Gammage	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$500.00	$2,730.00	36.63%
Atlanta	W. H. Gilbert	1	$1,000.00	$15,000.00	$0.00	$24,550.00	4.07%
Atlanta	A. A. Gaulding	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	$11,200.00	26.79%
Atlanta	John P. Gallaway	10	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	L. H. Griffin	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100.00%
Atlanta	John Gatings	10	$10,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$34,000.00	29.41%
Atlanta	F. P. Grate	4	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	66.67%
Atlanta	George F. Mims	3	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	50.00%
Atlanta	F. P. Mims	2	$4,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	50.00%
Atlanta	U. S. W. Mims	4	$4,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$11,000.00	36.36%
Atlanta	L. L. Glenn	10	$10,000.00	$5,000.00	$10,000.00	$29,100.00	34.36%
Atlanta	B. Brown	2	$1,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,400.00	70.83%
Atlanta	L. A. Hamilton	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$14,000.00	$24,800.00	20.16%
Atlanta	Thomas G. Haley	1	$2,000.00	$2,500.00	$7,500.00	$12,850.00	15.56%
Atlanta	N. J. Hammond	10	$14,000.00	$0.00	$5,700.00	$53,450.00	26.19%
Atlanta	H. Overby	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$11,360.00	22.01%
Atlanta	W. J. Hancock	1	$500.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$5,500.00	9.09%
Atlanta	C. M. Houston	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$6,000.00	50.00%
Atlanta	J. M. Holbrook	6	$5,200.00	$2,800.00	$18,500.00	$24,280.00	21.42%
Atlanta	John Holbook	12	$9,000.00	$6,000.00	$15,000.00	$45,950.00	19.59%
Atlanta	G. B. Haygood (Est. of A. G. Haygood, Exr)	4	$6,400.00	$4,780.00	$20,000.00	$40,280.00	15.89%
Atlanta	R. T. Henderson (Agent for Shoe Manufacturing Co)	6	$12,000.00	$0.00	$50,000.00	$133,730.00	8.97%
Atlanta	W. S. Hubbard	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$7,335.00	$9,535.00	15.73%

Atlanta	A. W. Hubbard	2	$3,200.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	$6,000.00	53.33%
Atlanta	T. J. Hightower	2	$3,000.00	$3,500.00	$11,000.00	$14,000.00	21.43%
Atlanta	J. G. Hancock	6	$7,500.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$30,025.00	24.98%
Atlanta	W. M. Hudson	12	$15,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	W. L. Hetsell	6	$4,500.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	$11,860.00	37.94%
Atlanta	R. A. Howard	6	$8,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$18,500.00	45.41%
Atlanta	W. J. Hudson	1	$700.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$6,100.00	11.48%
Atlanta	H. N. Howden	28	$33,600.00	$0.00	$28,500.00	$75,750.00	44.36%
Atlanta	E. D. Harris	6	$7,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,135.00	71.04%
Atlanta	W. J. Hudson	7	$8,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,200.00	100.00%
Atlanta	William Harris	5	$4,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,650.00	96.77%
Atlanta	E. J. Hummint	2	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,700.00	48.65%
Atlanta	J. M. Humment (Agent)	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,830.00	30.52%
Atlanta	N. G. Hemden	1	$1,800.00	$0.00	$11,000.00	$12,800.00	14.06%
Atlanta	W. R. Hill	1	$1,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,300.00	56.52%
Atlanta	S. Hape	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,800.00	$15,850.00	18.93%
Atlanta	S. B. Hoyt	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	E W. Holland	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	E. W. Holland (Georgia Craft	8	$12,000.00	$0.00	$18,600.00	$41,450.00	28.95%
Atlanta	S. D. Honic	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,350.00	85.11%
Atlanta	J. K. Hagon	1	$600.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$4,115.00	14.58%
Atlanta	W. H. Hederson	4	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,300.00	95.24%
Atlanta	Peter Huge	3	$3,000.00	$2,600.00	$11,000.00	$20,300.00	14.78%
Atlanta	Estate of Jimmel	4	$4,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$22,000.00	18.18%
Atlanta	W. F. Harris	1	$200.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,400.00	5.88%
Atlanta	F. Harris	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100.00%
Atlanta	R. B. Harrison	14	$14,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$23,500.00	59.57%
Atlanta	M. A. Hilson	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$7,500.00	20.00%
Atlanta	P. Hayden	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$600.00	$1,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	T. A. Harris	28	$45,400.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$62,770.00	72.33%
Atlanta	T. J. Hill	4	$7,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$33,500.00	20.90%
Atlanta	W. F. Herring	12	$12,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$14,500.00	82.76%
Atlanta	William Hoving	2	$4,500.00	$0.00	$55,000.00	$70,500.00	6.38%
Atlanta	J. W. Hinton	4	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$14,700.00	27.21%
Atlanta	D. D. Hall	4	$5,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$26,000.00	19.23%
Atlanta	N. L. Hye	5	$5,000.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$37,800.00	13.23%
Atlanta	N. L. Hye (Trust for Wife)	3	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	87.50%
Atlanta	J. T. Hall	2	$4,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	40.00%

Atlanta	W. P. Hardin	13	$11,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$23,500.00	46.81%
Atlanta	J. C. Howard	2	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$15,500.00	22.58%
Atlanta	Man C. Hughes	30	$25,000.00	$0.00	$300.00	$25,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	James Hoge	7	$8,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$23,530.00	35.70%
Atlanta	Joseph Herndon	5	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$87,500.00	4.57%
Atlanta	G. G. Hull	12	$14,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$34,200.00	40.94%
Atlanta	W. M. Hill	7	$5,500.00	$5,200.00	$23,800.00	$32,800.00	16.77%
Atlanta	J. J. Graves	2	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	T. W. J. Hill	7	$7,000.00	$0.00	$9,500.00	$28,250.00	24.78%
Atlanta	C. C. Hammock	3	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,500.00	60.00%
Atlanta	F. Hardeman	2	$1,500.00	$19,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	50.00%
Atlanta	John R. Hill	5	$1,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$7,550.00	13.25%
Atlanta	J. W. Hint	21	$25,000.00	$20,000.00	$5,000.00	$60,920.00	41.04%
Atlanta	A. T. Hint	1	$1,000.00	$20,000.00	$7,500.00	$8,820.00	11.34%
Atlanta	J. A. Hayden	20	$12,000.00	$18,000.00	$7,200.00	$66,995.00	17.91%
Atlanta	Adm. Underwood (Trustee)	6	$3,000.00	$82,500.00	$18,500.00	$49,700.00	6.04%
Atlanta	R. Cone	7	$8,850.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$13,350.00	66.29%
Atlanta	Alonzo J. Huluy	2	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	W. H. Inman	10	$10,000.00	$1,000.00	$12,500.00	$25,500.00	39.22%
Atlanta	N. P. Inman	7	$7,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$18,100.00	38.67%
Atlanta	A. Isaacs	1	$850.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,350.00	10.18%
Atlanta	O. H. Jones	5	$9,000.00	$0.00	$17,000.00	$48,500.00	18.56%
Atlanta	A. W. Jones	4	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$44,800.00	13.39%
Atlanta	W. H. Johnson	9	$7,500.00	$3,000.00	$25,000.00	$36,100.00	20.78%
Atlanta	R. J. Johnson	19	$23,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$24,150.00	97.31%
Atlanta	G. W. Johnson	4	$5,200.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	80.00%
Atlanta	J. M. Johnson	1	$1,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	50.00%
Atlanta	J. Jacobs	7	$12,600.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	$44,300.00	28.44%
Atlanta	S. R. Jack	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,700.00	52.63%
Atlanta	J. W. Jones	3	$4,000.00	$8,200.00	$11,000.00	$26,600.00	15.04%
Atlanta	B. O. Jones	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$725.00	82.76%
Atlanta	J. W. Jones	9	$8,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,700.00	68.50%
Atlanta	R. R.W. Johnson	5	$5,000.00	$4,000.00	$8,000.00	$39,500.00	12.66%
Atlanta	J. H. Jones (Trust for Wife)	19	$19,000.00	$11,000.00	$0.00	$29,000.00	65.52%
Atlanta	J. G. Johnson	1	$1,600.00	$20,730.00	$0.00	$24,230.00	6.60%
Atlanta	H. Joiner	3	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,600.00	89.29%
Atlanta	W. H. Joiner	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	50.00%
Atlanta	J. L. Johnson (Agent)	9	$13,100.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$18,400.00	71.20%
Atlanta	I. M. Jones	7	$7,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	100.00%

Atlanta	J. B. Jennings	8	$8,000.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$30,825.00	25.95%
Atlanta	M. A. Jacobs	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$11,500.00	13.04%
Atlanta	J.C. Jackson	6	$5,200.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$22,200.00	23.42%
Atlanta	J. A. Jenkins	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$51,200.00	1.95%
Atlanta	C. M. Johnson	3	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	M. S. Kyle	5	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	W. A. Kennedy (Trust for Wife & Children)	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$5,400.00	18.52%
Atlanta	J. D. Kerling	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Michael Kelly	13	$16,500.00	$600.00	$3,250.00	$23,052.00	71.58%
Atlanta	Jacob Kaff	5	$4,000.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$8,500.00	47.06%
Atlanta	E. Kennedy	3	$5,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$13,230.00	37.79%
Atlanta	Thomas Kyle	3	$3,000.00	$6,000.00	$30,000.00	$52,070.00	5.76%
Atlanta	W. J. Kilby (Trustee for Wife)	2	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,900.00	94.74%
Atlanta	Miss L. Kellam	3	$1,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Simeon Kennedy	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$15,300.00	7.84%
Atlanta	W. J. Kibby	2	$1,900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,900.00	100.00%
Atlanta	C. M. Ketton	1	$800.00	$0.00	$600.00	$1,400.00	57.14%
Atlanta	S. B. Love	7	$9,500.00	$4,400.00	$0.00	$18,990.00	50.03%
Atlanta	W. C. Lawshee	4	$4,000.00	$600.00	$11,500.00	$27,850.00	14.36%
Atlanta	L. R. Lanear	4	$4,000.00	$3,000.00	$19,000.00	$54,500.00	7.34%
Atlanta	Owen Lynch	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$8,200.00	18.29%
Atlanta	Johnathan Lathen	1	$500.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$8,630.00	5.79%
Atlanta	J. P. Logan	8	$6,700.00	$7,000.00	$300.00	$7,000.00	95.71%
Atlanta	W. P. Lanier (Trust for Wife & Children)	7	$10,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$33,700.00	29.67%
Atlanta	R. J. Lowrey	1	$1,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$41,300.00	3.15%
Atlanta	Lowrey & Co	2	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$17,800.00	19.66%
Atlanta	Crome & Hammond Langston	7	$7,000.00	$50,000.00	$10,000.00	$62,000.00	11.29%
Atlanta	T. D. Lyne	1	$400.00	$1,200.00	$6,000.00	$8,675.00	4.61%
Atlanta	Lewis Lawshe	3	$6,800.00	$6,500.00	$4,000.00	$20,500.00	33.17%
Atlanta	Puntell Lawshe	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$15,500.00	$54,100.00	1.85%
Atlanta	E. J. Luckey	1	$600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	37.50%
Atlanta	L. Lawshe (Trust for Wife)	4	$5,900.00	$6,500.00	$15,000.00	$7,900.00	74.68%
Atlanta	W. A. Lamsdale	2	$3,500.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$20,200.00	17.33%
Atlanta	P. Lynch Sr.	7	$10,500.00	$20,000.00	$15,000.00	$49,500.00	21.21%
Atlanta	Peter Lynch	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$17,100.00	$27,100.00	3.69%
Atlanta	Johnathan Lynch	2	$1,400.00	$2,000.00	$40,000.00	$84,735.00	1.65%

Atlanta	J. & J. Lynch	1	$600.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$2,700.00	22.22%
Atlanta	J. Lynch	13	$15,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$40,500.00	38.27%
Atlanta	J. G. Lockhart	37	$22,200.00	$13,000.00	$0.00	$27,200.00	81.62%
Atlanta	Daniel Ligon	20	$20,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$27,100.00	73.80%
Atlanta	T. Lownthat	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,150.00	32.52%
Atlanta	J. H. Lovejoy	3	$5,000.00	$0.00	$16,000.00	$39,160.00	12.77%
Atlanta	J. T. Lewis	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$45,500.00	5.49%
Atlanta	P. F. Luckey	26	$20,800.00	$20,100.00	$0.00	$41,500.00	50.12%
Atlanta	R. H. McCreskey	5	$5,800.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$35,950.00	16.13%
Atlanta	T. W. McArthur	5	$4,000.00	$0.00	$28,500.00	$39,824.00	10.04%
Atlanta	J. C. McDaniel	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,275.00	70.18%
Atlanta	James McPherson	7	$7,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$21,800.00	32.11%
Atlanta	Johnathan McDonough	2	$1,200.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$8,500.00	14.12%
Atlanta	E. P. McDaniel	4	$7,500.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$27,700.00	27.08%
Atlanta	William McConnel	3	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,200.00	55.56%
Atlanta	N. A. McClenon	7	$7,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$19,200.00	36.46%
Atlanta	J. C. McMillan	3	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$14,300.00	24.48%
Atlanta	P. Maddox	1	$100.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$9,800.00	1.02%
Atlanta	J. J. Miller	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$11,700.00	42.74%
Atlanta	E. C. Murphy	1	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,340.00	68.38%
Atlanta	F. L. M. Mills	1	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,300.00	69.57%
Atlanta	H. W. McDaniel	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$5,000.00	40.00%
Atlanta	N. Mast	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$6,350.00	47.24%
Atlanta	W. C. Moon	16	$9,500.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$13,925.00	68.22%
Atlanta	J. Mason	5	$4,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,825.00	95.34%
Atlanta	J. B. Mullin	2	$2,200.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$7,280.00	30.22%
Atlanta	W. R. Mason	20	$21,400.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$28,200.00	75.89%
Atlanta	M. Murphy	11	$15,000.00	$0.00	$184,000.00	$234,795.00	6.39%
Atlanta	J. B. Mullin	24	$48,000.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$469,595.00	10.22%
Atlanta	Daniel Murphy	1	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,400.00	52.94%
Atlanta	D. C. Murphy	2	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	A. A. Murphy	1	$1,400.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$4,900.00	28.57%
Atlanta	J. G. Mitchell	5	$4,200.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	$18,150.00	23.14%
Atlanta	L. Mead (Admx of J. H. Mead)	7	$8,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$13,150.00	60.84%
Atlanta	S. A. Morris	3	$5,500.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$13,700.00	40.15%
Atlanta	W. P. Meadlock	1	$1,500.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	21.43%
Atlanta	A. J. Mores	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	30.77%
Atlanta	William Mims	3	$2,700.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$10,750.00	25.12%
Atlanta	J. H. McCaslin	5	$4,000.00	$0.00	$14,200.00	$23,830.00	16.79%

Atlanta	W. H. Manning	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	25.00%
Atlanta	Trustee for E. Murphy	3	$3,500.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$8,900.00	39.33%
Atlanta	W. D. Mitchel	3	$2,600.00	$800.00	$0.00	$13,300.00	19.55%
Atlanta	J.J. Main	4	$4,900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$52,250.00	9.38%
Atlanta	M. Mahoney	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$9,700.00	$11,900.00	8.40%
Atlanta	J. R. Mayson	2	$4,000.00	$4,000.00	$17,500.00	$23,800.00	16.81%
Atlanta	Peter Manigin	5	$4,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,300.00	100.00%
Atlanta	David Mayer	2	$3,200.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$6,355.00	50.35%
Atlanta	D. B. Morris	6	$5,650.00	$0.00	$25,500.00	$59,150.00	9.55%
Atlanta	Q. G. Morris	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	H. T. Martin	59	$59,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$84,850.00	69.53%
Atlanta	L.G. S. Middleton	7	$7,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$10,300.00	67.96%
Atlanta	Malone & Johnson	3	$3,500.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$8,500.00	41.18%
Atlanta	J. D. Masone	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	83.33%
Atlanta	J. W. Medlock	8	$9,000.00	$14,500.00	$30,600.00	$67,600.00	13.31%
Atlanta	B. F. Walker (Agent: J. W. Medlock	10	$8,000.00	$3,000.00	$5,000.00	$33,300.00	24.02%
Atlanta	H. Muhlenhink	2	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$6,200.00	48.39%
Atlanta	H. Blackman (Admin: J. W. Medlock)	11	$9,500.00	$0.00	$35,000.00	$53,500.00	17.76%
Atlanta	A. Mast (Agent: H. Muhlenhink)	7	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	R. J. Maynard	10	$8,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$27,500.00	29.09%
Atlanta	R. J. Massey	6	$15,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$16,000.00	93.75%
Atlanta	H. Marshall	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,925.00	83.12%
Atlanta	W. C. Moore	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$10,500.00	47.62%
Atlanta	E. W. Monday	8	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	C. Nest	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$12,100.00	16.53%
Atlanta	Thomas Nicholson	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$4,900.00	61.22%
Atlanta	A. Newmayer	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	S. D. Niles	2	$2,000.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$5,250.00	38.10%
Atlanta	Niles and Buthem (Agent fo Hughes)	5	$6,200.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$35,300.00	17.56%
Atlanta	John Need	23	$23,000.00	$1,000.00	$36,500.00	$98,400.00	23.37%
Atlanta	A. W. Owen	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$4,692.00	25.58%
Atlanta	A. J. Omme	2	$1,600.00	$3,500.00	$1,000.00	$12,100.00	13.22%
Atlanta	P. O'Conner	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$32,000.00	6.25%
Atlanta	S. B. Oatman	4	$3,000.00	$0.00	$16,000.00	$30,390.00	9.87%
Atlanta	P. H. Oneal	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	$9,500.00	21.05%
Atlanta	J. F. Oneal	3	$4,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,350.00	34.01%

Atlanta	R. E. Osborn	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$32,300.00	4.64%
Atlanta	D. Ormond (Trust for Wife)	29	$23,500.00	$27,000.00	$0.00	$23,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	W. P. Omme	3	$3,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$24,960.00	12.02%
Atlanta	H. H. Parks	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	16.00%
Atlanta	Oliver Parks	4	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,600.00	83.33%
Atlanta	J. W. Powell	8	$8,400.00	$0.00	$1,900.00	$17,250.00	48.70%
Atlanta	J. J. Peacock	9	$9,000.00	$100.00	$5,000.00	$14,500.00	62.07%
Atlanta	W. G. Peters	2	$1,400.00	$10,000.00	$800.00	$2,500.00	56.00%
Atlanta	J. C. Peck	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,100.00	90.91%
Atlanta	H. Pittes	16	$15,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$67,300.00	22.29%
Atlanta	J. P. Powell	11	$15,200.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$19,700.00	77.16%
Atlanta	G. A. Pilgrim	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,560.00	39.06%
Atlanta	T. T. Powell	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,395.00	104.38%
Atlanta	C. Powell	4	$3,850.00	$0.00	$31,000.00	$40,900.00	9.41%
Atlanta	J. G. Pounds	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$6,990.00	14.31%
Atlanta	C. A. Payne	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$4,350.00	$9,380.00	12.79%
Atlanta	Rev. J. B. Payne	8	$8,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$18,800.00	42.55%
Atlanta	William Parker	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,300.00	76.92%
Atlanta	R. Parson	5	$5,000.00	$1,200.00	$1,500.00	$10,700.00	46.73%
Atlanta	P. P. Peas	4	$3,500.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$8,400.00	41.67%
Atlanta	Peas (Trust for Wife)	1	$1,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	40.00%
Atlanta	Peas (Trust for L. B. Davis)	2	$1,500.00	$11,000.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	J. H. Pentell	1	$900.00	$1,500.00	$2,000.00	$29,900.00	3.01%
Atlanta	W. T. Peck	3	$3,000.00	$1,800.00	$0.00	$14,000.00	21.43%
Atlanta	J. Pitts	5	$4,600.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	$16,100.00	28.57%
Atlanta	R. Pate	1	$1,600.00	$3,500.00	$15,000.00	$24,650.00	6.49%
Atlanta	J. A. Patton	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	J. M. Plu	12	$15,300.00	$7,700.00	$0.00	$34,525.00	44.32%
Atlanta	E. Priest	4	$7,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$14,750.00	47.46%
Atlanta	T. S. Powell	7	$11,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,600.00	87.30%
Atlanta	James Pitts	7	$9,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$27,900.00	32.26%
Atlanta	R. Peters	9	$9,000.00	$61,500.00	$45,800.00	$227,200.00	3.96%
Atlanta	W. A. Powell	6	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Mrs. E. Pratt	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$9,000.00	22.22%
Atlanta	J. B. Pilgrim	4	$5,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$16,300.00	30.67%
Atlanta	Isaiah Purse	1	$1,600.00	$0.00	$900.00	$25,000.00	6.40%
Atlanta	J. T. Porter	1	$700.00	$0.00	$34,700.00	$61,200.00	1.14%
Atlanta	Edward Payne	1	$1,000.00	$12,300.00	$0.00	$11,300.00	8.85%
Atlanta	Sidney Rost	1	$600.00	$8,000.00	$2,600.00	$8,325.00	7.21%

Atlanta	J. N. Beach (Agent: Beach & Rost)	5	$8,500.00	$0.00	$49,000.00	$74,100.00	11.47%
Atlanta	W. L. Ragsdale	2	$1,200.00	$1,500.00	$4,000.00	$5,200.00	23.08%
Atlanta	J. R. Rhodes	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,300.00	48.48%
Atlanta	William Rustin	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$9,800.00	15.31%
Atlanta	G. C. Rogers	4	$6,000.00	$2,000.00	$22,000.00	$37,780.00	15.88%
Atlanta	J. R. Rhodes	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	G. G. Roy	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	42.86%
Atlanta	S. B. Ribson		$11,200.00	$0.00	$21,000.00	$37,500.00	29.87%
Atlanta	T. S. Reynolds	7	$4,500.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$7,200.00	62.50%
Atlanta	T. R. Ripley	3	$4,500.00	$3,000.00	$15,000.00	$34,600.00	13.01%
Atlanta	S. B. Rogan	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	J. L. Rogers	4	$5,600.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$12,500.00	44.80%
Atlanta	James Ryan	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$2,400.00	$41,100.00	4.87%
Atlanta	E. E. Rawson	9	$9,000.00	$33,950.00	$45,900.00	$201,900.00	4.46%
Atlanta	J. J. Richards	4	$4,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$10,865.00	36.82%
Atlanta	S. P. Richards	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$2,500.00	40.00%
Atlanta	Thomas Reed	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,300.00	90.91%
Atlanta	C. C. Rhodes	5	$4,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$14,275.00	28.02%
Atlanta	P. M. Ricket	2	$1,500.00	5000 (Dekalb)	$3,500.00	$10,000.00	15.00%
Atlanta	F. P. Rice	1	$500.00	$0.00	$3,250.00	$18,950.00	2.64%
Atlanta	T. G. Rollins	3	$4,000.00	$2,750.00	$5,000.00	$78,450.00	5.10%
Atlanta	J. W. Rucker	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	27.78%
Atlanta	H. Rogers (Agent: F. M. Richardson)	3	$4,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	66.15%
Atlanta	Richardson & Faulkner	2	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$17,500.00	20.00%
Atlanta	J. T. Reeves	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$9,550.00	52.36%
Atlanta	R. C. Robson	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,700.00	44.44%
Atlanta	T. A. Rice	4	$3,500.00	$900.00	$25,000.00	$30,250.00	11.57%
Atlanta	J. Williams (Agent: T. W. Stallings)	3	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	T. G. Sims (For Wife)	11	$14,200.00	$4,500.00	$3,000.00	$2,900.00	489.66%
Atlanta	M. E. Fears (Agent: Thomas Spencer)	1	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	100.00%
Atlanta	W. S. Stokes	3	$2,800.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,800.00	41.18%
Atlanta	J. Sims (Trust for Wife)	7	$12,000.00	$12,000.00	$7,000.00	$31,000.00	38.71%
Atlanta	E. R. Lapan	14	$20,000.00	$25,000.00	$35,000.00	$87,000.00	22.99%
Atlanta	Jesse Smith	1	$2,800.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$36,300.00	7.71%

Atlanta	V. R. Stevenson	3	$4,500.00	$1,450.00	$0.00	$6,150.00	73.17%
Atlanta	J. J. Stroud (Haygood Agent)	5	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	T. T. Smith (Trust for Wife and Child)	10	$15,000.00	$2,500.00	$2,000.00	$17,000.00	88.24%
Atlanta	J. N. Simmons	11	$11,000.00	$0.00	$12,800.00	$27,260.00	40.35%
Atlanta	E. Summers	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,550.00	22.90%
Atlanta	L. J. Shackleford	4	$5,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$13,500.00	37.04%
Atlanta	C. Shaw (Miss A. C. Gaurdian)	1	$200.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$1,800.00	11.11%
Atlanta	L. J. Salmon	7	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	50.00%
Atlanta	Mrs. L. Smith	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	J. H. Smith	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100.00%
Atlanta	E. N. Spiller	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$10,000.00	10.00%
Atlanta	William Solomon	1	$1,300.00	$12,000.00	$2,500.00	$9,400.00	13.83%
Atlanta	H. J. Summons	13	$19,500.00	$0.00	$48,170.00	$191,970.00	10.16%
Atlanta	H. & J. Stross	4	$5,500.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$21,500.00	25.58%
Atlanta	F. Stross	3	$3,400.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$27,400.00	12.41%
Atlanta	Seago & Niles (A. K. Seago)	32	$44,000.00	$32,000.00	$16,000.00	$118,734.00	37.06%
Atlanta	Thomas Scrutchins	7	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,660.00	92.38%
Atlanta	B. D. Shumate	17	$20,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$32,350.00	61.82%
Atlanta	C. Savage	19	$15,200.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$33,560.00	45.29%
Atlanta	R. B. Slatter	5	$6,800.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$9,700.00	70.10%
Atlanta	W. J. Small	1	$800.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$16,525.00	4.84%
Atlanta	J. S. Smith	5	$5,000.00	$400.00	$6,000.00	$13,100.00	38.17%
Atlanta	J. A. Stewart	3	$3,000.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$24,750.00	12.12%
Atlanta	B. D. Smith	2	$4,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$10,300.00	38.83%
Atlanta	Johnathan Silvey	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	50.00%
Atlanta	Silvey & Doharty (D. H. Silvey)	17	$23,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$54,600.00	43.04%
Atlanta	Mrs. E. Thomas	1	$350.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$5,350.00	6.54%
Atlanta	Mr. A. Trout	6	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,085.00	98.33%
Atlanta	J. G. Trammel	5	$8,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	40.00%
Atlanta	Ben Thurman	3	$3,326.00	$3,600.00	$3,550.00	$11,370.00	29.25%
Atlanta	G. H. Thompson	16	$16,000.00	$6,000.00	$80,000.00	$122,900.00	13.02%
Atlanta	J. J. Toon	3	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$19,000.00	21.05%
Atlanta	W. T. Trammell	13	$13,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$55,500.00	23.42%
Atlanta	F. D. Thomas	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$32,300.00	4.64%
Atlanta	Jullia Thrash	4	$5,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$7,000.00	71.43%
Atlanta	J. A. Taylor	7	$6,900.00	$5,000.00	$10,500.00	$46,900.00	14.71%

Atlanta	W. R. Venable (Trust for Mother)	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,800.00	71.43%
Atlanta	A. C. Vail (Agent: W. R. Venable)	5	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	J. M. Wiley	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$10,000.00	20.00%
Atlanta	J. C. White	10	$7,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$18,200.00	38.46%
Atlanta	F. M. Watts	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$6,000.00	33.33%
Atlanta	Mrs. N. Wiley	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Amanda Wiley	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$28,500.00	8.77%
Atlanta	W. L. Webb	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,200.00	54.55%
Atlanta	W. J. Wright (John S. Wright)	3	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	B. V. Willingham	64	$64,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$71,000.00	90.14%
Atlanta	M. D. Warmack (Agent: Estate Johnathan Kile)	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$14,000.00	14.29%
Atlanta	J. L. Wilson	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	54.55%
Atlanta	L. C. Wells	7	$7,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	W. B. Webb (For wife)	4	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100.00%
Atlanta	A. W. Williams	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$300.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Samuel Walker	20	$10,000.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$25,500.00	39.22%
Atlanta	J. M. Weaver	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$17,000.00	$19,400.00	5.15%
Atlanta	George Winship	11	$12,900.00	$3,000.00	$55,000.00	$103,725.00	12.44%
Atlanta	J. H. T. Boon	4	$8,700.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$14,700.00	59.18%
Atlanta	M. A. Hill	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$16,000.00	$27,820.00	7.19%
Atlanta	E. A. Winship (Agent: Joseph Winship)	5	$6,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,530.00	96.48%
Atlanta	H. L. Wing	6	$7,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,100.00	100.00%
Atlanta	H. L. Wilson	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$10,000.00	30.00%
Atlanta	J. D. Welbourne	4	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Isaac Winship	14	$14,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$41,310.00	33.89%
Atlanta	R. Winship	6	$5,500.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$19,500.00	28.21%
Atlanta	M. Wittgenstem	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$25,700.00	11.67%
Atlanta	M. Wittgenstem (Trust for Wife)	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	$3,300.00	45.45%
Atlanta	A. R. White	1	$1,200.00	$5,040.00	$0.00	$7,580.00	15.83%
Atlanta	L. B. Wiggins	5	$5,500.00	$0.00	$10,200.00	$16,745.00	32.85%
Atlanta	A. M. Wallace	4	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	S. B. Whelchad	4	$4,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$14,150.00	28.27%
Atlanta	H. L. Williams	6	$4,800.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$8,300.00	57.83%
Atlanta	Moses Wells	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100.00%

Atlanta	A. W. Weaver (Woodfrudd & Hawns)	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$4,350.00	$50,550.00	2.97%
Atlanta	J. M. Willis	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,300.00	43.48%
Atlanta	Willis & Young	2	$2,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$6,200.00	32.26%
Atlanta	Willis, Youngs & Co	1	$1,800.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$136,800.00	1.32%
Atlanta	J. M. Willis (Willis and Carter)	3	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	71.43%
Atlanta	W. F. Westmoreland	3	$4,100.00	$0.00	$16,000.00	$22,000.00	18.64%
Atlanta	A. S. Worrell	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,700.00	55.56%
Atlanta	J. L. Winter	5	$7,000.00	$1,800.00	$0.00	$13,050.00	53.64%
Atlanta	J. L. Winter & Co.	1	$2,300.00	$0.00	$45,000.00	$75,420.00	3.05%
Atlanta	J. R. Wallace (Goodbar)	15	$15,000.00	$8,300.00	$30,000.00	$82,300.00	18.23%
Atlanta	J. R. Wallace (Mrs. A. Y. Owens)	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	J. R. & C.H. Wallace	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	$30,000.00	6.67%
Atlanta	J. E. Williams	1	$1,800.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	$45,000.00	4.00%
Atlanta	W. M. Williams	3	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,650.00	40.46%
Atlanta	J. R. Wilder (Agent: Geo T. G. White)	1	$1,500.00	$1,600.00	$0.00	$34,700.00	4.32%
Atlanta	H. H. Witt	17	$11,900.00	$0.00	$27,000.00	$39,600.00	30.05%
Atlanta	J. E. Williams	9	$9,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$19,000.00	47.37%
Atlanta	G. T. G. White	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$3,605.00	27.74%
Atlanta	G. E. White	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,700.00	28.04%
Atlanta	J. D. Wells	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$5,300.00	47.17%
Atlanta	T. S. Wood	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	16.67%
Atlanta	William Watkins	4	$4,500.00	$5,200.00	$11,500.00	$57,200.00	7.87%
Atlanta	A. C. Wyley	8	$8,000.00	$0.00	$130,000.00	$138,540.00	5.77%
Atlanta	Edward White	4	$8,000.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$52,000.00	15.38%
Atlanta	A. W. Wooding	5	$6,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,700.00	68.04%
Atlanta	J. W. Worbridge	5	$3,900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,900.00	100.00%
Atlanta	T. J. Whitaker	9	$10,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$48,000.00	20.83%
Atlanta	T. J. Whitaker (Agent for Thomas Allen)	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100.00%
Atlanta	B. C. Yancy	4	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	100.00%
Atlanta	Davis Young	10	$9,500.00	$5,000.00	$15,000.00	$61,000.00	15.57%
Atlanta	B. Zachery	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$4,500.00	44.44%
Atlanta	R. P. Zimmerman	2	$2,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,875.00	21.75%
Atlanta	James Loyd	2	$1,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	100.00%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	J. T. Cunningham	2	$1,800.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$5,000.00	36.00%

Atlanta (Defaulters)	J. J. Jenkins	7	$7,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$25,400.00	30.31%
Black Hall	William Avery	2	$2,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,860.00	32.07%
Black Hall	Robert Baugh	29	$29,000.00	$5,325.00	$0.00	$41,125.00	70.52%
Black Hall	Mrs. M. F. Beasley (Agent for the Estate of G. J. Beasley)	1	$1,500.00	$1,800.00	$0.00	$4,200.00	35.71%
Black Hall	Elizabeth Connelly	2	$1,500.00	$3,400.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	50.00%
Black Hall	William Connelly	3	$2,500.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$3,300.00	75.76%
Black Hall	J. N. Connelly	2	$2,000.00	$800.00	$0.00	$2,322.00	86.13%
Black Hall	C. W. Dill	10	$8,500.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$15,200.00	55.92%
Black Hall	J. S. Gilbert	1	$1,500.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$8,440.00	17.77%
Black Hall	J. D. Graham	5	$4,700.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$10,950.00	42.92%
Black Hall	James Hill	1	$500.00	$2,600.00	$1,000.00	$7,870.00	6.35%
Black Hall	F. Hayden	6	$6,000.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$9,400.00	63.83%
Black Hall	Edward Harper	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,520.00	19.01%
Black Hall	Edward Harper	4	$5,475.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,200.00	44.88%
Black Hall	James Landrum	1	$1,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$3,850.00	25.97%
Black Hall	Benjamin Little	3	$2,500.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$24,000.00	10.42%
Black Hall	H. J. McDaniel	13	$10,000.00	$2,000.00	$2,500.00	$16,240.00	61.58%
Black Hall	J. A. McCool	4	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,600.00	71.43%
Black Hall	W. W. Roark	4	$3,300.00	$14,000.00	$0.00	$13,000.00	25.38%
Black Hall	A. Ratterree	18	$14,400.00	$40,060.00	$0.00	$61,710.00	23.33%
Black Hall	Johnathan H. Rice	7	$10,000.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$32,900.00	30.40%
Black Hall	Johnathan Stanley	4	$3,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$7,735.00	38.78%
Black Hall	J. W. Sears	1	$1,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,300.00	26.42%
Black Hall	J. J. Stevens	8	$12,000.00	$0.00	$300.00	$21,200.00	56.60%
Black Hall	C. F. Scone	3	$2,000.00	$1,000.00	$800.00	$2,800.00	71.43%
Black Hall	C. F. Shone	8	$5,000.00	$0.00	$800.00	$8,800.00	56.82%
Black Hall	W. H. Thurmond	27	$27,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$38,100.00	70.87%
Black Hall	M. E. Thurmond	28	$27,000.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	67.50%
Black Hall	Benjamin Thurmond	6	$7,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$16,660.00	42.02%
Black Hall	E. M. Taliaferro	25	$30,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$93,800.00	31.98%
Black Hall	Trust for Thrasher	1	$500.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	11.11%
Black Hall	J. W. Terry	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,330.00	64.38%
Black Hall	Stephen Terry	1	$400.00	$8,200.00	$0.00	$15,550.00	2.57%
Black Hall	William Terry	4	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100.00%
Black Hall	Robert Todd	11	$11,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,300.00	89.43%
Black Hall	F. W. White	1	$1,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	72.00%
Buckhead	L. Arundel	4	$4,000.00	$2,100.00	$0.00	$6,370.00	62.79%
Buckhead	B. Brown	17	$13,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$17,200.00	75.58%

Buckhead	Harrison Casey	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,400.00	45.45%
Buckhead	Daniel Colby	5	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$11,520.00	34.72%
Buckhead	J. M. Collier	3	$3,400.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$11,750.00	28.94%
Buckhead	E.S Collier	1	$1,700.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	26.15%
Buckhead	W.A. Callahan	1	$1,000.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$2,850.00	35.09%
Buckhead	S.H Donaldson	1	$1,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,700.00	21.28%
Buckhead	S. W. Ellington	7	$8,400.00	$2,400.00	$0.00	$14,380.00	58.41%
Buckhead	John Evans	12	$12,000.00	$0.00	$7,800.00	$32,895.00	36.48%
Buckhead	P. House	8	$6,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$10,500.00	57.14%
Buckhead	R. B. Hix	1	$1,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,150.00	29.13%
Buckhead	Clark Howell	24	$24,000.00	$52,000.00	$8,200.00	$100,200.00	23.95%
Buckhead	Henry Irby	12	$12,000.00	$18,700.00	$3,700.00	$38,150.00	31.45%
Buckhead	Burch Jett	4	$2,700.00	$3,520.00	$0.00	$6,850.00	39.42%
Buckhead	W. P. Johnson	5	$6,000.00	$3,800.00	$0.00	$12,575.00	47.71%
Buckhead	R. B. Jett	8	$6,400.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$8,900.00	71.91%
Buckhead	J. A. Mattox	15	$12,000.00	$1,500.00	$10,000.00	$27,000.00	44.44%
Buckhead	A. B. McAffee	2	$2,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$6,150.00	32.52%
Buckhead	H. U. Morgan	28	$26,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$42,285.00	62.91%
Buckhead	C. A. Pitts	8	$12,000.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$22,600.00	53.10%
Buckhead	N. C. Plaster	4	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$6,975.00	43.01%
Buckhead	S. Plaster	7	$6,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$9,700.00	67.01%
Buckhead	B. F. Plaster	7	$5,600.00	$1,200.00	$0.00	$7,300.00	76.71%
Buckhead	D. L. Plaster	5	$4,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	57.14%
Buckhead	E. A. Plaster	6	$3,000.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	42.86%
Buckhead	L. J. Plaster	7	$5,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$7,300.00	68.49%
Buckhead	L. K. Pace	21	$16,000.00	$15,000.00	$0.00	$34,200.00	46.78%
Buckhead	J. B. Peevy	6	$6,000.00	$3,200.00	$0.00	$10,440.00	57.47%
Buckhead	P. H. Ramdolph	25	$20,000.00	$15,000.00	$0.00	$40,500.00	49.38%
Buckhead	James H. Smith	7	$5,600.00	$4,040.00	$0.00	$12,240.00	45.75%
Buckhead	J. W. Smith	7	$5,000.00	$4,500.00	$0.00	$10,800.00	46.30%
Buckhead	J. F. Trimble	6	$5,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$22,400.00	22.32%
Buckhead	J. J. Vaughn	6	$6,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$9,600.00	62.50%
Cooks	J. T. Acridger	2	$2,500.00	$8,000.00	$500.00	$13,000.00	19.23%
Cooks	E. M. Dunahoo	6	$7,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$20,900.00	33.49%
Cooks	Martin Defer	7	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,950.00	50.25%
Cooks	Jesse Davenport	10	$8,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$19,660.00	42.22%
Cooks	H. H. Embry (E. Bryant)	4	$4,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$29,600.00	13.51%
Cooks	E. R. Elliot	2	$1,700.00	$24,500.00	$0.00	$6,050.00	28.10%
Cooks	S. Elliot	1	$600.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$2,650.00	22.64%
Cooks	W. H. Elliot	1	$1,500.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$1,800.00	83.33%

Cooks	H. M. Elliot	2	$3,800.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$11,200.00	33.93%
Cooks	C. W. Elliott	1	$2,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$6,950.00	28.78%
Cooks	L. S. Fielder	2	$2,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$14,400.00	13.89%
Cooks	J. C. Franklin	9	$9,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$14,900.00	60.40%
Cooks	William Fincher	3	$3,500.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$11,300.00	30.97%
Cooks	P. A. Golden	3	$3,700.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$6,750.00	54.81%
Cooks	J. C. Huff	2	$1,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$4,700.00	31.91%
Cooks	A. W. Jett	4	$4,000.00	$31,500.00	$0.00	$48,210.00	8.30%
Cooks	J. L. Mason	5	$4,000.00	$12,000.00	$0.00	$18,200.00	21.98%
Cooks	Thomas Moore	4	$4,600.00	$23,000.00	$0.00	$33,600.00	13.69%
Cooks	E. L. McGrieff	1	$1,500.00	$9,000.00	$0.00	$12,375.00	12.12%
Cooks	B. F. Maulden	2	$1,800.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$5,535.00	32.52%
Cooks	Sarah Mason	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100.00%
Cooks	Matthew Osborn	18	$18,000.00	$15,000.00	$0.00	$38,000.00	47.37%
Cooks	S.R. Ozburn	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100.00%
Cooks	L. Pool (Mrs.)	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,200.00	100.00%
Cooks	M. Red	6	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	100.00%
Cooks	C. S. Whitehead	50	$35,000.00	$12,500.00	$0.00	$51,350.00	68.16%
Cooks	W. S. Weaver	30	$18,000.00	$1,600.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	90.00%
Cooks	A. H. Webb	2	$1,500.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	27.27%
Cooks	A. H. Webb (Agent for Dolph)	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100.00%
Cooks	C. T. Wood	14	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,500.00	95.24%
Cooks	Moses Wood	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,900.00	42.11%
Cooks	R. Thomas	16	$16,000.00	$19,650.00	$4,000.00	$47,850.00	33.44%
Cooks	B. B. Touchstone	7	$7,900.00	$14,700.00	$0.00	$23,300.00	33.91%
Oak Grove	J. M. Isom	3	$2,600.00	$6,550.00	$0.00	$13,675.00	19.01%
Oak Grove	W. W. Sunton	2	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,480.00	22.32%
Oak Grove	G. W. Thomason	2	$2,000.00	$1,500.00	$4,000.00	$8,335.00	24.00%
Oak Grove	J. L. Wing	10	$13,300.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$19,045.00	69.83%
Stones	H. Bankston	5	$3,800.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$9,440.00	40.25%
Stones	Isham Baker	10	$10,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$21,200.00	47.17%
Stones	William Bryant (Agent: L. Pratt)	7	$7,300.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$9,300.00	78.49%
Stones	A. Collett	2	$2,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,450.00	36.70%
Stones	Jesse Childress	9	$7,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$17,000.00	41.18%
Stones	A. Cockran	1	$1,300.00	$3,900.00	$0.00	$6,935.00	18.75%
Stones	J. W. Connelly	9	$9,000.00	$20,200.00	$3,600.00	$66,700.00	13.49%
Stones	J. N. Depew	10	$8,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$14,000.00	57.14%
Stones	Mrs. E. Donneher	3	$3,500.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$8,200.00	42.68%
Stones	Jesse Dollar	4	$3,500.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$8,750.00	40.00%

Stones	J. J. Fain	1	$800.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$4,700.00	17.02%
Stones	L. C. Peacock(Agent: J. J. Fain)	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	100.00%
Stones	J. R. Fain (Executor of E. Fain)	3	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$6,650.00	45.11%
Stones	William Gilbert	38	$28,000.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$56,030.00	49.97%
Stones	C. Humphreys (Agent: William Gilbert)	60	$45,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$75,900.00	59.29%
Stones	C. C. Green	13	$11,700.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$34,650.00	33.77%
Stones	W. A. Green (Agent: C. C. Green)	17	$13,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$28,540.00	47.65%
Stones	William Holbrook	3	$3,000.00	$5,200.00	$0.00	$9,650.00	31.09%
Stones	Joel Herring	13	$15,800.00	$9,000.00	$0.00	$26,300.00	60.08%
Stones	Martha Herring	5	$5,000.00	$50.00	$0.00	$10,600.00	47.17%
Stones	N. Hornsby	4	$2,500.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$3,950.00	63.29%
Stones	James Kennedy	6	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,700.00	38.96%
Stones	Thomas A. Kennedy	8	$6,400.00	$3,500.00	$3,000.00	$15,100.00	42.38%
Stones	T. Kennedy	16	$16,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$23,325.00	68.60%
Stones	C. O. O'Connelly	1	$2,000.00	$700.00	$0.00	$3,200.00	62.50%
Stones	John Lee Sr.	1	$500.00	$700.00	$0.00	$1,350.00	37.04%
Stones	D. McDuffie	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,210.00	82.64%
Stones	A. L. Mims	5	$3,500.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$5,800.00	60.34%
Stones	A. Macomson	8	$7,200.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$14,400.00	50.00%
Stones	James Oliver	20	$18,000.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$24,350.00	73.92%
Stones	L. P. Peacock	6	$400.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,900.00	5.06%
Stones	T. J. Peacock	1	$200.00	$250.00	$0.00	$6,225.00	3.21%
Stones	Mrs. Amy Peacock	4	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100.00%
Stones	Jacob Redwine	6	$6,000.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$12,650.00	47.43%
Stones	John Roberts	1	$800.00	$600.00	$0.00	$1,820.00	43.96%
Stones	A. T. Robins	1	$1,600.00	$1,650.00	$0.00	$4,075.00	39.26%
Stones	Samuel Sewell	13	$13,000.00	$7,000.00	$0.00	$21,825.00	59.56%
Stones	Wiley Suttles	3	$2,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,645.00	30.10%
Stones	Joseph Suttles	1	$700.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$900.00	77.78%
Stones	William Weaver	2	$2,000.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$12,275.00	16.29%
Stones	Willis Roberts	5	$5,900.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$8,300.00	71.08%
Stones	M. Willis	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,985.00	20.05%
Stones	A. A. Wilson	20	$18,000.00	$15,000.00	$0.00	$37,500.00	48.00%
Stones	J. S. Wilson	6	$5,000.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$11,800.00	42.37%
Stones	W. A. Wilson	16	$16,000.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$40,750.00	39.26%
Stones	W. F. Pool	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,150.00	93.02%
Stones	J. M. Weaver	2	$2,000.00	$800.00	$0.00	$2,875.00	69.57%

Unknown	James Clarke	6	$8,200.00	$2,000.00	$88,000.00	$119,300.00	6.87%

Table 2.7.1 Value of Enslavers' Taxable Property in Fulton County

Number of enslavers	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved population	Aggregate value of enslavers' land	Aggregate value of enslavers' city/town property	Aggregate value of enslavers' whole property
729	4,140	$4,353,001.00	$2,079,975.00	$4,218,195.00	$15,924,428.00

Table 2.7.2 Percentage of Enslaved People to Enslavers' Taxable Property

Value of enslaved people to aggregate value of enslavers' land	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' city/town property	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' whole property
209%	103%	27%

Table 2.7.3 Value of Enslavers' Taxable Property Compared to All Taxable Residents

Taxable residents	Number of taxable residents	Aggregate value of enslaved population	Total aggregate land value	Total aggregate value of city/town property	Total aggregate value of whole property
Enslavers	729	$4,353,001.00	$2,079,975.00	$4,218,195.00	$15,924,428.00
Non-Enslavers (White)	494	$0.00	923,405.00	Miscalculated by Fulton County	$6,702,370.00
Free Blacks	10	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
All	**1,233**	**$0.00**	**$3,003,380.00**	**Miscalculated**	**$22,626,798.00**

Table 2.7.4 Enslavers vs. Non-Enslavers: Taxable Population and Property

Group	% Taxable population	% Taxable property
Enslavers	59%	70%
Non-Enslavers	41%	30%

Table 2.7.5 Percentage of Enslaved People's Value to Value of All Residents' Whole Property

Percentage
19%

Table 2.7.6 County's Infrastructure, Operation Costs, and Public Services Paid from Taxation on Enslaved People

Percentage
19%

1864

Table 2.8 Names of Enslavers and Value of Enslaved Persons, Compared to Value of Enslavers' Overall Wealth.

District	Enslaver	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved persons	Aggregate land value (in Fulton)	Aggregate city/ town property value	Aggregate value of whole property	Percent value of enslaved people to whole property
Atlanta	A. Austell	10	$25,000.00	$0.00	$300,000.00	$344,250.00	7%
Atlanta	Ezra Andrews	1	$3,500.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$16,200.00	22%
Atlanta	B.D. Adams	5	$12,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$19,200.00	63%
Atlanta	J.A. Anderson	5	$1,500.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$40,500.00	4%
Atlanta	J.F. Alexander	6	$13,000.00	$0.00	$381,000.00	$40,900.00	32%
Atlanta	Mrs. M. Alexander	11	$18,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$52,000.00	35%
Atlanta	W.F. Adair	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	100%
Atlanta	J.M. Born	10	$24,500.00	$32,000.00	$15,000.00	$78,000.00	31%
Atlanta	M. A. Blancha	15	$23,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$34,700.00	66%
Atlanta	Perino Brown	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$80,000.00	$92,000.00	7%
Atlanta	G.A. Burkhardt	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$26,100.00	10%
Atlanta	J.E. Butter	2	$6,500.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$51,920.00	13%
Atlanta	E. Sindsey	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100%
Atlanta	Robert Baugh	27	$75,600.00	$7,500.00	$14,000.00	$110,575.00	68%
Atlanta	H. Braumuller	2	$5,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$43,000.00	12%
Atlanta	F.M. Berry	2	$4,500.00	$0.00	$13,000.00	$18,900.00	24%
Atlanta	Joseph Barnes	5	$15,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$36,300.00	41%
Atlanta	James Beasley	6	$10,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$27,900.00	36%
Atlanta	M.R. Berry	2	$5,000.00	$0.00	$75,000.00	$88,000.00	6%
Atlanta	Mrs. R.A. Brockman	1	$3,500.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$13,550.00	26%
Atlanta	L.E. Bleckly	10	$22,300.00	$11,700.00	$0.00	$69,950.00	32%
Atlanta	C.H. Browning	5	$14,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$61,460.00	23%
Atlanta	T.J. Boyd	2	$4,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$24,850.00	16%
Atlanta	S.J. Beggers	6	$14,000.00	$23,758.00	$1,200.00	$31,200.00	45%
Atlanta	Wm, J. Bacin	14	$33,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$88,700.00	37%
Atlanta	C.J. Binks	12	$17,000.00	$15,000.00	$0.00	$86,975.00	20%
Atlanta	H.H. Barnes	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$23,800.00	8%

Atlanta	W.M.Butt	4	$9,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,300.00	97%
Atlanta	J.K. Bennett	15	$30,000.00	$0.00	$16,000.00	$51,800.00	58%
Atlanta	Morris Baswitz	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,500.00	26%
Atlanta	C.F. Brookner	2	$5,000.00	$750.00	$15,000.00	$32,730.00	15%
Atlanta	Moor Bell	4	$14,000.00	$48,000.00	$25,000.00	$188,000.00	7%
Atlanta	L.Bellingrath	3	$5,400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,200.00	53%
Atlanta	A. Bellingrath	3	$7,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,300.00	75%
Atlanta	J.M. Berring	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,600.00	29%
Atlanta	W.R. Robinson	7	$14,000.00	$10,000.00	$6,000.00	$30,000.00	47%
Atlanta	J.M. Butt	8	$18,000.00	$12,000.00	$0.00	$36,100.00	50%
Atlanta	Johnson Bridwell	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$14,900.00	17%
Atlanta	W.J. Ballard	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$17,000.00	9%
Atlanta	Jacob Baker	1	$800.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$4,000.00	20%
Atlanta	W.B. Beasley	3	$6,000.00	$3,000.00	$3,400.00	$17,400.00	34%
Atlanta	J.E. Barlett	8	$9,000.00	$0.00	$19,000.00	$29,250.00	31%
Atlanta	W.T. Brantley	5	$7,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$60,150.00	13%
Atlanta	J.T. Banks	2	$5,000.00	$0.00	$66,000.00	$117,250.00	4%
Atlanta	R.W. Brown	9	$17,600.00	$5,500.00	$20,000.00	$56,300.00	31%
Atlanta	B.F. Bomar	4	$12,700.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$35,600.00	36%
Atlanta	Saller E. Fisher	2	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Wife of Saller E. Fisher	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	100%
Atlanta	T.H. Bomar	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100%
Atlanta	A.P. Bell	5	$12,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$20,200.00	59%
Atlanta	M.R. Bell	5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$20,750.00	48%
Atlanta	Marcus A. Bell	2	$6,000.00	$30,000.00	$180,000.00	$234,500.00	3%
Atlanta	J.M. & E.J. Clark	3	$5,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$7,500.00	67%
Atlanta	Mrs. Lydia Clark	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$34,500.00	7%
Atlanta	Mrs. Harriet Corry	1	$3,500.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$18,500.00	19%
Atlanta	Cox Hill	2	$3,750.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,750.00	100%
Atlanta	W.H. Clark	5	$16,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$49,100.00	33%
Atlanta	T.G.W. Crussell	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$115,000.00	$183,900.00	1%
Atlanta	J.C. Comelen	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	W.P. Chislom	3	$12,000.00	$2,000.00	$60,000.00	$82,200.00	15%
Atlanta	R. Childs	4	$11,500.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$56,500.00	20%
Atlanta	Miss C.C. Childs	2	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	80%
Atlanta	Miss E.C. Childs	2	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	80%

Atlanta	Perry Childs	2	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	80%
Atlanta	S. Choeland	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$31,100.00	19%
Atlanta	Henry Chase	1	$4,000.00	$8,850.00	$0.00	$16,320.00	25%
Atlanta	J.A. Chislom	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$10,500.00	57%
Atlanta	J.R. Crew	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$16,850.00	3%
Atlanta	Brandty Couir	5	$9,000.00	$0.00	$50,000.00	$69,080.00	13%
Atlanta	L. Silverman	7	$21,000.00	$0.00	$24,000.00	$59,600.00	35%
Atlanta	E. Cinnell	4	$13,500.00	$0.00	$36,000.00	$64,900.00	21%
Atlanta	W.L. Roeland	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Mrs. Gideon	4	$16,000.00	$0.00	$60,000.00	$86,600.00	18%
Atlanta	G. C. Rogers	3	$12,000.00	$4,200.00	$0.00	$33,800.00	36%
Atlanta	Jno H. Corley	12	$30,000.00	$15,000.00	$100,000.00	$161,700.00	19%
Atlanta	J.M. Calborn	3	$9,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,500.00	95%
Atlanta	A.W. Caldwell	1	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$14,535.00	24%
Atlanta	James Craig	4	$8,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$24,300.00	33%
Atlanta	James Coyne	10	$24,000.00	$11,000.00	$35,000.00	$71,000.00	34%
Atlanta	W.W. Clayton	14	$23,700.00	$0.00	$45,000.00	$109,400.00	22%
Atlanta	H. Chessie	4	$8,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$20,000.00	40%
Atlanta	Treaswell Cente'r	11	$16,700.00	$3,000.00	$125,000.00	$176,950.00	9%
Atlanta	S. Frankson	3	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$29,000.00	28%
Atlanta	A.J. Collier	4	$9,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$11,500.00	78%
Atlanta	T.W. Chandler	6	$10,000.00	$0.00	$80,000.00	$182,000.00	5%
Atlanta	P.W. Conte	6	$20,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$52,100.00	38%
Atlanta	C. H. Chandler	5	$14,000.00	$17,520.00	$367,500.00	$420,800.00	3%
Atlanta	Mrs. Mary A. Root	1	$2,000.00	$15,000.00	$12,000.00	$16,700.00	12%
Atlanta	Mrs. Nancy Clewers	7	$18,000.00	$29,500.00	$95,000.00	$154,800.00	12%
Atlanta	G.W. Collier	4	$12,000.00	$18,000.00	$0.00	$37,100.00	32%
Atlanta	F. Corra	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$28,100.00	9%
Atlanta	R.A. Crawford	7	$16,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$36,625.00	44%
Atlanta	Wife of R.A. Crawford	6	$15,000.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$46,750.00	32%
Atlanta	J.T. Cunningham	2	$7,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$42,500.00	16%
Atlanta	R.J. Cowart	4	$12,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$55,500.00	22%
Atlanta	L.H. Clarke	1	$3,000.00	$15,000.00	$10,000.00	$30,400.00	10%
Atlanta	E.W. Cole	12	$30,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$50,000.00	60%
Atlanta	C.B. Conyers	3	$7,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$14,000.00	50%

Atlanta	M.C. Cayer	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,700.00	8%
Atlanta	Mrs. M. Callawoy	2	$5,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$12,000.00	42%
Atlanta	A.G. Chisolm	5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$25,000.00	40%
Atlanta	Jno A. Doan	1	$1,500.00	$2,500.00	$15,000.00	$20,100.00	7%
Atlanta	Wife of Jno A. Doan	2	$3,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	75%
Atlanta	S.H. Davis	4	$12,000.00	$0.00	$50,000.00	$65,900.00	18%
Atlanta	Laurent De Geve	2	$7,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$15,000.00	47%
Atlanta	David Dermarest	7	$23,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$40,500.00	57%
Atlanta	T.H. Dozier	2	$5,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,500.00	100%
Atlanta	C. W. Dill	9	$20,000.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$51,000.00	39%
Atlanta	Mrs. Bridget Doyle	2	$2,700.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$13,800.00	20%
Atlanta	J.C. Davis	5	$18,000.00	$0.00	$75,000.00	$124,300.00	14%
Atlanta	W.W. Daniels	4	$8,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$19,750.00	43%
Atlanta	G.T. Dodd	3	$7,500.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$28,000.00	27%
Atlanta	C.C. Davis	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$5,400.00	$11,810.00	25%
Atlanta	N. Dalvigney	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	50%
Atlanta	Wife of N. Dalvigney	1	$500.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$6,200.00	8%
Atlanta	Patrick Devareaux	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	$12,700.00	16%
Atlanta	S. B. Davis	3	$10,500.00	$0.00	$35,200.00	$61,500.00	17%
Atlanta	J. Hill Davis	5	$20,000.00	$30,000.00	$3,000.00	$75,200.00	27%
Atlanta	J.W. Duncan	3	$10,500.00	$0.00	$37,500.00	$75,700.00	14%
Atlanta	Wm. A. Downs	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$16,102.00	12%
Atlanta	C. G. Dalgreen	5	$7,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$20,100.00	35%
Atlanta	Mrs. Mary E. Dawson	2	$9,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$29,700.00	30%
Atlanta	Mrs. Elizabeth Davis	34	$68,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$69,700.00	98%
Atlanta	T.M. Dermott	8	$9,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$31,500.00	29%
Atlanta	Miss M.A. Edmundson	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,660.00	28%
Atlanta	J.F. Ezzard	3	$7,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	100%
Atlanta	Mrs. E.W. Gatewood	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100%
Atlanta	E. Elliger	1	$2,500.00	$17,100.00	$0.00	$11,300.00	22%
Atlanta	Wm. Ezzard	21	$20,000.00	$1,935.00	$70,000.00	$144,100.00	14%
Atlanta	C.E. Smith	3	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,200.00	98%

Atlanta	Wm. Terrell	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	E. Ernsten	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$36,900.00	16%
Atlanta	W.F. Ezzard	7	$16,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$37,700.00	42%
Atlanta	E.M. Edwardy	2	$6,500.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$105,950.00	6%
Atlanta	B.Y. Eans	4	$20,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$21,700.00	92%
Atlanta	Wm. Ezzard/Miss C. Green	18	$30,000.00	$17,200.00	$0.00	$52,200.00	57%
Atlanta	John Enino	6	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$14,060.00	71%
Atlanta	Ms. Catharine Ewright	4	$8,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$15,200.00	53%
Atlanta	C. Elyca	5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$41,350.00	24%
Atlanta	Mrs. E.C. Ewing	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$7,000.00	43%
Atlanta	Jno Fricken	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,600.00	10%
Atlanta	R.M. Farrer	4	$15,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$19,000.00	79%
Atlanta	W.T. Farmsworth	1	$2,350.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$18,650.00	13%
Atlanta	Wm. Forsyth	5	$7,200.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$39,060.00	18%
Atlanta	Saml Farrer	2	$4,500.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$21,700.00	21%
Atlanta	Wife of Saml Farrer	11	$18,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$60,200.00	30%
Atlanta	Jno Sarver	1	$4,000.00	$9,000.00	$0.00	$6,100.00	66%
Atlanta	John Fegarty	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$121,000.00	$127,700.00	1%
Atlanta	Hennicutt Flynn	3	$10,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$24,700.00	43%
Atlanta	L. Fulliclove	1	$500.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	$9,500.00	5%
Atlanta	Mrs. Selina A.Few	29	$71,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$121,800.00	59%
Atlanta	Lawson Fields	6	$12,500.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$14,200.00	88%
Atlanta	R.J.Fulds	2	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$32,100.00	25%
Atlanta	W.P. Famburgh	6	$9,000.00	$17,250.00	$20,000.00	$52,300.00	17%
Atlanta	Julia Gibb	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$33,200.00	18%
Atlanta	Henry Ficken	4	$9,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$40,800.00	22%
Atlanta	J.J. Ford	1	$35,000.00	$0.00	$45,000.00	$51,600.00	68%
Atlanta	A.B. Forsyth	3	$9,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$51,840.00	17%
Atlanta	Vines Fish	14	$30,000.00	$4,500.00	$8,000.00	$57,900.00	52%
Atlanta	Jesse C. Farrar	1	$1,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$4,200.00	36%
Atlanta	J. C. Farran	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$12,000.00	17%
Atlanta	John Frizzell	4	$12,000.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$255,990.00	5%
Atlanta	C. R. Embry	3	$9,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	100%
Atlanta	J.R. Foster	2	$6,500.00	$11,175.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	100%

Atlanta	Thos Fitzgabbon	11	$26,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$115,825.00	23%
Atlanta	Wm. Fuller	3	$5,000.00	$10,000.00	$22,000.00	$42,500.00	12%
Atlanta	Ezzard Fuller	3	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$29,000.00	28%
Atlanta	J.G. Gullatt	1	$1,200.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$17,625.00	7%
Atlanta	T.M. Gammege	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,600.00	65%
Atlanta	J.A. Gibson	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta	L.P. Grant	4	$15,500.00	$160,000.00	$173,000.00	$431,130.00	4%
Atlanta	Miller Greeve/ Eliva C. Murphy	3	$9,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$22,900.00	39%
Atlanta	Ger Gibbons	10	$20,000.00	$0.00	$125,000.00	$34,600.00	58%
Atlanta	Geo F. Glarner	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$17,300.00	35%
Atlanta	Lucius Gartrell	14	$48,000.00	$0.00	$100,000.00	$177,300.00	27%
Atlanta	V.A. Gaskell	8	$22,000.00	$44,500.00	$130,000.00	$225,500.00	10%
Atlanta	Rich D. Goldsmith	4	$9,500.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$41,775.00	23%
Atlanta	T. Goldsmith	58	$116,000.00	$167,210.00	$0.00	$225,340.00	51%
Atlanta	A Grust	2	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,800.00	57%
Atlanta	Joseph Galins	5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$28,000.00	$425,000.00	2%
Atlanta	Ms. Ellen Rroach	2	$3,700.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$26,050.00	14%
Atlanta	J.L. Grant	14	$24,500.00	$1,500.00	$0.00	$37,750.00	65%
Atlanta	A.G. Gaier	11	$22,000.00	$0.00	$500.00	$30,500.00	72%
Atlanta	N.E.Gardner	5	$10,000.00	$78,000.00	$100,000.00	$195,250.00	5%
Atlanta	Martha& Mary Gardner	6	$11,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$19,000.00	58%
Atlanta	R. Goldberg	3	$6,750.00	$0.00	$0.00	$35,950.00	19%
Atlanta	L.J. Glenn	12	$27,000.00	$15,000.00	$50,000.00	$100,700.00	27%
Atlanta	H Goode	5	$15,000.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$48,000.00	31%
Atlanta	Mr. J. Hudson	2	$7,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$15,000.00	47%
Atlanta	W.F. Harris	2	$600.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,300.00	11%
Atlanta	Wife of W. F. Harris	6	$14,600.00	$120,000.00	$0.00	$29,400.00	50%
Atlanta	J. T. Hall	2	$8,500.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$28,700.00	30%
Atlanta	S.C. Howard	19	$40,000.00	$200,000.00	$0.00	$262,000.00	15%
Atlanta	Trustee for S.C. Howard	17	$36,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$36,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Ms. F. A. Holmes	1	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	100%
Atlanta	W.R. Hill	3	$10,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$47,300.00	21%
Atlanta	W.H. Harville	6	$20,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$61,600.00	32%
Atlanta	N.J. Hammond	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$42,450.00	9%

Atlanta	E. Hubbart	4	$12,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$13,000.00	92%
Atlanta	Thos Harry	6	$10,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$33,300.00	30%
Atlanta	Mrs. Swain McHall	5	$18,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	100%
Atlanta	W.M Hotel	9	$25,300.00	$18,200.00	$70,000.00	$133,500.00	19%
Atlanta	Thos Haney	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$12,400.00	16%
Atlanta	Thos Harris	6	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,400.00	96%
Atlanta	R.J. Henderson	1	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,250.00	56%
Atlanta	Marf S. Stroe	8	$28,000.00	$0.00	$75,000.00	$172,200.00	16%
Atlanta	B. Bun	1	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,900.00	59%
Atlanta	William Hetzell	1	$700.00	$0.00	$16,000.00	$19,800.00	4%
Atlanta	J. M. Holbrook	11	$38,500.00	$33,000.00	$20,000.00	$129,190.00	30%
Atlanta	H. Coe	20	$48,000.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$170,200.00	28%
Atlanta	C.A. Whaley	6	$12,300.00	$0.00	$50,000.00	$68,800.00	18%
Atlanta	F. Hayden	1	$200.00	$12,000.00	$4,000.00	$24,000.00	1%
Atlanta	Wm. Herring	2	$6,000.00	$15,000.00	$175,000.00	$209,000.00	3%
Atlanta	Mrs. A. L. Houston	1	$500.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$16,200.00	3%
Atlanta	T.J. Hightower	4	$7,800.00	$18,000.00	$0.00	$30,700.00	25%
Atlanta	S.D. Hona	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,400.00	81%
Atlanta	R. Hayes	3	$5,300.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$20,900.00	25%
Atlanta	James Hozus	12	$22,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$53,700.00	42%
Atlanta	Mrs. H. Dorey	9	$19,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$23,500.00	81%
Atlanta	T.G. Healy	3	$7,000.00	$15,000.00	$72,000.00	$104,200.00	7%
Atlanta	G.G. Hall	8	$22,000.00	$0.00	$50,000.00	$102,875.00	21%
Atlanta	Hargers Love	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Saml Hope	1	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$32,850.00	11%
Atlanta	J.P.H. Brown	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$18,200.00	33%
Atlanta	L.C. Herrington	1	$2,000.00	$3,600.00	$0.00	$10,300.00	19%
Atlanta	Jno Caldwell	5	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	75%
Atlanta	Mr. Imel	4	$8,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$48,000.00	17%
Atlanta	Felix Hardeman	22	$52,000.00	$25,000.00	$15,000.00	$115,300.00	45%
Atlanta	C.H. Hunnicutt	14	$20,000.00	$17,000.00	$45,000.00	$111,200.00	18%
Atlanta	Bellinger Hunnicutt	2	$7,000.00	$30,000.00	$0.00	$59,700.00	12%
Atlanta	T.J. Hill	28	$70,000.00	$0.00	$35,000.00	$119,500.00	59%
Atlanta	A.W. Hammond	7	$13,500.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$77,930.00	17%
Atlanta	Mrs. T.C. Howard	12	$25,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$25,500.00	100%

Atlanta	F.C. House	9	$19,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$38,270.00	50%
Atlanta	W.C. Hardey	1	$3,800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,800.00	66%
Atlanta	Mrs. M.L. Thurman	5	$7,000.00	$16,500.00	$0.00	$24,200.00	29%
Atlanta	L.D. Huston	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta	S. B. Hoyt	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$38,150.00	16%
Atlanta	C.A. Henderson	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,700.00	81%
Atlanta	E. W. Holland	2	$10,000.00	$52,500.00	$50,000.00	$63,000.00	16%
Atlanta	Mrs. H. Margum	1	$4,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	57%
Atlanta	G.G. Howard	18	$36,000.00	$5,000.00	$21,500.00	$52,250.00	69%
Atlanta	W.F. Hering	6	$12,500.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$65,100.00	19%
Atlanta	Colonel Inman	1	$400.00	$0.00	$0.00	$27,400.00	1%
Atlanta	W.H. Inman	12	$30,000.00	$2,000.00	$40,000.00	$79,600.00	38%
Atlanta	W.P. Inman	13	$30,000.00	$10,000.00	$15,000.00	$64,500.00	47%
Atlanta	P.P. Irby	5	$12,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	100%
Atlanta	A. Isaacs	4	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$44,900.00	18%
Atlanta	O.H. Jones	7	$28,000.00	$0.00	$60,000.00	$134,000.00	21%
Atlanta	T. M. Jones	7	$21,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$21,600.00	97%
Atlanta	Mrs. Sarah E. Jones	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$9,500.00	26%
Atlanta	B.O. Jones	4	$12,000.00	$20,540.00	$40,000.00	$81,840.00	15%
Atlanta	V. H. Taliaferro	3	$12,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	100%
Atlanta	D.N. Judson	1	$300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,300.00	4%
Atlanta	R.A. Joyner	3	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$15,500.00	65%
Atlanta	H. H. Jones	1	$1,600.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$16,800.00	10%
Atlanta	A. W. Jones	12	$32,000.00	$10,000.00	$50,000.00	$164,080.00	20%
Atlanta	J.M. Jones	16	$40,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$40,400.00	99%
Atlanta	Wife of J.M. Jones	9	$22,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$24,200.00	93%
Atlanta	T.C. Jackson	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$80,000.00	$90,000.00	7%
Atlanta	J.M. Jack	12	$48,000.00	$6,500.00	$3,500.00	$91,700.00	52%
Atlanta	J.B. Jennings	8	$20,000.00	$50,000.00	$0.00	$98,000.00	20%
Atlanta	J.F. Jackson	1	$500.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$7,000.00	7%
Atlanta	J.O. Sharper	5	$12,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$14,000.00	86%
Atlanta	Micheal Killy	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$16,000.00	$21,600.00	5%
Atlanta	Wife of Micheal Killy	5	$7,500.00	$0.00	$100,000.00	$150,400.00	5%
Atlanta	J.D. Kerlin	4	$11,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$11,250.00	98%

Atlanta	Wife of J.D. Kerlin	3	$5,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$22,300.00	22%
Atlanta	W.J. Kilby	2	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,050.00	79%
Atlanta	Mrs. Laneau	1	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Kutcheson	1	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Ed Kennedy	5	$14,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$66,700.00	21%
Atlanta	C. Kunts	1	$2,000.00	$5,000.00	$50,000.00	$59,600.00	3%
Atlanta	W. J. Kibby	2	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Mrs. M E Lane	7	$11,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,300.00	94%
Atlanta	W C Lawshe	1	$1,000.00	$3,000.00	$30,000.00	$40,200.00	2%
Atlanta	G M Lester	2	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,800.00	92%
Atlanta	E R Lawshe	7	$20,000.00	$6,000.00	$50,000.00	$108,500.00	18%
Atlanta	L L Landrum	2	$7,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,200.00	97%
Atlanta	Peter Lynch	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$45,000.00	$62,950.00	10%
Atlanta	J Lowenthal	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	13%
Atlanta	Mrs. Caroline Lemon	5	$15,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$31,400.00	48%
Atlanta	Lewis Lawshe	3	$12,000.00	$13,000.00	$70,000.00	$107,400.00	11%
Atlanta	Trust for Wife and Children(Lewis Lawshe)	3	$7,000.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	$11,000.00	64%
Atlanta	Lawshe & Purtele	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$147,100.00	3%
Atlanta	T D Lines	1	$900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,300.00	21%
Atlanta	E S Luckie	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,450.00	41%
Atlanta	T H Luckie	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	80%
Atlanta	Mrs. P F Luckie	25	$25,000.00	$60,200.00	$0.00	$88,900.00	28%
Atlanta	Jno Ryan	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$80,000.00	$85,950.00	5%
Atlanta	J P Logan	10	$25,000.00	$16,500.00	$18,000.00	$81,500.00	31%
Atlanta	Mrs. A T Pannell	3	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$55,000.00	18%
Atlanta	T G Little	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$11,100.00	27%
Atlanta	Owen Lynch	1	$500.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$17,100.00	3%
Atlanta	Patrick Lynch	10	$30,000.00	$30,000.00	$40,000.00	$110,700.00	27%
Atlanta	James Lynch	1	$500.00	$0.00	$50,000.00	$51,900.00	1%
Atlanta	Lankford	3	$11,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$51,700.00	21%
Atlanta	Mrs. A M Lynn	32	$40,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$56,500.00	71%
Atlanta	W A Lansdell	4	$8,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$65,800.00	12%
Atlanta	J T Lewis	8	$28,000.00	$13,200.00	$25,000.00	$134,200.00	21%
Atlanta	S B Love	7	$18,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$37,000.00	49%

Atlanta	Jn Lockhart Jr	13	$30,000.00	$25,000.00	$0.00	$89,000.00	34%
Atlanta	T A Morris	2	$5,500.00	$0.00	$15,500.00	$30,400.00	18%
Atlanta	L F M Mills	1	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,700.00	88%
Atlanta	Agent for Wife (L F M Mills)	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	$13,500.00	44%
Atlanta	Agent for Wife (E W Monday)	1	$1,000.00	$2,400.00	$4,000.00	$7,400.00	14%
Atlanta	W C Moore	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$18,000.00	11%
Atlanta	R Q Mallard	7	$19,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$29,980.00	65%
Atlanta	Jas Mulligan	2	$6,000.00	$2,400.00	$0.00	$7,050.00	85%
Atlanta	W P Moon	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	$26,500.00	9%
Atlanta	Mrs. Sarah Mead	5	$9,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,450.00	98%
Atlanta	J H Mead	7	$19,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$34,000.00	56%
Atlanta	C M Morris	1	$5,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$25,000.00	20%
Atlanta	J M Morris	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,700.00	39%
Atlanta	Wm Markham	4	$12,000.00	$25,200.00	$650,000.00	$731,150.00	2%
Atlanta	M Murphy	5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$38,300.00	26%
Atlanta	J R Mayson	5	$10,600.00	$15,000.00	$15,000.00	$34,200.00	31%
Atlanta	David Mayer	7	$14,000.00	$5,000.00	$75,000.00	$132,700.00	11%
Atlanta	Andrews Miller	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$22,600.00	27%
Atlanta	S Mayer	3	$5,000.00	$0.00	$35,000.00	$41,500.00	12%
Atlanta	A E Marshall	6	$12,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$17,800.00	67%
Atlanta	Jno Odencis	4	$11,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$11,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Wm Mims	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$24,000.00	13%
Atlanta	J R Mayson Trust for B Mell	5	$7,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	100%
Atlanta	P H Mill Trust Mrs. V F Bessant	5	$7,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,900.00	84%
Atlanta	W H Mell	12	$24,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$36,875.00	65%
Atlanta	Mrs. E Martin	22	$47,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$74,100.00	63%
Atlanta	John McFall	14	$36,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$41,300.00	87%
Atlanta	W C Moore	5	$11,000.00	$1,000.00	$30,000.00	$44,850.00	25%
Atlanta	J W Medlock	7	$12,000.00	$40,000.00	$15,000.00	$77,800.00	15%
Atlanta	Peter Monaghan	4	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$13,100.00	61%
Atlanta	Larry Murrains	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$6,300.00	24%
Atlanta	H Muhlenbrink	11	$16,000.00	$6,000.00	$115,000.00	$141,500.00	11%
Atlanta	R J Massey	18	$63,000.00	$28,000.00	$0.00	$132,700.00	47%

Atlanta	Trust for Wife and Children (R J Massey)	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$21,000.00	29%
Atlanta	Mrs. S Massey	7	$25,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Spencer Marsh	3	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$75,960.00	11%
Atlanta	A P Algood	8	$20,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$22,300.00	90%
Atlanta	E W Marsh	8	$17,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$34,500.00	51%
Atlanta	W B Morris	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,700.00	74%
Atlanta	J I Miller	4	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$22,200.00	45%
Atlanta	A W Mitchell	9	$24,000.00	$12,500.00	$73,000.00	$147,850.00	16%
Atlanta	Peter Bairce	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta	A S Meyer	2	$8,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$152,000.00	5%
Atlanta	A A Murphy	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$14,000.00	29%
Atlanta	S A Morris	3	$12,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$28,500.00	42%
Atlanta	H B Meredith	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$34,300.00	9%
Atlanta	H T Martin	3	$7,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$22,000.00	32%
Atlanta	J Minor	4	$9,600.00	$0.00	$0.00	$13,430.00	71%
Atlanta	T J McGarrie	1	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	33%
Atlanta	Jno McDonough	5	$15,000.00	$0.00	$21,000.00	$131,400.00	11%
Atlanta	Francis Minor	8	$21,590.00	$0.00	$0.00	$21,790.00	99%
Atlanta	S H Moore	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Atlanta	W H Barnes	4	$8,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$50,700.00	16%
Atlanta	Geo McGinley	17	$40,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$154,600.00	26%
Atlanta	R H McCrosky	4	$9,600.00	$0.00	$45,000.00	$68,350.00	14%
Atlanta	William McNaughh	6	$10,000.00	$50,000.00	$0.00	$66,000.00	15%
Atlanta	Novelty Prest	2	$9,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$143,000.00	6%
Atlanta	J D McLin	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$13,500.00	22%
Atlanta	W H McMillan	2	$1,500.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$5,200.00	29%
Atlanta	J C McDaniel	1	$500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	14%
Atlanta	P E McDaniel	20	$50,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$105,250.00	48%
Atlanta	John McMasters	5	$5,000.00	$23,500.00	$2,500.00	$63,800.00	8%
Atlanta	Wm McConnell	5	$13,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$35,800.00	36%
Atlanta	T W McArthur	4	$4,500.00	$0.00	$85,500.00	$101,100.00	4%
Atlanta	O McDaniel	1	$800.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$15,000.00	5%
Atlanta	Wm McMillan	1	$4,500.00	$22,000.00	$0.00	$31,350.00	14%
Atlanta	S H Nix & Mrs. A E Nix	2	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$13,000.00	77%

Atlanta	A Newmayer	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,700.00	19%
Atlanta	S D Niles	6	$21,000.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$86,400.00	24%
Atlanta	Thos Nicholson	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$14,700.00	41%
Atlanta	Trust for J F Oneal	4	$6,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$26,000.00	23%
Atlanta	J R D Ozburn	4	$12,000.00	$56,000.00	$35,000.00	$109,000.00	11%
Atlanta	R E Oslin	1	$4,500.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$27,350.00	16%
Atlanta	Mrs. E S Overly	4	$14,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$19,600.00	74%
Atlanta	Powel Owen	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,990.00	55%
Atlanta	A J Orme	2	$7,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,700.00	55%
Atlanta	James Ormond	1	$2,000.00	$60,000.00	$0.00	$95,650.00	2%
Atlanta	Agent for WIfe(James Ormond)	16	$32,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$32,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Agent for Mrs. M E WIlson	8	$15,000.00	$0.00	$22,500.00	$42,500.00	35%
Atlanta	R Orme	5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$62,500.00	$82,500.00	12%
Atlanta	J R Pitts	1	$4,000.00	$7,500.00	$45,000.00	$67,800.00	6%
Atlanta	J B Payne	9	$18,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$46,500.00	39%
Atlanta	H H Parks	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,850.00	29%
Atlanta	G A Pilgrim	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	59%
Atlanta	R A Pittman	2	$4,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$23,000.00	17%
Atlanta	J G Pound	4	$6,600.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$16,647.00	40%
Atlanta	W G Peters	15	$35,000.00	$40,000.00	$30,000.00	$151,500.00	23%
Atlanta	Graves Pennington	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	67%
Atlanta	Chapman Powell	7	$20,000.00	$25,000.00	$70,000.00	$134,920.00	15%
Atlanta	J J Powell	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,200.00	65%
Atlanta	S L Powell	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	75%
Atlanta	G W L Powell	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	75%
Atlanta	F J Powell	2	$4,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$13,000.00	31%
Atlanta	Trust for Wife (Price J W)	6	$12,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,500.00	96%
Atlanta	Isaiah Purse	4	$12,000.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$52,500.00	23%
Atlanta	E Parsons	16	$40,000.00	$12,000.00	$6,000.00	$64,400.00	62%
Atlanta	Wm Powers	8	$18,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$38,400.00	47%
Atlanta	C A Pitts	6	$15,000.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$44,800.00	33%
Atlanta	Atlanta Roll Mill Co	29	$87,000.00	$639,000.00	$0.00	$732,000.00	12%

Atlanta	Jas T Peacock	3	$4,200.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$6,200.00	68%
Atlanta	Sarah Armstrong	2	$3,500.00	$250.00	$0.00	$3,750.00	93%
Atlanta	J M Patton	13	$34,500.00	$32,500.00	$0.00	$98,350.00	35%
Atlanta	J T Hackett	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,275.00	43%
Atlanta	F P Perdue	5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$38,600.00	26%
Atlanta	Mrs. L J Plaster	7	$17,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$24,900.00	68%
Atlanta	Mrs. E A Plaster	7	$10,500.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$24,000.00	44%
Atlanta	D L Plaster	6	$14,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$22,400.00	63%
Atlanta	J B Peek Trust for A E Peck	3	$5,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$47,850.00	10%
Atlanta	L J Pinkerton	2	$4,500.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$16,600.00	27%
Atlanta	P P Peas	4	$12,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$52,700.00	24%
Atlanta	Mrs. Peas	2	$3,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	60%
Atlanta	Trust for Mrs. Peas	2	$4,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	67%
Atlanta	Rich Peters	13	$33,900.00	$75,000.00	$160,000.00	$524,900.00	6%
Atlanta	W G Peters Trust Mrs. R J Erskin	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$50,000.00	8%
Atlanta	J H Purtell	3	$8,000.00	$4,000.00	$10,000.00	$29,800.00	27%
Atlanta	Agent for Wife(John Peal)	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$6,500.00	23%
Atlanta	R Parsons	3	$7,000.00	$5,000.00	$6,000.00	$26,700.00	26%
Atlanta	Trust for wife (H Pettis)	11	$30,500.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$42,500.00	72%
Atlanta	James A Pate	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,650.00	68%
Atlanta	E Priest	2	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$13,200.00	30%
Atlanta	Agent for Mrs. L C Hoyle	2	$4,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$8,500.00	47%
Atlanta	C M Payne	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$8,500.00	35%
Atlanta	T S Powell	7	$20,000.00	$1,250.00	$20,000.00	$53,350.00	37%
Atlanta	Mrs. Bass	6	$16,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$19,500.00	85%
Atlanta	M B Parham	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,900.00	76%
Atlanta	E G Pearl	3	$8,000.00	$24,000.00	$10,000.00	$49,000.00	16%
Atlanta	Edwin Payne	1	$1,000.00	$36,900.00	$97,000.00	$147,700.00	1%
Atlanta	C C Rhodes	6	$8,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$39,325.00	20%
Atlanta	P M Rickett	2	$4,500.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$30,100.00	15%
Atlanta	Thomas Reed	1	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	88%
Atlanta	Z A Rice	6	$12,000.00	$0.00	$57,500.00	$97,550.00	12%

Atlanta	Trust for wife (J W Rucker)	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	100%
Atlanta	J F Reeves	6	$12,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$31,800.00	38%
Atlanta	J L Rodgers	2	$5,000.00	$11,500.00	$0.00	$38,000.00	13%
Atlanta	J W Robins	1	$500.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	$2,800.00	18%
Atlanta	T G Rawlins	4	$12,000.00	$32,000.00	$51,000.00	$182,200.00	7%
Atlanta	G B Roberts	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$10,500.00	10%
Atlanta	E E Rawson	8	$16,000.00	$55,000.00	$362,000.00	$465,950.00	3%
Atlanta	F P Rice	2	$3,500.00	$0.00	$1,000.00	$23,140.00	15%
Atlanta	C Rowell	5	$15,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$16,000.00	94%
Atlanta	R C Robson	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,500.00	57%
Atlanta	S B Robson	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$23,000.00	13%
Atlanta	H Rodgers	3	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Faulkner Richardson	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$97,000.00	3%
Atlanta	Trust for Wife(Wright Rodgers)	2	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	J J Richards	7	$17,500.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$47,800.00	37%
Atlanta	L P Richards	4	$10,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$15,000.00	67%
Atlanta	L J J Richards	1	$3,000.00	$28,000.00	$33,000.00	$119,500.00	3%
Atlanta	T S Reynolds	6	$10,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$22,500.00	44%
Atlanta	Saml A Raborg	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,300.00	12%
Atlanta	Agent for Wife (Saml A Raborg)	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$16,000.00	38%
Atlanta	Miss M T Mason	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	$16,800.00	36%
Atlanta	Sidny Root	6	$15,700.00	$16,250.00	$0.00	$45,450.00	35%
Atlanta	A B Ragan	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$59,300.00	4%
Atlanta	Trust for wife(A B Ragan)	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$6,500.00	23%
Atlanta	W W Rowark	4	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$12,600.00	48%
Atlanta	G G Roy	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	60%
Atlanta	T R Ripley	3	$9,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$69,000.00	13%
Atlanta	Jas Williams	3	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100%
Atlanta	W J Small	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$43,000.00	2%
Atlanta	A Shaw Guardian Miss E S & E Shaw	1	$500.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$6,500.00	8%
Atlanta	E B Sasseen	20	$50,000.00	$36,000.00	$100,000.00	$218,500.00	23%
Atlanta	Felix Lowers	2	$4,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,600.00	98%

Atlanta	Agent for Wife & Children(Felix Lowers)	4	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,200.00	98%
Atlanta	Mrs. Martha Simmons	4	$16,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$52,200.00	31%
Atlanta	B D Smith	5	$18,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$69,700.00	26%
Atlanta	Thos Scrutchen	20	$40,000.00	$0.00	$48,000.00	$167,200.00	24%
Atlanta	Lewis Scofield	7	$22,000.00	$100,000.00	$520,000.00	$686,750.00	3%
Atlanta	V K Stevenson	8	$16,500.00	$0.00	$50,000.00	$79,100.00	21%
Atlanta	A K Seago	17	$42,000.00	$72,700.00	$25,000.00	$177,050.00	24%
Atlanta	D S Salmins	11	$26,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$71,700.00	36%
Atlanta	Simmons Salman	3	$12,000.00	$6,000.00	$48,000.00	$125,500.00	10%
Atlanta	Wm Solimon	12	$36,000.00	$22,000.00	$145,000.00	$288,500.00	12%
Atlanta	Doughtery & Silvey	17	$51,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$118,000.00	43%
Atlanta	J H Silvey	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100%
Atlanta	E N Spiller	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$69,000.00	4%
Atlanta	Ransom Seay	1	$800.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,600.00	17%
Atlanta	J N Simmons	14	$30,000.00	$0.00	$35,000.00	$77,500.00	39%
Atlanta	F Straus	5	$6,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$51,000.00	12%
Atlanta	T T Smith	3	$7,000.00	$9,000.00	$30,000.00	$200,200.00	3%
Atlanta	B D Shumate	5	$19,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	$29,200.00	65%
Atlanta	J L Sehon	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$49,650.00	8%
Atlanta	J H Seals	4	$12,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$47,800.00	25%
Atlanta	C H Strong	5	$22,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$109,700.00	20%
Atlanta	W C Sanders	2	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$13,100.00	38%
Atlanta	A Shcoab	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$50,000.00	6%
Atlanta	Wm A Shelby	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100%
Atlanta	S J Shackeford	4	$7,000.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$34,850.00	20%
Atlanta	J H Smith	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$23,200.00	4%
Atlanta	S B Sherwood	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,750.00	77%
Atlanta	Joe S Smith	5	$15,000.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$43,500.00	34%
Atlanta	J T Trout	6	$13,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$13,700.00	95%
Atlanta	F D Thurmond	2	$4,500.00	$0.00	$60,000.00	$78,660.00	6%
Atlanta	S W Thornton	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$16,000.00	19%
Atlanta	Mrs. E Thomas admin. T L Thomas	1	$1,000.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$26,000.00	4%
Atlanta	Mrs. Julia Thrask	4	$10,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	$16,200.00	62%

Atlanta	J J Thrasher	26	$83,000.00	$76,000.00	$0.00	$204,100.00	41%
Atlanta	J S Thrasher	4	$10,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$30,500.00	33%
Atlanta	Benji Thurman	3	$6,000.00	$2,000.00	$9,500.00	$21,300.00	28%
Atlanta	W T Trammell	14	$28,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$104,200.00	27%
Atlanta	J Thompson	15	$45,000.00	$0.00	$225,000.00	$307,200.00	15%
Atlanta	J J Toon	5	$15,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$116,500.00	13%
Atlanta	J A Taylor	7	$14,000.00	$10,000.00	$25,000.00	$76,000.00	18%
Atlanta	W R Venable	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,200.00	73%
Atlanta	Sarah Venable	6	$18,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	100%
Atlanta	A C Van Eppo	4	$7,000.00	$0.00	$14,000.00	$57,240.00	12%
Atlanta	A C Vail	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$53,500.00	3%
Atlanta	Reverend J S Wilson	3	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	50%
Atlanta	M M Wilson	1	$200.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,025.00	20%
Atlanta	J M Wiley	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$25,498.00	24%
Atlanta	Mrs. Nancy Woddail	16	$37,100.00	$0.00	$50,000.00	$90,000.00	41%
Atlanta	E A Werner Agent Mrs. A Ware	4	$8,000.00	$16,000.00	$25,000.00	$62,300.00	13%
Atlanta	R A W Weaver Trust for Wife	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100%
Atlanta	Mrs. L Walker	10	$25,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$36,100.00	69%
Atlanta	Joseph Winship	9	$26,000.00	$0.00	$125,000.00	$189,200.00	14%
Atlanta	Joseph Winship Agent for J H Burr	5	$11,500.00	$4,000.00	$33,000.00	$53,550.00	21%
Atlanta	Joseph Winship Guardian M A Hice	6	$16,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$16,500.00	100%
Atlanta	Joseph Winship Trust for Wife	6	$16,100.00	$0.00	$0.00	$16,100.00	100%
Atlanta	J M Weaver	2	$3,500.00	$0.00	$52,500.00	$65,250.00	5%
Atlanta	T U West Agent Barman	2	$1,100.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$13,080.00	8%
Atlanta	B F Walker	4	$12,000.00	$15,000.00	$0.00	$29,700.00	40%
Atlanta	H H Witt Trust for Wife	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$10,000.00	40%
Atlanta	W B Webb Agent for Mrs. C M Webb	4	$7,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	100%
Atlanta	R J Johnson	7	$18,000.00	$10,000.00	$10,000.00	$40,750.00	44%

Atlanta	J C White	8	$13,350.00	$0.00	$21,000.00	$47,550.00	28%
Atlanta	J L Winter	4	$12,500.00	$0.00	$32,000.00	$54,200.00	23%
Atlanta	CW Winter	12	$35,000.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	$44,700.00	78%
Atlanta	J R Wallace	11	$27,000.00	$25,000.00	$83,000.00	$173,600.00	16%
Atlanta	Geo Winship	5	$12,500.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$19,300.00	65%
Atlanta	J D Wells Trust for Wife	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$20,800.00	29%
Atlanta	L C Wells	6	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$11,750.00	85%
Atlanta	T S Wood	6	$12,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$16,400.00	73%
Atlanta	E B Walker	3	$8,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$48,650.00	16%
Atlanta	J I Whitaker	12	$27,000.00	$0.00	$125,000.00	$262,000.00	10%
Atlanta	Thos Allen	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100%
Atlanta	Wm Wilson	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$11,900.00	13%
Atlanta	Taylor Wilburn	5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$80,900.00	12%
Atlanta	E B Wilburn	7	$21,500.00	$16,000.00	$0.00	$50,500.00	43%
Atlanta	A W Weaver Trust for Wife	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100%
Atlanta	J C Whitner Trust for Wife	11	$24,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$24,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Mrs. S R Cobb	4	$15,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	100%
Atlanta	Isaac Winship	12	$18,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$74,500.00	24%
Atlanta	R Winship	6	$13,000.00	$0.00	$15,000.00	$38,200.00	34%
Atlanta	J R Winship	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$30,000.00	$85,600.00	2%
Atlanta	A W Wooten	7	$20,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$23,500.00	85%
Atlanta	J F Walker	2	$4,500.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$12,800.00	35%
Atlanta	J G Westmoreland	8	$16,600.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$73,200.00	23%
Atlanta	W F Westmoreland	3	$11,000.00	$0.00	$60,000.00	$77,300.00	14%
Atlanta	J R Woodson	11	$27,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$63,900.00	43%
Atlanta	A S Worrell	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,500.00	56%
Atlanta	J M Willis	3	$9,500.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	$74,700.00	13%
Atlanta	J M Willis Agent for Wife	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	$20,500.00	12%
Atlanta	Mrs. H Harrison	2	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100%
Atlanta	J E Williams	4	$10,000.00	$0.00	$83,000.00	$135,400.00	7%
Atlanta	Wm Watkins	4	$10,000.00	$10,000.00	$30,000.00	$113,000.00	9%
Atlanta	J S Wright	2	$5,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	$38,000.00	13%
Atlanta	Mrs. A Green	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	71%
Atlanta	W J Wright	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	100%

Atlanta	S B Whitehead	6	$10,000.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	$20,500.00	49%
Atlanta	Mrs. N Wiley	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$15,000.00	20%
Atlanta	Miss Amanda Wiley	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	H M WIley	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Atlanta	T E Whitaker	20	$40,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$60,000.00	67%
Atlanta	D Young	4	$16,000.00	$12,000.00	$81,500.00	$213,700.00	7%
Atlanta	John Young	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	$7,700.00	26%
Atlanta	B Zachery	2	$5,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	$22,114.00	23%
Atlanta	R P Zimmerman	4	$9,000.00	$0.00	$50,000.00	$68,000.00	13%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	J. J. Culling	5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$28,000.00	36%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	Dr. J. N. Dorsey	43	$86,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$172,000.00	50%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	Thomas R. Herring	3	$9,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$62,000.00	15%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	W. G. Tishback	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,500.00	86%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	W. G. Hernden	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$19,330.00	21%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	W. L. High	5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$51,000.00	20%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	Hirsh (Agent for Wife)	3	$7,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,500.00	93%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	Thomas J. Kean	19	$40,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$41,300.00	97%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	Jacob Keefe	1	$4,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	57%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	William Kyle	5	$10,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	$22,000.00	45%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	S. R. Kraven	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$38,200.00	8%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	Mrs. C. Kellen	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	$3,800.00	39%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	R.J. Lowery	2	$7,000.00	$0.00	$25,000.00	$94,000.00	7%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	J. H. Lovejoy	3	$9,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$84,660.00	11%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	E.C. Murphy	1	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,240.00	83%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	T.C. Markley	3	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	28%

Atlanta (Defaulters)	W.A. McLendin	7	$14,000.00	$0.00	$40,000.00	$67,000.00	21%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	W.S. Stokes	3	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	60%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	T.G. Sims	11	$30,000.00	$4,000.00	$9,000.00	$79,000.00	38%
Atlanta (Defaulters)	M. Wittgenstin	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	$50,000.00	12%
Black Hall	Wm Avery	2	$4,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$12,700.00	31%
Black Hall	G W Adair	7	$24,500.00	$50,000.00	$0.00	$111,200.00	22%
Black Hall	N B Forrest	26	$90,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$90,000.00	100%
Black Hall	B B Amos	13	$33,000.00	$30,700.00	$0.00	$110,600.00	30%
Black Hall	Mrs. M F Beasley	1	$2,500.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$5,800.00	43%
Black Hall	Mrs. Elizabeth Connally	1	$2,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	42%
Black Hall	Wm Connally	3	$6,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$7,000.00	86%
Black Hall	J M Connally	2	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,400.00	93%
Black Hall	N J Doolittle	2	$4,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$17,500.00	23%
Black Hall	J S Gilbert	1	$5,000.00	$15,000.00	$0.00	$27,625.00	18%
Black Hall	J D Graham	6	$13,000.00	$14,000.00	$0.00	$30,400.00	43%
Black Hall	James Hill	2	$3,500.00	$13,000.00	$5,000.00	$32,850.00	11%
Black Hall	S K Hill	6	$12,000.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$19,520.00	61%
Black Hall	J W Humphreys	1	$1,500.00	$2,800.00	$0.00	$6,300.00	24%
Black Hall	G B Haygood	4	$10,500.00	$33,000.00	$23,000.00	$78,300.00	13%
Black Hall	Edward Harper	5	$14,500.00	$12,600.00	$1,500.00	$36,800.00	39%
Black Hall	J T Jarman	3	$5,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$6,500.00	77%
Black Hall	Benji Little	2	$6,000.00	$59,000.00	$0.00	$71,200.00	8%
Black Hall	James Landrum Agent for Wife	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,000.00	100%
Black Hall	H L McDaniel	13	$23,000.00	$3,000.00	$8,000.00	$39,400.00	58%
Black Hall	J A McCool	2	$4,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,800.00	66%
Black Hall	C T Okeefe	2	$5,000.00	$25,000.00	$0.00	$63,000.00	8%
Black Hall	A S Pool	2	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,725.00	74%
Black Hall	Mrs. M S Garlick	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100%
Black Hall	Mrs. M S Garlick (Admin.)	1	$1,500.00	$27,200.00	$0.00	$28,700.00	5%
Black Hall	C S Pool	2	$4,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,325.00	71%
Black Hall	J J L Pool	2	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Black Hall	T J Perkerson	8	$16,000.00	$16,300.00	$0.00	$50,530.00	32%

Black Hall	B B Ranson Agent for Wife	3	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100%
Black Hall	J M C Reed	15	$52,500.00	$35,000.00	$0.00	$141,100.00	37%
Black Hall	A Ratterce Jr	18	$30,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$122,000.00	25%
Black Hall	C F Schven	4	$10,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$14,000.00	71%
Black Hall	R T Stokes	8	$24,000.00	$10,780.00	$0.00	$50,930.00	47%
Black Hall	Trust for N J Stokes	7	$10,000.00	$800.00	$0.00	$12,800.00	78%
Black Hall	Mrs. M A Sanders	3	$6,000.00	$800.00	$0.00	$6,800.00	88%
Black Hall	John Stanley	3	$5,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$13,100.00	38%
Black Hall	Stephen Terry	2	$4,000.00	$30,000.00	$0.00	$42,350.00	9%
Black Hall	Guardian for W M Terry	4	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	100%
Black Hall	E M Taliaferro	40	$90,000.00	$40,000.00	$0.00	$151,800.00	59%
Black Hall	E M Pool	6	$18,000.00	$14,000.00	$0.00	$33,500.00	54%
Black Hall	A Tomlinson	2	$3,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$7,250.00	48%
Black Hall	J W Terry	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$9,600.00	63%
Black Hall	Benji Thurmund	1	$3,000.00	$15,000.00	$0.00	$23,600.00	13%
Black Hall	Robt Todd Jr	11	$22,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$26,000.00	85%
Black Hall	F M White	1	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,000.00	70%
Black Hall	Miss E Suttles	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,500.00	100%
Black Hall	W R Webster	8	$15,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$26,500.00	57%
Black Hall	R Duncan	1	$2,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$8,400.00	24%
Black Hall	Edward White	6	$18,000.00	$50,000.00	$0.00	$169,250.00	11%
Black Hall Defaulters	J.A. Jett	4	$10,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$86,600.00	12%
Buckhead	L Arendel	4	$12,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$17,820.00	67%
Buckhead	John Barnes	8	$24,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$35,900.00	67%
Buckhead	Mrs. S A Bellinger Est. J M Bellenger	15	$26,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$38,400.00	68%
Buckhead	Cox Carr	1	$3,200.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$10,900.00	29%
Buckhead	W A Calahan	1	$2,500.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$4,900.00	51%
Buckhead	W G Collier Jr	5	$10,000.00	$12,000.00	$0.00	$22,500.00	44%
Buckhead	R Campbell Jr	1	$4,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	44%
Buckhead	S H Donaldson	3	$6,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$15,850.00	38%
Buckhead	J L Evans	12	$24,000.00	$0.00	$20,000.00	$73,100.00	33%
Buckhead	Mrs. S Ellington	7	$16,000.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$25,800.00	62%
Buckhead	P House	8	$13,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$27,000.00	48%

Buckhead	Clark Howell	31	$60,000.00	$55,000.00	$15,000.00	$168,200.00	36%
Buckhead	R B Hex Jr	1	$3,000.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$9,800.00	31%
Buckhead	Irby Henry Jr	12	$30,000.00	$36,000.00	$10,000.00	$85,200.00	35%
Buckhead	R B Jett	9	$20,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$24,650.00	81%
Buckhead	W P Johnson	5	$14,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$29,700.00	47%
Buckhead	Burch Jett Jr	4	$8,000.00	$7,000.00	$0.00	$16,800.00	48%
Buckhead	Jas Lowry	2	$1,000.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$2,850.00	35%
Buckhead	M A Leake	6	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$22,700.00	44%
Buckhead	R F Mattox	15	$35,000.00	$7,000.00	$20,000.00	$67,450.00	52%
Buckhead	J A Mattox Jr	2	$4,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,200.00	49%
Buckhead	A B McAffee	28	$50,000.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$72,600.00	69%
Buckhead	J B Peavy	6	$11,000.00	$7,000.00	$0.00	$22,115.00	50%
Buckhead	Mrs. N C Plaster	6	$15,000.00	$13,000.00	$0.00	$34,050.00	44%
Buckhead	Mrs. S Plaster	6	$20,000.00	$7,000.00	$0.00	$28,700.00	70%
Buckhead	L K Pace	20	$40,000.00	$26,600.00	$0.00	$74,700.00	54%
Buckhead	Miss S J Plaster	7	$10,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$13,600.00	74%
Buckhead	P H Randall	30	$50,000.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$77,300.00	65%
Buckhead	J H Smith	6	$12,000.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$28,000.00	43%
Buckhead	J W Smith Jr	7	$14,000.00	$9,000.00	$0.00	$25,500.00	55%
Buckhead	Mrs. M J Trimble	7	$14,000.00	$18,000.00	$0.00	$40,600.00	34%
Buckhead	J J Vaughnn	4	$7,000.00	$3,500.00	$0.00	$13,500.00	52%
Cooks	J T Acridge Jr	2	$5,000.00	$16,000.00	$1,500.00	$26,200.00	19%
Cooks	G B Bridwell	2	$8,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$18,450.00	43%
Cooks	R Campbell	1	$3,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$8,000.00	38%
Cooks	E M Dunnahoo	10	$25,000.00	$20,000.00	$0.00	$50,000.00	50%
Cooks	James Dunnahoo	4	$8,000.00	$9,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	44%
Cooks	Martin Defer Jr	7	$12,000.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$22,200.00	54%
Cooks	H H Embry	8	$10,000.00	$18,450.00	$0.00	$32,750.00	31%
Cooks	E R Elliott Jr	4	$10,000.00	$40,000.00	$0.00	$52,500.00	19%
Cooks	Mrs. S Elliott	2	$3,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$7,800.00	38%
Cooks	Miss S C Elliott	1	$1,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$4,700.00	21%
Cooks	H M Elliott Jr	2	$7,000.00	$12,000.00	$0.00	$22,700.00	31%
Cooks	J C Franklin	8	$20,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$27,300.00	73%
Cooks	S L Fielder	1	$1,200.00	$12,000.00	$0.00	$19,200.00	6%
Cooks	Wm Fincher Jr	3	$7,000.00	$12,000.00	$0.00	$22,500.00	31%
Cooks	P A Goulding	3	$7,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$15,450.00	45%
Cooks	J C Huff	2	$2,500.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	25%

Cooks	Thos Jourdin	2	$5,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$13,700.00	36%
Cooks	J L Mayson	6	$12,000.00	$40,000.00	$0.00	$65,850.00	18%
Cooks	E L McGriffs	1	$3,500.00	$25,000.00	$0.00	$37,470.00	9%
Cooks	J L Mayson Trust for W C Mayson	2	$6,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,000.00	100%
Cooks	Benji May Trust for Mrs. Ponder	57	$143,000.00	$75,000.00	$0.00	$245,200.00	58%
Cooks	Thos Moore	4	$6,000.00	$50,000.00	$0.00	$75,700.00	8%
Cooks	B F Mauldin	2	$3,500.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$10,000.00	35%
Cooks	B. J. B. Pool	18	$36,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$75,000.00	48%
Cooks	Matthew Osburn	1	$4,000.00	$30,000.00	$0.00	$4,000.00	100%
Cooks	T. J. Pool	2	$5,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$5,455.00	92%
Cooks	M. M. Ragsdale	6	$12,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$12,000.00	100%
Cooks	W. E. Simms	3	$7,000.00	$12,000.00	$0.00	$239,000.00	3%
Cooks	R. S. Thomas	16	$32,000.00	$11,000.00	$12,000.00	$96,500.00	33%
Cooks	B. B. Touchston	8	$18,000.00	$2,970.00	$0.00	$53,400.00	34%
Cooks	Charles Whitehead	49	$75,000.00	$18,850.00	$0.00	$105,990.00	71%
Cooks	Charles Whitehead (P. S. Down)	30	$45,900.00	$0.00	$0.00	$46,900.00	98%
Cooks	A. H. Webb	3	$2,500.00	5200	$0.00	$8,900.00	28%
Cooks	A. H. Webb (A. C. Delph)	1	$3,000.00	0	$0.00	$3,000.00	100%
Cooks	Jesse Wood	4	$9,000.00	$55,000.00	$600.00	$71,800.00	13%
Cooks	Moses Wood	1	$2,000.00	$3,200.00	$0.00	$4,300.00	47%
Cooks	C. F. Wood	14	$25,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$28,000.00	89%
Oak Grove	J. Craven	4	$12,000.00	$10,000.00	$20,000.00	$44,500.00	27%
Oak Grove	J. Craven (V. W. Craven)	1	$3,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$4,700.00	74%
Oak Grove	Johnathan Dalrimple	6	$10,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$11,600.00	86%
Oak Grove	J. M. Isam	2	$4,000.00	$1,000.00	0	$23,200.00	17%
Oak Grove	G.W. Thomason	2	$5,000.00	$3,000.00	$12,000.00	$23,200.00	22%
Oak Grove	J. L. Wing	11	$25,000.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$37,600.00	66%
Stones	E. H. Bell	1	$3,300.00	$0.00	$0.00	$11,975.00	28%
Stones	Larkin Baker	10	$20,000.00	$5,700.00	$0.00	$47,725.00	42%
Stones	William Bryant (Agent for Selina Pratt)	6	$12,000.00	$18,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	67%

Stones	William Bryant (Agent for J. M. Roan)	1	$4,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$4,200.00	95%
Stones	Henry Bankston	5	$9,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$18,550.00	49%
Stones	Jesse Childress	8	$16,000.00	$15,000.00	$0.00	$42,900.00	37%
Stones	Archibald Collett	2	$5,000.00	$4,000.00	$0.00	$11,500.00	43%
Stones	T. W. Connally	8	$20,000.00	$26,250.00	$0.00	$60,600.00	33%
Stones	A. Cochran	2	$6,000.00	$50,000.00	$0.00	$17,700.00	34%
Stones	Jesse Dollar	4	$6,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$18,600.00	32%
Stones	J. N. DeFur	10	$20,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$30,800.00	65%
Stones	E. Dunnahoo	3	$8,000.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$18,000.00	44%
Stones	J. J. Fam	1	$2,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$10,500.00	19%
Stones	J. J. Fam (Agent: L. C. Peacock)	1	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100%
Stones	J. K. Fain (Est. of E. Fain)	3	$7,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$16,650.00	42%
Stones	William Gilbert	41	$65,000.00	$36,000.00	$0.00	$119,280.00	54%
Stones	H. H. Glenn	60	$120,000.00	$60,000.00	$0.00	$192,500.00	62%
Stones	C. C. Green	15	$30,000.00	$40,000.00	$0.00	$79,000.00	38%
Stones	Admin Estate W. A. Green	19	$38,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$52,000.00	73%
Stones	Joel Herring	13	$35,000.00	$2,500.00	$0.00	$59,400.00	59%
Stones	William Holbrook	6	$15,000.00	$14,400.00	$0.00	$36,720.00	41%
Stones	Estate of N. Hornsby	5	$12,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$23,800.00	50%
Stones	Mrs. A. Hatchcock	4	$6,000.00	$2,000.00	$0.00	$8,800.00	68%
Stones	Mrs. S. A. Kennedy	10	$15,000.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$24,900.00	60%
Stones	T. A. Kennedy	7	$16,000.00	$10,000.00	$9,000.00	$38,500.00	42%
Stones	C.C. & A. G. Kennedy	6	$8,500.00	$1,000.00	$0.00	$11,000.00	77%
Stones	John Lee	1	$1,200.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$4,800.00	25%
Stones	Andrew Macmson	8	$16,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$30,840.00	52%
Stones	Duncan McDuffie	1	$1,200.00	$1,600.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	75%
Stones	Azi Mimms	5	$9,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$14,500.00	62%
Stones	James Oliver	7	$19,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$34,300.00	55%
Stones	L. P. Peacock	7	$10,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$18,700.00	53%
Stones	T. J. Peacock	1	$3,500.00	$6,000.00	$0.00	$11,200.00	31%

Stones	Mrs. Amy Peacock	3	$4,000.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$4,360.00	92%
Stones	George Payne	24	$50,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$72,100.00	69%
Stones	H.Z. Pratt	6	$9,000.00	$14,000.00	$0.00	$9,000.00	100%
Stones	Jacob Redwine	7	$14,000.00	$10,000.00	$0.00	$29,080.00	48%
Stones	A. S. Robins	1	$3,000.00	$3,000.00	$0.00	$8,500.00	35%
Stones	Betsey Suttles	1	$1,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$1,700.00	88%
Stones	Wiley Suttles	3	$4,500.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$16,000.00	28%
Stones	J. D. Turner	1	$3,000.00	$0.00	$0.00	$6,400.00	47%
Stones	A. A. Wilson	18	$38,000.00	$30,000.00	$0.00	$80,200.00	47%
Stones	John S. Wilson	6	$16,000.00	$18,300.00	$0.00	$40,900.00	39%
Stones	George White	3	$4,200.00	$5,000.00	$0.00	$12,650.00	33%
Stones	William Weaver	5	$12,500.00	$8,000.00	$0.00	$25,400.00	49%
Stones	W. A. Wilson	16	$32,000.00	$4,500.00	$0.00	$93,200.00	34%
Stones	W. A. Pool	2	$2,500.00	$0.00	$0.00	$2,500.00	100%
Stones	J. M. Weaver	2	$4,000.00	$1,600.00	$0.00	$5,800.00	69%
Total	**761**	**4,255**	**$9,755,090.00**	**$5,629,838.00**	**$12,742,800.00**	**$38,084,286.00**	

Table 2.8.1 Value of Enslavers' Taxable Property in Fulton County

Number of enslavers	Number of enslaved persons	Aggregate value of enslaved population	Aggregate value of enslavers' land	Aggregate value of enslavers' city/ town property	Aggregate value of enslavers' whole property
761	4255	$9,755,090.00	$5,629,838.00	$12,742,800.00	$38,084,286.00

Table 2.8.2 Percentage of Enslaved People to Enslavers' Taxable Property

Value of enslaved people to aggregate value of enslavers' land	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' city/town property	Value of enslaved people to enslavers' whole property
173%	77%	26%

Table 2.8.3 Value of Enslavers' Taxable Property Compared to All Taxable Residents

Taxable residents	Number of taxable residents	Aggregate value of enslaved population	Total aggregate land value	Total aggregate value of city/town property	Total aggregate value of whole property
Enslavers	761	$9,755,090.00	$5,629,838.00	$12,742,800.00	$38,084,286.00
Non-Enslavers (White)	324	$0.00	$2,054,657.00	Miscalculated by Fulton County	$15,507,438.00

Free Blacks	2	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
All	**1087**	**$9,755,090.00**	**$7,684,495.00**	**Miscalculated by Fulton County**	**$53,591,724.00**

Table 2.8.4 Enslavers vs. Non-Enslavers: Taxable Population and Property

Group	% Taxable population	% Taxable property
Enslavers	70%	71%
Non-Enslavers	30%	29%

Table 2.8.5 Percentage of Enslaved People's Value to Value of All Residents' Whole Property

Percentage
18%

Table 2.8.6 County's Infrastructure, Operation Costs, and Public Services Paid from Taxation on Enslaved People

Percentage
18%

Chapter Three

Promised Freedom, Promised Inheritance: The Lost Case for Recompense in *American Colonization Society v. Lucius J. Gartrell* (1857)

Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD, and Christopher Smothers

Abstract

In 1853, Francis Gideon of Fulton County sought to atone for a life built on the labor of enslaved people by directing in his will that thirty men, women, and children be emancipated, transported to Liberia, and endowed with inheritances that would have made them one of the wealthiest families, Black or White, in antebellum Georgia. His intention—an act of redemption and resistance to his son-in-law Lucius J. Gartrell's ambitions—was overturned in the courts. *American Colonization Society (ACS) v. Lucius J. Gartrell* (1857) reveals how the ruling made by the Fulton County Superior Court and affirmed by the Supreme Court of Georgia chose to protect White wealth over Black freedom. This study reconstructs the names, kinship ties, and promised legacies of Gideon's enslaved community and measures the wages, wealth, freedom, and future opportunities usurped by the courts. Through genealogical reconstruction, probate analysis, and economic valuation, it demonstrates how systemic theft operated not only in bondage but through the law itself. The story of Gideon's enslaved community exposes how courts foreclosed a precedent for restitution, closed the door on a possible Southern pathway to reparative justice, and left Black families in Fulton County to inherit poverty in place of wealth, labor without wages, and freedom only after the Thirteenth Amendment.

Research Questions

In its investigation of *ACS v. Gartrell*, this research asks the following questions: Who were the individuals Francis Gideon named in his will to receive freedom and inheritances? What was promised to the designated Black beneficiaries? What was stolen when those provisions were overturned? What were the failures of the Fulton County Superior Court and the Georgia Supreme Court to honor Gideon's will, along with his right to atone and grant freedom, wealth, and recompense to the thirty individuals he enslaved and from whom he accumulated wealth?

Methodology

The methodology for this study is both archival and economic. This research employs a multidisciplinary approach, grounded in the Genealogical Proof Standard (GPS), to examine the intertwined histories of Francis Gideon and the individuals he enslaved, with a focus on systemic inequality. Using primary sources from Ancestry.com and FamilySearch.com—including probate records, wills, court cases, deeds, newspaper articles,

and census data from Clarke, Lincoln, and Fulton Counties—this study critically analyzes the legal and economic structures that perpetuated exploitation of Black people.

To reconstruct the identities and experiences of the enslaved people, the research integrates quantitative methods, such as demographic analysis, with qualitative approaches, including interpretation of legal documents and personal narratives. Cross-referencing fragmented archival records ensures accuracy and depth while constructing a humanizing narrative that highlights the barriers to freedom for enslaved people and the corresponding prosperity enjoyed by enslavers.

The research pieces together family structures from fragmented records to humanize the enslaved community while employing demographic analysis and financial modeling to show in concrete terms the magnitude of stolen wealth and freedom. This dual approach ensures that the quantitative data remains connected to the real experiences of the individuals involved. The data make visible both the humanity of those once enslaved and the systemic injustices they faced.

Introduction

For nearly four decades, Georgia enslaver Francis Gideon built wealth on the backs of enslaved people. After moving to Fulton County, he began to feel his mortality. On May 25, 1853, he made and published his last will and testament bequeathing to the American Colonization Society (ACS) his lot of thirty enslaved people "for the purpose of sending them to Liberia, in Africa." As the testator, he instructed that the enslaved were to be emancipated "for the purpose of colonizing, with their own consent, in Africa, the free people of color residing in the United States; and for no *other purpose whatever*."[1] Gideon's act was not novel. In previous years, several Georgia enslavers granted posthumous manumission and financial provisions to assist in the resettlement of emancipated Blacks in Liberia:

1. **Richard Tubman (Augusta, 1836):** Documented in ACS records and Maryland State Colonization Society reports, Tubman's will directed that his 144 enslaved people be freed and transported to Liberia under the supervision of the Maryland auxiliary of the ACS. This is one of the most-cited Georgia examples in ACS literature.
2. **William H. Torrance (Columbus, 1840s):** Torrance's will instructed that certain enslaved families be sent to Liberia with provisions via the Georgia auxiliary of the ACS. Local probate records and ACS correspondence confirm coordination with the society.
3. **John McDonogh (Louisiana with Georgia connections, 1848):** Though McDonogh was primarily based in Louisiana, his relocation plan for over eighty people to Liberia was handled in cooperation with the ACS, headquarters in Washington, DC. He had business and estate connections in Georgia, which is why his case sometimes appears in Georgia manumission histories.
4. **Rev. Charles C. Jones Sr. (Liberty County, 1848):** The emancipation of the people Jones had enslaved was a Georgia-based ACS occasion involving the successful relocation of thirty-six people to Liberia.

5. **Unnamed small estates (1820s–1850s):** Multiple Georgia wills in probate archives directed small groups (one to three individuals) to be freed through ACS transport to Liberia, often via the Georgia auxiliary.[2]

However, the sizable inheritance promised to Gideon's bondspeople rather than his avaricious and politically ambitious son-in-law, Lucius J. Gartrell, led to a legal battle that ended with the Black beneficiaries neither securing manumission, returning to their ancestral homeland, nor gaining an iota of the inheritance bequeathed by Francis Gideon. The question of what became of the lives of these enslaved people and their descendants led to this investigation, which unveiled lives of profound economic hardship in Fulton County during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras.

The earliest records of Francis Gideon begin with his 1815 marriage to his first wife, Susan Headrick, in Franklin County.[3] Less than ten years later, Gideon married Jane Ragan Hemphill in Lincoln County, gaining significant wealth through her inheritance.[4] Jane's previous marriage to Thomas Hemphill also proved advantageous for Gideon, as Hemphill's 1820 Lincoln County Last Will and Testament identified several enslaved individuals, including Ellick, Jim, Doctor George, George, Bud, Big Sam, Little Lee, Aggy, and her children Eliza, Caroline, Jinney, and Eve.[5] Following Jane and Gideon's marriage in 1822, these enslaved families were brought into the mutual possession of the couple.

Several records in Lincoln County show that Gideon also became the legal guardian of Jane's children from her marriage to Hemphill. Lincoln County probate records show that Gideon paid Hemphill's estate of $200 in 1829 and $301.50 in 1830 for the purchase of five enslaved individuals following Hemphill's death.[6] In 1831, the Hemphill children came of legal age, and the collection of enslaved persons was divided among Hemphill's heirs.[7] Elizabeth R. Hemphill Thornton received Tob, while Hiram Hemphill Jr. was given Samuel and Judith.[8] The remaining enslaved people, including George, Alsey, and Maria, were returned to the estate and managed by Jane and Francis Gideon.[9] Later that year, Francis Gideon sold all of the property he had received through his marriage to Jane, requesting that it be equally distributed among her children with Hemphill after her death.[10]

As Gideon expanded his wealth, his stepson Hiram Hemphill Jr. became entangled in similar practices of exploiting enslaved people for financial gain. In 1833, Hiram used two enslaved individuals, Sam and Judith, as collateral to secure a $500 debt owed to his maternal grandfather, Nathaniel Ragan, and Francis Gideon.[11] If Hiram repaid the debt with interest, the agreement would be void and he would retain ownership of Sam and Judith. However, if he defaulted, Ragan and Gideon would satisfy the debt by taking legal possession of Sam, a man about twenty-eight years old, and Judith, a woman about thirty-six years old. Two years later, when Hiram defaulted on the mortgage, Gideon sued him and not only obtained possession of Sam and Judith but was also awarded $1,000 in damages.[12]

In 1844, a sudden and dramatic shift occurred when Francis and Jane Gideon experienced "unhappy differences," leading them to mutually agree to live separate lives.[13] Before the separation, Francis made arrangements to provide Jane with money and property intended to support her after they parted ways.[14] Jane accepted this support and was granted the right to live independently for the rest of her life, free to choose where she lived and pursue any business or occupation she desired.[15] Francis agreed

never to interfere with her life again and relinquished his rights to the 660-acre tract of land in Lincoln County where the couple had once lived.[16] As a result, Francis Gideon moved to Athens, in Clark County, Georgia. He transferred the Lincoln County property to Aaron A. Cleaveland, the husband of his stepdaughter Nancy Hemphill Cleaveland, who acted as an agent for Jane and others involved in the transaction.[17]

Although Francis severed ties to most of what Jane had brought into the marriage, one thing was unchanged: the family unit of the enslaved remained unbroken. As owners experienced financial challenges, marriage, divorce, and death, enslaved families often wondered if they would be separated, sold off, or face an even worse fate. The fear of being ripped apart from loved ones loomed large as enslaved men, women, and children's lives were bartered, as they were legally defined as "property."

Following his divorce, Francis purchased additional captives. Evidence shows that he paid a total of $3,287.50 up-front and promised an additional $1,125—less than half the appraised value—for twenty-nine enslaved individuals, including Alick, who was seventy; Tom and Sam, both forty-eight; George, the blacksmith, forty-five; Lewis, thirty-six; Aggy, forty-seven, and her infant child, Mary Ann.[18] Others included Jenny, America, Remy, Van Buren, Georgianna, Eli, and Harriet, who was only seventeen, and her son, John Anderson.[19] However, the younger ones—Dennis, Nancy, Emeline, Washington, and Caroline, with her four children—along with another group that included Eve, her child Charles, Sarah, Leasy, Joel, and others—remained with Francis's daughter, Louisianna, and new son-in-law, Lucius J. Gartrell, on their property outside of Athens in Clarke County.[20] Gideon managed to keep these families together, despite the precarious nature of their existence.

Table 3.1 List of Persons Purchased by Francis Gideon After 1844

Name	Age
Alick	70
Tom	48
Sam	48
George	45
Lewis	36
Aggy	47
Mary Ann	infant
Jenny	adult
America	adult
Remy	adult
Van Buren	adult
Georgianna	adult
Eli	adult
Harriet	17
John Anderson	child
Dennis	child
Nancy	child
Emeline	child
Washington	child
Caroline	adult
Caroline's child	child
Caroline's child	child
Caroline's child	child
Caroline's child	child
Eve	adult
Charles	child
Susan	adult
Leasy	adult
Joel	adult
Total	29 individuals

Source: Clarke County, Georgia, Deeds, Book S: 93, Francis Gideon-Aaron A. Cleaveland, Agent for Jane Gideon; Superior Court, Athens, FHL microfilm 214, 5997.

Promised Freedom and Promised Inheritance

After a few years continuing his business ventures in Athens, including investing in the Western and Atlantic Railroad Company and using enslaved people as collateral for various mortgages, Gideon decided to move. By 1850, he relocated his entire enslaved community to Atlanta, in DeKalb County. On July 22, 1850, he purchased a two-thirds-acre lot in the city from Jordan A. Neese for $500, part of City

Lot 121, which included a spring well bordering Marietta Street and other neighboring lots.[21] Fulton County was annexed in 1853, and Atlanta became one of several townships making up the new county. According to the 1855 Fulton County Tax Assessors Report, Gideon was the largest enslaver on record in Fulton County.[22]

Francis Gideon met his demise on July 23, 1853, while visiting his sister and brother-in-law in Glasgow, Barren County, Kentucky.[23] His death set off a complex legal battle over his estate, particularly after Gideon willed and bequeathed his enslaved community "to the President and directors of the American Colonization Society for the purpose of . . . sending them to Liberia in Africa."[24] Although women traditionally did not own property, Gideon's decision not to bequeath a single enslaved person to his daughter but leave them to the ACS instead was driven in part by personal animosity toward his son-in-law, Lucius J. Gartrell.[25]

Gartrell was mentored by U.S. Senator and Congressman Robert Toombs, and at the age of twenty-two, he was elected as solicitor general of the northern judicial circuit of Georgia. At the time of his father-in-law's death, he was twenty-nine years old and serving four years as a member of the Georgia House of Representatives.[26] Gartrell was zealously ambitious and known for his legal prowess and political influence. He likely was not a man Gideon wished to see controlling the future of those he enslaved (Table 3.2) and the remainder of his estate, which was valued at $80,000—nearly $3,100,000 in 2025).[27] By arranging for the freedom and relocation to Liberia of those he enslaved, Gideon may have hoped not only to thwart his son-in-law's chances of acquiring his wealth but to quiet a troubled conscience through a final, desperate attempt to offer freedom to those whose lives he had once held in bondage and upon whose backs he built his fortune.

Gideon's decision to align himself with the ACS reflected a growing trend among Southern enslavers who desired to grant manumission posthumously. Founded in 1816 by White religious leaders, the ACS's mission was to assist free Blacks (persons not enslaved) in their organized efforts to voluntarily "return to Africa." This was a solution they believed could assist this population in securing personal, political, and economic autonomy—away from Whites. The organization's ability to secure funding to transport free Blacks to Liberia caught the attention of enslavers seeking redemption.[28]

The ACS's willingness to assist in the emancipation of enslaved people by transporting and resettling free Blacks to Liberia became an alternative solution for enslavers hoping to shirk Georgia's law forbidding domestic manumission. The steady increase of free Blacks in the South incited fear amongst Whites, who believed the population's physical presence threatened the security of the slavery system.[29] Legislators banned emancipation in Georgia with the hope of stymying free Blacks' increasing numbers.[30] Nevertheless, enslavers managed to sidestep the law by asking the executors of their wills to bequeath portions of their estate to the ACS, provided they transported their enslaved people to Liberia, where they received foreign manumission.[31]

By 1853, over 60 percent of Georgians who emigrated to Liberia had been emancipated and given provisions to build a new life in their ancestral homeland, due to the actions of their living and deceased former enslavers.[32] Gideon, who was recorded as a registered subscriber to the ACS's monthly *African*

Repository report in the month before his death, used his will to free the Black families whose bodies and labor created the wealth he had acquired, mirroring the actions of other Georgia enslavers.[33] The Maryland Colonization Society (MCS), an ACS auxiliary, assisted in resettling 1,227 Black people to Liberia.[34] One of the largest and most famous groups of formerly enslaved people to return to Africa from Georgia through the MCS were the Tubmans, who received foreign manumission posthumously by their late owner, Richard Tubman of Augusta, Georgia, in 1837.[35]

Like Richard Tubman, Gideon believed it was only fair to grant emancipation and compensate these individuals for their lost earnings, wealth, opportunities, and freedoms if he were to be forgiven in the eyes of God. Gideon's final action of atonement recognized not only the humanity of enslaved people, but also the injustice, immorality, and *inhumanity* of slavery.

Like the wills of enslavers who circumvented the law before him, Item 2 of Gideon's will granted the ACS ownership of all persons enslaved by him so they would receive foreign manumission. He declared, "I will and bequeath to the President and Director for the time being of the American Colonization Society for the purpose of said Society's sending them to Liberia in Africa, all my Slaves."[36] To assist in their resettlement in Liberia, he arranged for their transportation and left a $100 gift to each person (valued at $4,200 in 2025).[37]

Gideon ordered, with specific instructions, that his remaining estate, valued at nearly $67,000 (minus the $14,643 value of the enslaved people), was to be divided equally in three parts between the Black families he enslaved; his sister's children in Barron County, Kentucky; and his daughter, Louisianna, in Atlanta.[38] Less the $3,000 allotted for the return of the people he had enslaved to Africa, the three parties would equally divide shared legacies valued at $2,746,687.00 in 2024.

Among those Gideon intended to emancipate were Samuel (age fifty-five); Eva (forty-eight), along with her children, Charles (twenty-two), Sarah Ann (twenty), and Lubertha Brown (eight); Aggy's seven children, Jane (thirty-four), Elic (twenty-nine), Harriet (twenty-seven), Dennis (twenty-five), Nancy Jane (nineteen), Washington (fourteen), and Mary Ann (ten); Jane's five children, America (fifteen), Van Buren (eleven), Georgia Ann (nine), Eliza (eight), and Thomas Hardin (four); Harriet's four children, John Anderson (9), Amanda (7), Caroline (5), and William (2); and Nancy Jane's children, Susan, Jane, and Elizabeth Gideon (4 months). Susan (forty-two), was also named, along with her four children, Little Jane (twenty-one), Martha (nineteen), Elizabeth (fourteen), and Henry (eleven); Old Little Janes's daughter, Sarah Cobb (four); and Martha's daughters, Susan, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Francis (two) (Table 3.2).[39]

According to Item 4 of his will, Gideon also bequeathed his two hundred shares of Western and Atlantic Railroad stock (formerly owned by the State of Georgia and currently leased by CSX Transportation) and his "houses and lots in the City of Atlanta, One lot of land in Lumpkin County, one [lot], in Gilmer County, and one [lot], in Gordon County" to the three parties. His sister's children were to receive one-third of the aforementioned items.

Next, he bequeathed "One third to my daughter Louisianna O. Gartrell to receive the interest on said

one-third annually or Semi-Annually paid into her hands by my Executors," and "not into the hand of her husband nor her children during her natural lifetime."[40] Concerned about his daughter's financial security, he wanted to ensure the executors mitigated any chance her husband or children would receive any modicum of her inheritance.

Finally, Gideon bequeathed "The remaining third of my stock, City lots and County . . . . to the President and Director of the American Colonization Society to distribute equally among my colored people and their descendants I send to Liberia in Africa."[41] As an additional surprise for Gartrell, Gideon ordered that in the event of Louisianna's death that "his colored people" should receive all bequeathed to her by him. The will declared,

> . . . and after her decease, the said third she derives the interest from during her natural life time, I will and bequeath to the colored people I send to Liberia to be equally divided among them. The Colonization Society to take charge of said third at my daughter's death and divide it equally among the colored people and their descendants that I send to Liberia.[42]

Three months after Gideon's death, his 1853 annual returns were recorded by his son-in-law, who appointed himself administrator of the will.[43] The enslaved individuals, assessed at $14,643 (nearly $570,00 in 2025), were awaiting transfer to ACS, emancipation, and collection of their collective inheritance (Table 3.2).[44] Gartrell himself was an enslaver who held sixteen individuals in Washington, Wilkes County, Georgia. As the husband of Gideon's heir, and possessing real estate valued at $3,100 in 1850 (nearly $121,000 in 2025), Gartrell would significantly increase his wealth if he could find a way to breach the will, gain possession of the enslaved persons granted freedom by its terms, and obtain their legacies and those bequeathed to his wife.[45]

Table 3.2 Names and Values of Bondspersons to Be Emancipated According to the Will of Francis Gideon, Atlanta, Georgia, 1853

Name	Age	Female	Male	Value, 1853	Value, 2025
Samuel	55		M	$250.00	$9,685.00
Eva and her children	48	F		$280.00	$10,832.00
Charles	22		M	$900.00	$34,866.00
Sarah Ann	20	F		$700.00	$27,118.00
Lubertha Brown	8	F		$340.00	$13,171.60
Aggy's children				—	—
Jane	34	F		$340.00	$13,171.60
Eli	29		M	$900.00	$34,866.00
Harriet	27	F		$475.00	$18,896.50
Dennis	25		M	$900.00	$34,866.00
Nancy Jane (Mariah Elizabeth)	19	F		—	—
Washington	14		M	$760.00	$29,442.40
Mary Ann	10	F		$450.00	$17,433.00
Jane's five children				—	—
America	15	F		$560.00	$21,694.40
Van Buren	11		M	$680.00	$26,343.20
Georgia Ann	9	F		$485.00	$19,793.90
Eliza	8	F		$500.00	$19,370.00
Thomas Hardin	4		M	$290.00	$11,234.60
Harriet's children				—	—
John Anderson	9		M	$500.00	$19,370.00
Amanda	7	F		$350.00	$13,559.00
Caroline	5	F		$275.00	$10,653.50
William	2		M	$275.00	$10,653.50
Nancy Jane's children				—	—
Susan (Susannah Jane)		F		$900.00	$34,866.00
Elizabeth Gideon	4 mos.	F		—	—
Susan, her four children	42	F		$410.00	$15,883.40
Little Jane	21	F		$800.00	$30,992.00
Martha	19	F		$850.00	$32,925.00
Elizabeth	14	F		$420.00	$16,261.00
Henry	11		M	$605.00	$23,441.70
Old Little Jane's child				—	—
Sarah (Savannah) Cobb	4	F		$280.00	$10,832.00

Martha's daughters				—	—
Susan Elizabeth Sarah Francis	2	F		$168.00	$6,496.32
Total	30			$14,643.00	$568,717.62

Source: Fulton County, Georgia, Wills & Estate Records, Book A: 1-3, Last Will and Testament of Francis Gideon, 1853; FHL microfilm 409,883. Fulton County Tax Report, 1853, pp. 16–19.

Stolen Freedom and Stolen Inheritance

As fate would have it, Louisianna Gartrell and her newborn daughter died after her husband recorded her father's annual returns. The Gartrell family, now living in a grand home on Decatur Street in Atlanta, buried mother and child alongside one another in metallic caskets, and together, the bodies remained interred on the home's spacious lawn until their removal to Oakland Cemetery in 1893.[46]

After Louisianna's death, the enslaved families were to receive two-thirds of Gideon's estate, whose remaining value would have come to $42,666—equivalent to $1,798,070 in 2024. Under the explicit terms of Gideon's will, each enslaved person would have been entitled to $1,422—nearly $60,000 in 2025. When examining the total legacies according to household, Gideon's plans would have allowed for eight mothers and their children to receive inheritances equivalent to nearly $220,000 today, thereby making them the wealthiest Black family in the city, with more wealth than most Whites residing in Atlanta at the time (Table 3.3). Importantly, they also would have been free, the value of which is challenging to estimate.

Undoubtedly, as freed people in Fulton County, the people Gideon had enslaved would have been met with White hostility. Their physical movement would have been heavily monitored by local law enforcement. Preservers of slavery would have loathed their presence. Their chances of purchasing property, securing a business license, or banking their wealth were almost nil. Unless they became barbers, drivers, domestics, or washerwomen, their employment would be limited. And the adults would have had to register and pay a fine of $200 (nearly $8,200 in 2025) to reside in Atlanta and pay an annual poll tax of $5 ($205 in 2025) to Fulton County, reducing the $1,422 granted to each person. However, for this group of Blacks, particularly the women, resettling in Liberia would have created an opportunity to live a life free from Whites and, with their wealth, to become members of the elite class in West Africa (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Value of Inheritance Bequeathed by Francis Gideon, 1854

Name	Age	Railroad stock	Wealth bequeathed in 1853	Value of inheritance in 2024
Samuel's household				**$59,935 (household)**
Samuel	55	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Eva's household				**$239,740 (household)**
Eva	48	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Charles	22	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Sarah Ann	20	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Lubertha Brown	8	4 shares	$1422	$59,935
Aggy's children:				**$239,740 (household)**
Eli	29	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Dennis	25	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Washington	14	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Mary Ann	10	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Jane's household				**$359,610 (household)**
Jane	34	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
America	15	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Van Buren	11	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Georgia Ann	9	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Eliza	8	4 shares	$1422	$59,935
Thomas Hardin	4	4 shares	$1422	$59,935
Harriet's household				**$299,675 (household)**
Harriet	27	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
John Anderson	9	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Amanda	7	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Caroline	5	4 shares	$1422	$59,935
William	2	4 shares	$1422	$59,935
Nancy Jane's household				**$179,805 (household)**
Nancy Jane	19	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Susan [Susannah Jane]	NA	1 share	$1422	$59,935
Elizabeth Gideon	4 mon.	1 share	$1422	$59,935
Susan's household				**$179,805 (household)**
Susan	42	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Elizabeth	14	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Henry	11	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Old Little Janes's household				**$119,870 (household)**
Ole Little Jane	21	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Sarah [Savannah] Cobb	4	4 shares	$1422	$59,935

Martha's household		—		**$119,870 (household)**
Martha	19	5 shares	$1422	$59,935
Susan Elizabeth Sarah Francis	2	1 share	$1422	$59,935
Total	**30**	**132 shares**	**$42,666**	**$1,798,050**

Source: Fulton County, Georgia, Wills & Estate Records, Book A: 1-3, Last Will and Testament of Francis Gideon, 1853; FHL microfilm 409,883. Fulton County Tax Report, 1853, pp. 16–19.

The Legal Battle: *ACS v. Gartrell*

Initially, Gideon appointed Albon Chase, owner and editor of *The Southern Banner*, and Nathan Holbrook, a Presbyterian minister, as administrators to carry out his wishes. Yet, possibly because of the controversial emancipation clause in Gideon's case, both men refused their roles as executors. Nor can one rule out the possibility that they were paid or forced to resign, leaving Gartrell—a powerful attorney, state legislator, and enslaver, with political connections and influence—to assume ownership of the estate.[47] Gartrell pledged to distribute the estate "according to law," but instead he challenged Gideon's plans to secure freedom and safe passage to Liberia for his enslaved community.[48] What followed was a heated legal battle over the fate of these individuals—a case that would expose the systemic limits of emancipation, the entrenchment of racial and legal barriers, and the power struggles within Georgia's courts, as Gideon's wishes collided with Georgia's law prohibiting manumission.

The case of *ACS v. Gartrell* was filed in the Fulton County Superior Court. The Honorable Orville A. Bull, an enslaver, presided over the case. Central to the lawsuit were the terms of Francis Gideon's will, which bequeathed his enslaved community to the Maryland-incorporated ACS, instructing that they be relocated to Liberia and freed. However, Gideon notably avoided formally granting freedom to his enslaved people within Georgia, intending instead that they secure freedom only upon reaching Liberia. ACS, tasked with fulfilling Gideon's express intentions, sued Gartrell to enforce the will's terms and secure the enslaved people's relocation and freedom. For Judge Bull, the case presented a pivotal choice: He could set a new precedent in Fulton County by upholding Gideon's intention for the society to take possession of his enslaved community, relocate them, and grant them manumission and inheritance as an early form of reparations; or he could rule in Gartrell's favor. Judge Bull chose Gartrell, prompting ACS to appeal his decision to the Supreme Court of Georgia.[49]

In the Georgia Supreme Court, the Honorable Joseph H. Lumpkin, a friend of the Gartrell family, presided over the case as Gartrell argued that he was exempt from executing the portion of Gideon's will that directed his enslaved community's relocation and eventual freedom in Africa.[50] Citing the Acts of 1801 and 1815 on manumission, Gartrell contended that Georgia law prohibited any legal mechanism for granting freedom within the state and challenged the legal authority of ACS to assume ownership of the enslaved individuals for the purpose of emigration. According to the acts, if Gideon had explicitly directed emancipation in his will, the document would have been rendered void. However, the court ultimately found that by posthumously bequeathing his enslaved community to ACS with the intention

of their ultimate relocation and freedom in Liberia, Gideon's actions were still illegal. In its final decision, Georgia's highest court upheld the state's anti-manumission rule, nullifying Gideon's attempt to offer a path to freedom on the basis that it violated both ACS's original charter to assist freeborn and emancipated Blacks in repatriating to Africa and Georgia's laws banning domestic manumission. As a result, Gartrell assumed ownership of the thirty individuals named in the will, who remained bound to the life of enslavement from which Gideon had attempted—but ultimately failed—to free them.[51]

In the tense years leading up to the Civil War, the *ACS v. Gartrell* decision underscored the South's entrenched position on slavery and interpreted its legal infrastructure to maintain bondage, even when faced with legal paths to freedom. For the enslaved individuals named in Gideon's will, the ruling destroyed any hope of liberation, binding them once more to lives of enslavement. This legal defeat echoed the broader national divide, in which Southern states clung tightly to the institution of slavery, resisting the growing abolitionist movement and fueling the mounting tensions that would ultimately lead to the Civil War. In denying these individuals their freedom, Georgia's courts not only upheld the state's legal commitment to slavery but also deepened the sense of injustice and desperation that defined the lives of millions of Blacks across the South, who glimpsed freedom only to have it denied by the entrenched legal systems of their time.

Post-Emancipation: The Economic Fate of Gideon and Gartrell's Enslaved Community

Near the end of the Civil War, more than twenty-two thousand people remained enslaved in Fulton County, a major hub of the Confederate war effort.[52] However, the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in December 1865 abolished slavery, emancipating nearly four million enslaved persons across the country. In Fulton County, this seismic shift was reflected in the 1870 U.S. Census, which recorded 15,282 Blacks still residing in the county—a 31 percent decrease in the Black population over just six years.[53] This significant drop highlights the eagerness of formerly enslaved people to leave the area in search of freedom and the broader opportunities inherent in it. For many, the promise of Reconstruction, with its emphasis on civil rights and economic opportunity, beckoned them toward other regions, where they hoped to build new lives free from the legacy, exploitation, and inhumanity of enslavement.

Fulton County itself underwent a rapid transformation during this period. The city, mainly destroyed during General Sherman's infamous 1864 March to the Sea, became a focal point of Reconstruction in the South. As a transportation hub and burgeoning economic center, Atlanta attracted both formerly enslaved Blacks seeking economic opportunities and White Southerners trying to rebuild their shattered livelihoods. Despite the abolition of slavery, Black Atlantans still faced significant barriers—racism, limited economic mobility, and the looming threat of discriminatory laws—but many viewed the city as a place where they could start anew and participate in rebuilding the South on their own terms.

When examining the legacy of those once enslaved by Francis Gideon, and, later, his son-in-law Lucius Gartrell, one story stands out: that of Susan Gideon. Denied the opportunity to return to Africa despite Francis Gideon's express intentions, Susan found herself bound to Georgia, the same soil that had wit-

nessed her years of bondage. Although she gained legal freedom with the Thirteenth Amendment, her life remained constrained by the entrenched racial inequalities that persisted long after slavery's end. For Susan, true emancipation was elusive, and these barriers would not only define her life, but they would also cast a long shadow over generations of her descendants. In comparison to the wealth and status inherited by Gideon's descendants, Susan and her descendants faced a different inheritance: a legacy of struggle, unfulfilled potential, and legalized racial discrimination.

Susan, born in 1810 in North Carolina, spent her prime years enslaved. In Gideon's 1853 will, she is listed as "Susan, 42 years old, and her four children viz.{Little Jane, 21; Martha, 19; Elizabeth, 14; and Henry, 11 years old."[54] Even her grandchildren—Little Jane's daughter, Savannah Cobb, age four, and Martha's daughter, Susan Elizabeth Sarah Frances, just two years old—appear in this document, binding three generations of Susan's family within the lines of an inventory list. From a time when few documents recorded individual enslaved people, these names offer a rare glimpse of their lives; yet they remain framed as property. The absence of a known father for Susan's children and grandchildren is just one example of the many kinds of gaps that researchers face when tracing Black genealogy from this period. Locating formerly enslaved people post-emancipation is challenging, as many changed their surnames. Some assumed the names of former enslavers, like Susan, who was identified by the surname Gideon, while others chose entirely new names, even years after abolition.

By 1870, Susan, then sixty, was living in Atlanta's Third Ward without a dollar to her name.[55] In stark contrast, her final enslaver, Lucius J. Gartrell, lived in comfort in Atlanta's Fourth Ward with a net worth of $30,000 (nearly $718,000 in 2024).[56] He remarried, kept two domestic servants, and employed a carriage driver—a lifestyle that reflected the wealth and privilege he had inherited by contravening Gideon's will. The economic disparity between Susan's and Gartrell's households highlights the enduring impact of generational wealth gaps between White elites and formerly enslaved Blacks like Susan, whose reality during Reconstruction was one of hardship, survival, and legal discrimination. By 1880, three generations of Susan's family—her son, Henry, and his children—lived together in the same household on Gullat Street (present-day Oakland Avenue, south of Memorial Drive) in the Third Ward, near what is now Grant Park.[57] Susan worked as a laundress, a grueling yet common occupation for Black women in the post-Reconstruction South. During the 1880s, most Black women wage earners worked as domestic laborers in White households, with laundresses outnumbering all other domestic workers. Susan, like many Black washerwomen in Fulton County, labored long hours for meager wages that ranged from $4 to $8 a month—a far cry from the money to which she had been entitled under Gideon's will.[58] Her work required making her own soap from lye, building wash tubs from beer barrels, and hauling water to wash and iron garments for White families of all economic backgrounds.[59] Although legally free, Susan's occupation as a laundress exemplified the restricted economic opportunities available to Black women and underscored the persistent domestic caste system that confined many formerly enslaved individuals to the lowest tiers of labor and the bottom of the economic barrel.

In 1881, the harsh labor conditions faced by laundresses in Atlanta led to the Washerwoman Strike, organized by the Washing Society, which sought better pay and improved working conditions for Black laundresses. This movement, which expanded to three thousand members within just three weeks,

forced the city's White elite to recognize their dependence on these women for basic necessities.[60] After weeks of protest and resistance, the city conceded to some of the women's demands, marking a significant victory in labor history. Likely among or in solidarity with these determined women, Susan, now elderly, continued to work as a laundress—a reminder that, while legally free, Black women in the post-slavery South experienced an economic reality. Domestic labor, particularly laundering, was one of the few ways Black women could survive, creating a cycle of poverty that continued the exploitation they had endured under slavery.[61]

The descendants of Susan's former enslaver, Lucius J. Gartrell, lived in stark contrast to Susan's circumstances. Gartrell's daughter Vannie married Jacob Phinizy, a wealthy Augusta capitalist and part owner of the cotton firm Phinizy and Company, while his other daughter, Carrie, married Bartow Blount, the first mayor of East Point and co-founder of the Capital City Club. When Gartrell passed away in 1891, he left behind an estate valued at $13,000 (nearly $459,426 in 2025) comprising real property and railroad stock, a legacy that provided generational wealth and stability to his descendants.[62]

In contrast, no record remains of Susan's death, nor did she own or leave her descendants any property. She had no viable opportunity for generational wealth in her life and left her descendants with little inheritance beyond the hard labor she had endured. The disparity between Susan's legacy and that of the Gartrell family underscores the profound and lasting inequalities that defined the lives of formerly enslaved Blacks and their descendants, even in freedom.

Susan's granddaughter Antoinette, better known as Anney, eventually married Jim H. Gibson, and by 1900, they were renting a modest home in the Battle Hill Community and raising five children, Adline, Pearlie, Henrietta, Loony L., and Wiley.[63] Despite their physical freedom, the family remained marked by the same systemic inequalities that had shaped the lives of their enslaved ancestors. By 1910, the U.S. Census recorded Anney as a widow living in the Collins District on Sweat Boulevard (now Marietta Road in the Hill Park Community).[64] She was still renting her home and worked as a farm laborer, a grueling occupation for a woman navigating the hardships of widowhood while raising children. By 1920, she had moved to Rockdale Park and worked as a cook, striving to earn more money to support her young children.[65]

Rockdale Park, like many Black communities, was systematically deprived of resources and support. A 1938 Fulton County Area Description Map described it as an area where "many of the streets were unpaved," near "city dump yards, railroad yards, and industrial plants."[66] The estimated annual family income for its residents was between just $600 and $1,200, underscoring the economic barriers that shaped their lives.[67] In a cruel twist, Rockdale Park "disappeared" from Fulton County's maps not once but twice in the twentieth century, thus erasing the community's history and significance. Today, the neighborhood has been replaced by the north section of Westside Reservoir Park, with not so much as a plaque to mark the lives once lived there.[68] This systematic erasure of an entire community highlights layers of discrimination that have spanned generations, wiping from the city's historical memory not only the community's economic opportunities, but also its very presence.

Anney's story, like those of so many Black women in post-Reconstruction Atlanta, reflects the per-

sistent barriers to economic mobility that her family faced, despite the formal end of slavery. The same structures that had once bound her grandmother Susan to the role of laundress now shaped Anney's life as she struggled to provide for her family while navigating the limited opportunities available to Black women. Decades after emancipation, Susan's descendants still found themselves trapped by the long shadow of lost inheritance and freedom, a stark reminder of the enduring legacy of inequality for Black Fulton County residents. As the South rebuilt itself, Black Americans like Susan and her descendants were systematically excluded from the benefits of progress, their communities erased, their rights ignored, and their contributions forgotten. Today, the legacy of their resilience, survival, and unpaid labor lingers as a testament to their endurance. This legacy of legal, systematic, structural deprivation that defined the lived experiences of Black people in Fulton County before and after slavery documents the economic and social harms that Black people like Susan and her descendants suffered, as well as the corresponding benefits enjoyed by enslavers like Lucius J. Gartrell.

The cycles of labor exploitation, racial discrimination, and poverty that defined Black people's lives under slavery persisted into freedom, leaving subsequent generations to struggle against deeply entrenched inequalities. The opportunity for some of them to start anew in Liberia, as freed persons with resources—a legal promise made by Francis Gideon—was denied to those to whom it was bequeathed by a system that insisted on their continued enslavement. As a result, generations later, the same system, and the structural forces attendant thereto, continued to define Susan's descendants' lives, with cumulative, exponentially adverse consequences.

What was stolen from the Black families documented in this study was not only their promised freedom and inheritance, but the possibility of lives lived with dignity, land passed down to children, and wealth accumulated across generations. Instead, their labor was consumed without compensation, their inheritance redirected to White hands, and their futures deliberately foreclosed. That theft did not end in 1857—it continues to reverberate in the racial wealth gap and dispossession that burden the descendants of enslaved persons long after emancipation. *ACS v. Gartrell* is a reminder that early attempts at reparations were deliberately denied by the Fulton County Superior Court and Georgia Supreme Court.

Conclusion

In *ACS v. Gartrell*, the Fulton County Superior Court and the Georgia Supreme Court voided Francis Gideon's will, which granted manumission and substantial inheritances to thirty enslaved individuals. By voiding the bequests, the courts re-enslaved those named in the will and transferred the estate's land, railroad stock, and cash to Gideon's son-in-law, whom Gideon had expressly excluded. In doing so, the courts eliminated the legal recognition of enslaved people as heirs, denied them the opportunity to accumulate wealth, and prevented the establishment of a precedent that might have joined emancipation with inheritance. The decision also nullified Gideon's desire for atonement (which also would have provided an early example of a reparations remedy), ensuring that wages owed for labor and the resources promised as inheritance remained unpaid. Under the auspices and authority of Georgia law, the courts withheld freedom, wealth, inheritance, atonement, reparations, and unpaid wages, and the legal system itself became an instrument of safeguarding White wealth while diminishing Black futures.

Descendants of Persons Enslaved by Gideon and Gartrell, 1815–1864



Figure 3.1 Descendent Chart of Agatha "Aggy" Gideon (b. 1797, South Carolina or African-born), of Fulton County, Georgia. Agatha, or "Aggy," was among the oldest women in Francis Gideon's enslaved community. Born in 1797, she had seven children: Jane (born in 1819), Alec Henderson (1824), Harriet (1826), Dennis (1828), Nancy Jane (1834), Washington (1839), and Mary Ann (1843). Several lines continued through Jane, Harriet, and Nancy Jane, whose children and grandchildren extended her legacy. Many of these descendants are named in the will of Francis Gideon.

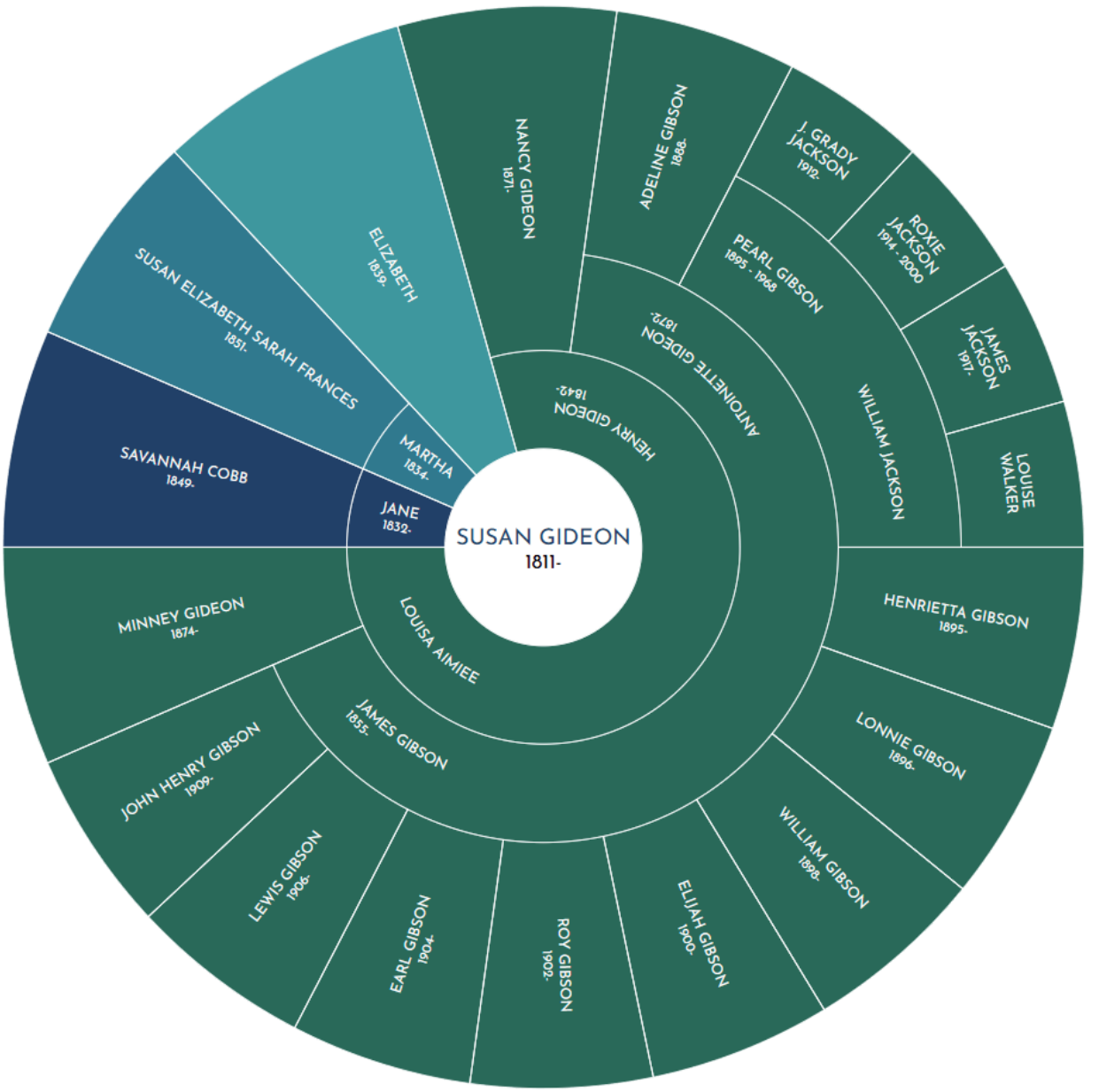


Figure 3.2 Descendent Chart of Susan Gideon (b. 1811, Georgia), of Fulton County, Georgia. This chart traces the lineage of Susan Gideon, a woman enslaved by Francis Gideon. Her children—Martha, Jane, Henry, and Elizabeth—carried the Gideon surname. The most extensive branch descends from Henry's daughter, Antoinette Gideon (b. 1872), who married James Gibson. Together they had ten children, with later generations continuing under the Gibson and Jackson surnames.



Figure 3.3 Pearl Gibson Jackson (b.1895). Two generations from slavery, Pearl Gibson Jackson was the granddaughter of Henry Gideon and great-granddaughter of Susan Gideon, both enslaved by Francis Gideon and Lucius Gartrell. In 1910, at the age of fifteen, Pearl was working as a servant and living with her mother, Antoinette, and eight siblings at Servat Rd, Apt. 27-A in the Collins district of downtown Atlanta. Married with children at 22 years old, she worked as a cook while residing with her mother at 292 Rock Dale Park. By 1925, she was a maid, residing in the rear of 704 Piedmont Ave. During her years as an elder, she continued to work as a cook. *Credit:* Restored by Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD, AI assistance restoration, 2025. Original photograph, courtesy of Danica Mobley.

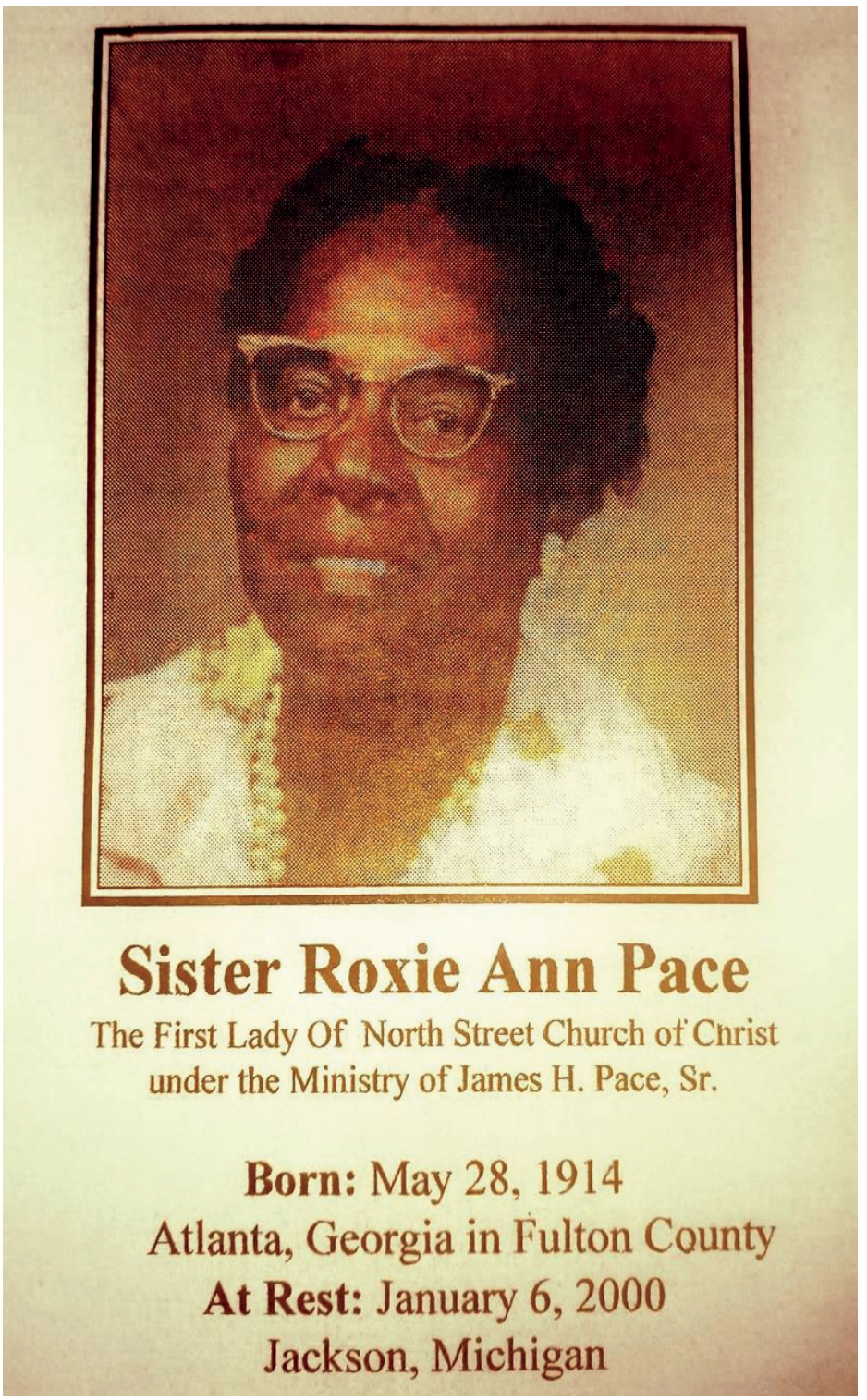


Figure 3.4 Obituary of Fulton County resident, Roxie Ann (Jackson) Pace (1914–2000), the great-great-granddaughter of Susan Gideon, whose descendants reside in Georgia and Michigan. *Credit:* Photograph courtesy of Danica Mobley.

Endnotes

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19 Clarke County, Georgia, Deeds, Book S: 93.

20 Clarke County, Georgia, Deeds, Book S: 93.

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Chapter Four

Freedom, Inheritance, Opportunities, and Wages Denied: Measuring the Cost of an Attempted Act of Restitution in *American Colonization Society v. Gartrell* (1857)

Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD

Abstract

In *American Colonization Society (ACS) v. Gartrell* (1857), the Georgia courts ensured that both freedom and inheritance were stripped from the thirty individuals Francis Gideon sought to emancipate in his will. Returned to bondage, they also lost the opportunities that could have positioned them to become one of the wealthiest Black families in Georgia, or Liberia, had they emigrated to Africa, as Gideon intended. Instead, both they and their inheritance were transferred to Lucius J. Gartrell—the very person Gideon had explicitly disinherited. The rulings of the Fulton County Superior Court and the Georgia Supreme Court highlight a harsh truth: Slavery was not just forced labor or denied inheritance. It was an economic and legal system created to foreclose Black economic autonomy, prevent Black intergenerational prosperity, and divert Black inheritance and wealth to White families. It was also a system of extraction that enriched enslavers through stolen wages and simultaneously generated revenue for local and state governments that taxed the value of enslaved people as property to fund public infrastructure and services reserved for White citizens.

While the previous chapter reconstructs the names, kinship ties, and promised legacies of Gideon's enslaved community, this chapter asks a central question: What was taken when the courts nullified their freedom and inheritance—and what is the measure of that debt today?

The proof lies in numbers. By applying the same compound-interest formulas that courts and banks use to determine unpaid debt, this study demonstrates that the value of what was usurped is calculable, quantifiable, and still owed.

Research Questions

This chapter investigates the economic consequences of the courts' refusal to honor Francis Gideon's will in *ACS v. Gartrell*. It asks,

1. What was the value of the inheritances promised to the Black intended beneficiaries named in Gideon's will, and how should those sums be calculated today?
2. What was the value of the railroad stock assigned to those enslaved by Gideon, and how much equity was foreclosed when those shares were denied?

3. What would have been the economic consequences of investing even a fraction of the inheritance into Atlanta land in 1854, particularly in the Old Fourth Ward, where Blacks were gradually sold land during and after Reconstruction?

4. When compounded as unpaid debt, what is the measurable economic value of the labor performed by those whom Francis Gideon and Lucius J. Gartrell enslaved between 1815 and 1864?

5. How do these calculations together demonstrate both the foreclosure of wealth (*opportunity denied*) and the accumulation of unpaid debt (*obligations owed*)?

6. How much revenue did Fulton County Government derive from the taxes assessed on these enslaved individuals as personal property, and what does this reveal about the county and state's direct benefit from slavery?

Goals of the Research

The goal of this study is to build a framework that lawmakers and government entities, descendants of enslaved people, and the direct and indirect profiteers of slavery can use to calculate unpaid debt—whether in the form of denied wages, wealth, inheritances, or opportunities—taken from enslaved people, even when such theft was protected and sanctioned by law. It does this through a forensic microstudy grounded in Fulton County's own probate, tax, and court records, which are used to reconstruct precisely what was denied to the beneficiaries Gideon intended to emancipate, enrich, and grant recompense.

This framework is built on three core components:

1. **Truth and reckoning in numbers:** This analysis examines these Black families as intended beneficiaries and workers robbed of freedom, wealth, opportunities, and wages. It frames slavery as organized theft, showing in plain numbers what was taken by enslavers, the courts, and local and state governments.

2. **Labor measurement framework:** The estimates calculate the annual hours and days enslaved people worked, measures their output in real terms, and compares those stolen wages to White male laborers' earnings in Georgia and across the South Atlantic region of the United States. This creates a clear baseline for the debt that has grown over generations.

3. **Methodological rigor:** Banks and courts already use compound interest to enforce debts. Applying the same standard to calculate the value of enslaved labor and stolen inheritances validates the legitimacy of the method used to determine the total amount owed. It also reveals the deep hypocrisy of denying Black Americans the same financial recognition and restitution routinely extended to others.

Methodology

The methodology for this study combines archival research and economic analysis. This multidisciplinary approach aims to determine the wages, inheritance, and opportunities stolen from those enslaved by Gideon and Gartrell, as well as the unpaid debt:

- **Archival sources:** Include wills, probate records, court cases, deeds, tax rolls, and corporate share

valuations (1850s to 1860s)

- **Quantitative analysis:** Applies compound-interest calculations to inheritance, shares, and wages
- **Labor valuation:** Based on free White male wages; adult enslaved hours extended and children's labor prorated
- **Comparative analysis:** Uses Old Fourth Ward land prices (1868–2025) as model for missed generational wealth accumulation

This combined approach ensures both historical specificity and economic rigor, connecting the lived reality of the thirty enslaved people at issue to their measurable financial losses. Before turning to the numerical calculations of inheritance, opportunities, wages, and taxes, it is necessary to situate Gideon's will within its legal context. Understanding the antecedents and precedents surrounding testamentary manumission clarifies that the rulings of the Fulton County Superior Court and Georgia Supreme Court's rulings—which denied the intended beneficiaries their freedom and inheritance based on a hyper-technical reading of Gideon's will—were not only legally inconsistent with other Georgia cases that allowed emancipation through wills, but also materially enriched Gartrell and the Fulton County economy while continuing to uphold slavery.

Antecedents and Precedents: Law, Manumission, and Inheritance

In Georgia, a series of legislative acts passed in 1793, 1801, and 1818 increasingly restricted both in-life and postmortem manumission. As free Blacks organized to emancipate the enslaved population in the United States, Georgia legislators feared that an ever-growing free Black population would weaken the institution of slavery.[1] These new laws required legislative approval for emancipation, effectively banning private manumission. Despite this, wills remained a contested but accessible legal channel for granting freedom.

At the time of Gideon's death in 1853, Georgia law had already recognized a narrow yet achievable pathway for testamentary manumission and inheritance through Georgia Supreme Court the American Colonization Society (ACS). Earlier decisions of the upheld wills that directed that enslaved people be removed from the state, emancipated abroad, and provided with legacies. Gideon's plan fit squarely within this framework.

As noted in the previous chapter, several prominent Georgia enslavers had already turned to the ACS to execute such arrangements. Richard Tubman of Augusta freed 144 enslaved people in 1836 and arranged, through the ACS, for their removal to Liberia.[2] The will of William H. Torrance of Columbus made similar terms in the 1840s, as did that of Reverend Charles C. Jones Sr. of Liberty County in 1848. Jones emancipated thirty-six enslaved people and sent them abroad with resources to resettle.[3] That same year, John McDonogh directed that more than eighty enslaved people be freed and transported to Liberia, again through the ACS.[4] These examples reveal that Gideon was not acting in isolation but following a pattern of posthumously granting freedom, using the ACS as an intermediary to bypass Georgia's statutory ban on in-state emancipation.

The Georgia Supreme Court confirmed this approach in a line of decisions. In *Adams v. Bass* (1850), the court upheld a will that directed that enslaved people be transferred to the ACS for manumission, reasoning that emancipation beyond Georgia's jurisdiction was legally permissible.[5] In *Raines v. Clements* (1854), the court again upheld such a provision, and in *Cleland v. Waters* (1855), it recognized not only manumission, but also the transfer of property to emancipated people abroad.[6] Further, in *Myrick v. Vineburgh* (1860), the court upheld a will's manumission provision and determined that it did not violate the Acts of 1801 and 1818, cautioning

only that if the beneficiaries were free "for one hour" within Georgia, the testamentary clauses would be void.[7] Collectively, these decisions created a precedent: Wills that used the ACS to facilitate emancipation and inheritance outside the state were valid. While the ACS was politically contested, postmortem manumission via ACS was a legally recognized pathway in Georgia case law.[8]

Gideon's testament, which directed the ACS to remove his thirty enslaved people to Liberia and convey to them land, cash, and railroad stock, followed this model precisely. Yet in 1857, the Fulton County Superior Court struck down the directives in the will, and on appeal, the Georgia Supreme Court affirmed. These rulings were not compelled by statute; together, they dismantled provisions that precedent had made permissible. At the same time, when considered against established jurisprudence, this ruling of the Georgia Supreme Court did not align with the controlling case law of *Adams v. Bass* (1850) and *Cleland v. Waters* (1855), reaffirmed in *Myrick v. Vineburgh* (1860).[9] Instead, it represented a conscious judicial departure designed to protect White heirs and foreclose Black beneficiaries.

By ignoring their own rulings, the justices revealed the fragility of manumission jurisprudence when it collided with White inheritance claims. In previous cases, the inheritances provided to emancipated people had been relatively modest, the numbers small enough not to challenge the racial order. Gideon's will, by contrast, promised substantial assets—enough to make thirty Black families among the wealthiest in either Georgia or Liberia. Such a transfer of wealth, though legally sanctioned by precedent, was politically and socially intolerable.

This judicial choice underscores slavery's dual character as both labor and legal system. The law could recognize Black people as testamentary beneficiaries when the transfer of wealth was modest. Still, when Gideon's will threatened to elevate thirty Black families into unprecedented prosperity, the court intervened to protect White heirs. As Alfred Brophy has observed in a broader context, Southern courts often manipulated legal doctrine when "Black freedom threatened to destabilize White property relations."[10] The denial of freedom and wealth to the intended beneficiaries shows that the courts ignored their own rulings whenever Black inheritance threatened White power. As Edward Baptist and Eric Foner argue, the courts were not neutral arbiters, but active participants in maintaining a racial order in which law, property, and inheritance all functioned to protect and preserve White supremacy.[11]

Having established that Gideon's provisions aligned with established precedent and the courts' rulings represented a departure from controlling case law, this analysis now turns to what was lost when those provisions were nullified: freedom, inheritance, wages, and opportunities. All can be calculated in real economic terms using the state and county's own records—the very court files, probate documents, and tax ledgers they kept to enforce slavery, crush Black wealth and opportunities, collect revenue, and preserve White economic dominance.

Interest Rate Justification

Because courts themselves have long imposed compound interest when inheritances or trust funds are wrongfully withheld, this analysis applies the same principle. Here, Gideon's estate and the legacies he directed to the intended beneficiaries are treated as the baseline principal, which is then modeled at compound rates of 3, 5, and 7 percent to capture the scale of loss across time. The calculations model conservative baseline numbers at 3, 5, and 7 percent compound interest, rates that courts have historically recognized. Although not included in this analysis, a compound interest rate of 6 percent also has particular importance: It has been applied in inheritance

disputes (*In re Estate of Heller*, 1974) and adopted in reparations scholarship (Darity and Mullen, *From Here to Equality*). Georgia law sets the statutory rate at 7 percent per annum simple interest when no contract specifies otherwise (O.C.G.A. § 7-4-2(a)(1)(A)). While this is the default rate, courts in equity have historically had discretion to impose compound interest in cases involving the wrongful withholding of an inheritance. Applying a 7 percent compound rate here is therefore both economically and legally plausible.[12]

Introduction

At the center of *ACS v. Gartrell* lies the judicial nullification of the inheritance that Francis Gideon had explicitly set aside for the emancipation and future security of thirty enslaved individuals, referred to as *testamentary beneficiaries*. Gideon's bequest—an attempt at atonement and partial recompense for decades of stolen labor—was significant. Still, the inheritance represented only a fraction of the wages denied to these families over the course of forty-nine years. Gideon's will also assigned 132 railroad shares to the enslaved families, which, if honored, could have provided a form of long-term compensation and capital accumulation otherwise denied to Black people in Georgia. The ACS was instructed to serve as intermediary to ensure all that Gideon hoped to see carried out in his will, allowing him to grant freedom and recompense to those he held in bondage and from whose labor he built wealth.

According to Fulton County Tax Assessor records, Francis Gideon was the largest enslaver in the county at the time of his death in 1853.[13] Recognizing his wealth and influence, Gideon's posthumous emancipation plan had the potential to establish a precedent for reparations at the local level, positioning the enslaved families and their descendants to escape servitude and economic vulnerability. Recognizing Georgia's statute on in-state manumission and the dangers faced by free Black people, Gideon chose to work through the ACS to facilitate their resettlement to Liberia, where they could exercise rights long denied in the United States.

In Liberia, American Blacks could vote, own land, and establish businesses, schools, and churches. Most importantly, they could live free of the immediate reach of racial violence and discrimination and the threat of re-enslavement. There was also the option for them to leave for a period and returned to Fulton County as registered free people, though financial security was needed to avoid the dangers that came with the related economic vulnerability.

This chapter undertakes an economic analysis of what was stolen when the plans stated in Gideon's will were overturned by calculating four interlocking forms of loss: (1) the compound value of the inheritance foreclosed, (2) the diverted railroad shares, (3) the potential land wealth if invested locally, and (4) the wages stolen through decades of unpaid labor. Together, these calculations demonstrate how the denial of Gideon's will foreclosed freedom, wealth, and opportunity—and how those losses can be expressed in quantifiable financial terms as a debt still owed.

After measuring the opportunities denied and obligations owed to the Black testamentary beneficiaries named in Gideon's will, this chapter also examines how Fulton County Government and the State of Georgia profited from both the Black beneficiaries and other enslaved Blacks in Fulton County. The Ad Valorem Act made it permissible for counties and the state to generate revenue by levying a tax on en-

slaved people based on their monetary value. While taxation of enslaved persons in Georgia dates back to 1751, the act was adopted as Fulton County was established as a new county in 1853. The so-called "slave tax" offset the costs to build infrastructure and carry out operations and public services enjoyed exclusively by White residents, including those who neither enslaved people nor supported slavery.[14]

This economic analysis is essential in understanding and measuring the harm endured by enslaved persons in antebellum Fulton County and across the American South. Although instances of enslaved families being granted freedom along with an inheritance were rare, the entire enslaved population, including children, had their wages for labor performed systematically denied.

The methodology used to measure harm carries significant implications for the discourse on reparations. It demonstrates that unpaid labor is calculable by the same standards that courts and financial institutions use to enforce debts. Had the Fulton County Superior Court or Georgia Supreme Court been compelled to honor Gideon's will or compensate the people he enslaved for their stolen labor, the Black families of Gideon's estate would have emerged into freedom not destitute, but equipped for generational success. Ultimately, this chapter argues that restitution and recompense are calculable, quantifiable, and grounded in the very historical record that courts once distorted to deny freedom and justice.

The Findings: Opportunities Denied and Obligations Owed

Usurped Inheritance

The Fulton County Superior Court and Georgia Supreme Court's denial of the inheritance bequeathed to the thirty enslaved individuals named in Francis Gideon's will is a blocked transfer of wealth and a calculable and compounding debt. Beginning with legacies totaling $42,666 by 1854, this study performed calculations to determine the unpaid debt, which has grown dramatically over time.[15] Applying conservative annual interest rates, in 2025, the foreclosed inheritance owned by these families equals $6.7 million at 3 percent interest, $179 million at 5 percent, and over $4.5 billion at 7 percent (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Compounded Value of Usurped Inheritance,1854–2025

Rate	Unpaid Inheritance
0%	$42,666.00
3%	$6,687,246.83
5%	$179,247,071.91
7%	$4,515,521,486.96

Sensitivity: Only the rate varies; all else is held constant.

Formula:

$$FV = P \times (1 + r)^{n}$$

Where:

$FV =$	Future value of the unpaid debt (2025 value)
$P =$	Original inheritance foreclosed ($42,666 in 1854)
$r =$	Annual compounding rate (0%, 3%, 5%, 7%)
$n =$	Number of years from 1854 to 2025 (= 171 years)

Usurped Railroad Shares

In 1854, Lucius J. Gartrell seized control of Gideon's estate, acquiring 132 shares in the Western & Atlantic Railroad Company, each valued at $100 and totaling $13,200 (equivalent to nearly $675,000 in 2025).[16] The shares paid out an average annual dividend of 8 percent, amounting to $1,056 ($52,800 in 2025), which was to be disbursed to the Black beneficiaries. Their rightful inheritance could have created opportunities, allowing the group to build businesses, purchase property, and fund education in the United States or Africa for the benefit of their descendants and to uplift their race.

Over the thirty-six years that the shares remained valid and profitable, and until the lease expired in 1890, Gartrell collected an estimated $38,016 in dividends. Combined with the original capital, the total value extracted during that period was $51,216 (Table 4.2). In the late-nineteenth century, this sum represented a fortune. Adjusted for inflation, it amounts to more than $1.8 million in 2025.[17]

Table 4.2 Accumulated Value of 132 Railroad Shares*:* Principal and Dividends Collected by Lucius Gartrell, 1854–1890

Component	Formula	Amount
Principal	132 shares × $100 (par value)	$13,200
Dividends (8%)	132 shares × $100 × 8% × 36 years	$38,016
Total value extracted	Principal + Dividends = $13,200 + $38,016	$51,216

When the Western & Atlantic Railroad Company's lease expired in 1890, it ceased operations, and its shares were either redeemed for cash, converted into stock, or rendered worthless, if unclaimed.[18] This would have effectively ended all shareholder rights and extinguished the value of any unconverted shares. However, Gartrell reinvested. According to the 1891 Fulton County Inventories and Appraisal Record, Gartrell's estate included twenty-four shares of the Marietta & North Georgia Railroad, valued at $25 each, rather than the par value of $100 each.[19] If those twenty-four shares had been carried forward through the railroad's corporate journey—from the Marietta & North Georgia to the Atlanta, Knoxville & Northern, then the Louisville & Nashville, and finally into CSX—they would still be alive today as part of one of America's largest railroads.[20]

Through mergers, stock splits, and reinvested dividends, the shares could be worth between $17,000 and $138,000 in CSX stock today, many times greater than the value recorded in the estate.[21] Additional investigation could determine whether the original 132 shares seized by Gartrell were sold or passed on to his children or are still in existence. The estate appraisers did not include the value of the twenty-four shares in the total of Gideon's estate, which was $13,307.50, almost equal to the original value of the

shares the beneficiaries were to inherit in 1853.[22]

Irrespective of the fate of the original 132 shares and annual dividends, Gartrell and his heirs secured wealth and opportunities. At the same time, the Black families whom Gideon had hoped to free and enrich were categorically denied them. To calculate the present value of that usurpation, the 1890 total of $51,216 can be compounded forward over the 135 years from 1890 to 2025 at varying annual interest rates. Using the standard compound interest formula, where n=135, the obligation grows to $59 million at 3 percent, $1.0 billion at 5 percent, and $16.7 billion at 7 percent.

Table 4.3 Compounded Unpaid Railroad Shares, 1890 to Present

Interest rate	2025 value
0 %	$51,216
3 %	$59,152,391
5 %	$1,002,986,094
7 %	$16,711,457,827

Sensitivity: Only the rate varies; all else is held constant.

Formula:

$$FV = P \times (1 + r)^{n}$$

Foreclosed Opportunity in Land Ownership

Placed in historical context, even a fraction of the Black beneficiaries' inherited wealth had the potential to transform their lives and challenge the racial hierarchy that structured the American South after the Civil War. Had just 10 percent of that wealth been invested in land as early as 1868—when Black Atlantans first began acquiring property in Fulton County—the families could have secured roughly 640 acres in the Old Fourth Ward and the downtown Atlanta districts at $6.67 per acre.[23] Translated into contemporary values, such holdings are worth between $18 million (at $30,000 per acre) and $96 million (at $150,000 per acre) in 2025. This scale of wealth would have been sufficient to secure generational prosperity for the Black families, posing a direct challenge to the systems of racial exclusion that reserved land, capital, and political power for White males. If the beneficiaries had used a portion of their wealth to acquire land in Liberia, the acreage they could have secured would have been significantly greater than what they could have purchased in the United States. Whether in the United States or West Africa, land, more than any other asset, anchors intergenerational wealth. Its foreclosure from Gideon's Black beneficiaries ensured their exclusion from the cycle of appreciation, collateral, and inheritance.

Instead, Gartrell was able to purchase and maintain a home at 442 Decatur Street valued at $12,500, along with an additional lot between Decatur Street and the Georgia Railroad valued at $100 in 1890 (together equivalent to approximately $447,000 in 2025, when adjusted for inflation).[24] For

the thirty individuals whose inheritance Gartrell took, the opportunity to own property and railroad shares, accumulate wealth through investments, and pass assets to future generations was permanently denied. These losses deprived them of security and quality of life during their own time. It also stripped descendants yet unborn of the intergenerational wealth and stability that such assets could have provided.

Table 4.4 Lost Opportunity in Landownership: 2025 Value of Property Acquisition Denied through *ACS v. Gartrell*

Rate per Acre	× 639.67 Acres
$30,000	$19,190,106.00
$75,000	$47,975,262.00
$100,000	$63,967,020.00
$150,000	$95,950,530.00

The following calculation illustrates the potential wealth foreclosed from Gideon's Black beneficiaries. Figures are based on the assumption that 10 percent of the 1854 inheritance could have been used to purchase land in Atlanta's Old Fourth Ward or downtown Atlanta in 1868, when property sold for $6.67 per acre. Valued at 2025 per-acre prices, the same holdings would generate dramatically different outcomes. These figures demonstrate the scale of wealth that could have accumulated over time.

Formula:

$$V = \frac{f \cdot P}{p_{1868}} \times v_{today}$$

Where:

V = Land value in 2025

f = fraction of inheritance invested (10% = 0.10)

P = inheritance foreclosed ($42,666)

p_{1868} = land price per acre in 1868 ($6.67 per acre)

v_{today} = today's land value per acre (e.g., $150,000 per acre)

Unpaid Labor

In addition to the freedom, inheritance, and opportunities usurped by the courts, the Black beneficiaries also suffered the theft of their wages. The most staggering figure that emerges from these calculations

is the compounded value of the unpaid labor extracted from them between 1815 and 1864. By the time Union forces seized Atlanta in 1864, shattering the institution of slavery in Fulton County, the historical value of their uncompensated labor stood at $254,585.16, or nearly $10,455,000 in 2025 (Table 4.5). What Gideon once attempted to bequeath to the thirty people he enslaved pales in comparison to the far greater debt for wages never paid. When this balance is carried forward to the present using the same compound interest formulas employed by courts and banks, the unpaid debt rises to $59 million at 3 percent, $2.3 billion at 5 percent, and more than $93 billion at 7 percent interest (Tables 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7).

These figures are grounded in the careful work of economic historians such as Stanley Lebergott (*Manpower in Economic Growth*, 1964; "Labor Force and Employment, 1800–1960," 1966) and Robert A. Margo (*Wages and Labor Markets in the United States, 1820–1860*, 2000), alongside the *Historical Statistics of the United States* (U.S. Census Bureau, 1975).[25] These historians' research provides reliable benchmarks for the wages of White male laborers in the South Atlantic region of the United States, including Georgia. White manual laborers earned between $11 and $17 per month (with no rations or rent deducted) during these decades, based on a 66-hour workweek, or approximately 3,432 hours per year—a schedule typical for White workers during the nineteenth century. Enslaved adults, by contrast, were compelled to labor a minimum of fourteen hours a day, 365 days a year—over 5,100 hours annually.[26] Adjusting White wages to reflect this much harsher schedule raises the value of an enslaved adult's annual labor to nearly one and a half times that of a free worker. These estimates should be viewed as conservative baselines, as they do not account for specialized skills or lost costs, such as the food and board expenses often deducted from unskilled workers' pay.

Children's labor was conservatively valued at one-fourth the adult rate, but only those between the ages of five to ten were classified as children. By the age of eleven, enslaved youths were typically counted as adults, since their productive capacity often matched or exceeded that of older laborers. It was also unlikely that very young children or older people performed sustained manual or domestic labor or factory or field work. However, they were still expected to perform lighter tasks. These patterns reveal the degree to which the slave system extracted the maximum productive value from those in their prime working years. Young people over the age of ten were a critical part of the labor force, shouldering responsibilities that became necessary to sustain output.[27]

Applied across groups of twenty to thirty adults and several children, these calculations reveal an immense pool of economic value extracted without any compensation. This was the central theft of slavery: the systematic denial of wages that would have been due to free Black or White laborers for the same work. Enslavers enriched themselves by extracting every hour of labor without compensation and treating Black human beings as assets. In doing so, they robbed enslaved people of wealth, autonomy, and the intergenerational opportunities that should belong to them and their descendants. Stolen wages were the foundation of the profits they secured, and the absence of those wages remains the most profound measure of slavery's economic and human cost (Tables 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7)

According to the Georgia Budget & Policy Institute, income taxes remain the single largest source of

Georgia's state revenue. As the institute explains, "Individual income taxes are the cornerstone of Georgia's revenue system, typically accounting for about half of all state funds."[28] Yet Francis Gideon and Lucius Gartrell, like other Fulton County enslavers, chose to enrich themselves by relying on enslaved labor rather than paying wages to free workers. By choosing slavery, they also sidestepped hiring men of their own race whose wages could have supported households, sustained communities, and circulated through the local economy. Enslavers sought to build their own fortunes, and working-class Whites were blind to the betrayal of the elite class.

By 1853, Gideon had already avoided paying nearly $172,000 in wages, and Gartrell continued in the same fashion. When Gartrell absorbed Gideon's wealth, he also absorbed his debts—including the enormous liability of stolen labor. By the eve of the Battle of Atlanta in 1864, the conservative value of that unpaid work had climbed to $254,585.16. As Table 4.5 demonstrates, when compounded at even modest rates of 3 percent, 5 percent, and 7 percent, the cumulative debt grows to staggering sums. What makes this theft most consequential, however, is the immediate deprivation it caused, along with the denial of the reinvestment and intergenerational wealth transfer that wages would have made possible.

Table 4.5 Estimated Wages for Completed Labor, 1815–1864 (Not Adjusted for Interest)

Year	Enslaved adults	Enslaved children	Monthly wage ($), White manual laborer (no board)	Hourly wage ($), White male (66 hrs, at 52 weeks)	Enslaved adult, annual ($)	Enslaved child, annual ($)	Group total, annual ($)
1815	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1816	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1817	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1818	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1819	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1820	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1821	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1822	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1823	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1824	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1825	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1826	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1827	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1828	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1829	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1830	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1831	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1832	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1833	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1834	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1835	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1836	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1837	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1838	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1839	20	4	$10.93	0.038217	195.29	48.82	$4,101.04
1840	22	3	11.52	0.04028	205.83	51.46	$4,682.62
1841	22	3	11.52	0.04028	205.83	51.46	$4,682.62
1842	22	3	11.52	0.04028	205.83	51.46	$4,682.62
1843	22	3	11.52	0.04028	205.83	51.46	$4,682.62
1844	22	3	11.52	0.04028	205.83	51.46	$4,682.62
1845	22	3	11.52	0.04028	205.83	51.46	$4,682.62
1846	22	3	11.52	0.04028	205.83	51.46	$4,682.62
1847	22	3	11.52	0.04028	205.83	51.46	$4,682.62
1848	22	3	11.52	0.04028	205.83	51.46	$4,682.62
1849	22	3	11.52	0.04028	205.83	51.46	$4,682.62
1850	25	5	12.11	0.042343	216.37	54.09	$5,679.74
1851	25	5	12.11	0.042343	216.37	54.09	$5,679.74
1852	25	5	12.11	0.042343	216.37	54.09	$5,679.74
1853	25	5	12.11	0.042343	216.37	54.09	$5,679.74
1854	25	5	12.96	0.045315	231.56	57.89	$6,078.40
1855	25	5	12.96	0.045315	231.56	57.89	$6,078.40

1856	25	5	12.96	0.045315	231.56	57.89	$6,078.40
1857	25	5	12.96	0.045315	231.56	57.89	$6,078.40
1858	25	5	12.96	0.045315	231.56	57.89	$6,078.40
1859	25	5	12.96	0.045315	231.56	57.89	$6,078.40
1860	30	0	17.18	0.06007	306.96	76.74	$9,208.72
1861	30	0	17.18	0.06007	306.96	76.74	$9,208.72
1862	30	0	17.18	0.06007	306.96	76.74	$9,208.72
1863	30	0	17.18	0.06007	306.96	76.74	$9,208.72
1864	30	0	17.18	0.06007	306.96	76.74	$9,208.72
Total							**$254,585.16**

Table 4.6 Year-by-Year Compounded Value of Unpaid Labor, 1815–1864

Year	Cumulative unpaid ($) to year at 0%	Cumulative unpaid ($) to year at 3%	Cumulative unpaid ($) to year at 5%	Cumulative unpaid ($) to year at 7%
1815	$4,101.04	$4,101.04	$4,101.04	$4,101.04
1816	$8,202.08	$8,325.11	$8,407.13	$8,489.15
1817	$12,303.12	$12,675.90	$12,928.53	$13,184.43
1818	$16,404.16	$17,157.22	$17,676.00	$18,208.38
1819	$20,505.20	$21,772.98	$22,660.83	$23,584.01
1820	$24,606.24	$26,527.21	$27,894.92	$29,335.93
1821	$28,707.28	$31,424.06	$33,390.70	$35,490.49
1822	$32,808.32	$36,467.83	$39,161.28	$42,075.86
1823	$36,909.36	$41,662.90	$45,220.38	$49,122.21
1824	$41,010.40	$47,013.83	$51,582.44	$56,661.81
1825	$45,111.44	$52,525.28	$58,262.60	$64,729.17
1826	$49,212.48	$58,202.08	$65,276.77	$73,361.25
1827	$53,313.52	$64,049.18	$72,641.65	$82,597.58
1828	$57,414.56	$70,071.70	$80,374.77	$92,480.45
1829	$61,515.60	$76,274.89	$88,494.55	$103,055.12
1830	$65,616.64	$82,664.18	$97,020.32	$114,370.02
1831	$69,717.68	$89,245.14	$105,972.38	$126,476.96
1832	$73,818.72	$96,023.54	$115,372.03	$139,431.39
1833	$77,919.76	$103,005.28	$125,241.68	$153,292.63
1834	$82,020.80	$110,196.48	$135,604.80	$168,124.15
1835	$86,121.84	$117,603.42	$146,486.08	$183,993.88
1836	$90,222.88	$125,232.56	$157,911.42	$200,974.50
1837	$94,323.92	$133,090.57	$169,908.04	$219,143.75
1838	$98,424.96	$141,184.33	$182,504.48	$238,584.85
1839	$102,526.00	$149,520.90	$195,730.74	$259,386.83
1840	$107,208.62	$158,689.15	$210,199.90	$282,226.53
1841	$111,891.24	$168,132.44	$225,392.51	$306,665.01
1842	$116,573.86	$177,859.04	$241,344.76	$332,814.18
1843	$121,256.48	$187,877.43	$258,094.62	$360,793.79
1844	$125,939.10	$198,196.37	$275,681.97	$390,731.98
1845	$130,621.72	$208,824.88	$294,148.69	$422,765.84
1846	$135,304.34	$219,772.25	$313,538.74	$457,042.06
1847	$139,986.96	$231,048.03	$333,898.30	$493,717.63
1848	$144,669.58	$242,662.10	$355,275.83	$532,960.48

1849	$149,352.20	$254,624.58	$377,722.24	$574,950.34
1850	$155,031.94	$267,943.06	$402,288.10	$620,876.60
1851	$160,711.68	$281,661.09	$428,082.24	$670,017.70
1852	$166,391.42	$295,790.66	$455,166.09	$722,598.68
1853	$172,071.16	$310,344.12	$483,604.14	$778,860.33
1854	$178,149.56	$325,732.84	$513,862.74	$839,458.95
1855	$184,227.96	$341,583.23	$545,634.28	$904,299.48
1856	$190,306.36	$357,909.13	$578,994.40	$973,678.84
1857	$196,384.76	$374,724.80	$614,022.52	$1,047,914.76
1858	$202,463.16	$392,044.94	$650,802.04	$1,127,347.20
1859	$208,541.56	$409,884.69	$689,420.54	$1,212,339.90
1860	$217,750.36	$431,390.03	$733,100.37	$1,306,412.49
1861	$226,959.16	$453,540.53	$778,964.19	$1,407,070.17
1862	$236,167.96	$476,355.55	$827,121.20	$1,514,773.88
1863	$245,376.76	$499,855.02	$877,686.06	$1,630,016.85
1864	$254,585.16	$524,059.47	$930,779.16	$1,753,326.83

Sensitivity: Only the rate varies; all else is held constant.

Table 4.7 Compound Value of Unpaid Enslaved Labor Debt, 1815–1864, Projected to 2025 at Alternative Interest Rates

Year	0%	3%	5%	7%
1864	$254,586.16	$524,059.47	$930,779.16	$1,753,326.83
2025	$254,586.16	$49,086,341.17	$2,352,926,702.95	$93,272,690,870.24

Sensitivity: Only the rate varies; all else is held constant.

Table 4.6 formula: To determine the unpaid debt for labor performed by those Gideon and Gartrell held in bondage from 1815 to 1865, the following formula was applied at the interest rates of 0 percent, 3 percent, 5 percent, and 7 percent:

$$B_t=(B_{t-1}+P_t)\cdot(1+r)$$

Rate	Formula	Result
0%	$B_t=B_{t-1}+P_t$	$254,586.16
3%	$B_t=(B_{t-1}+P_t)\cdot 1.03$	$524,059.47
5%	$B_t=(B_{t-1}+P_t)\cdot 1.05$	$930,779.16
7%	$B_t=(B_{t-1}+P_t)\cdot 1.07$	$1,753,326.83

Variable	Meaning
Bt	Debt at the end of year t
Bt−1	Debt from the previous year (year t−1)
Pt	Unpaid labor value for year t
r	Annual interest rate (as decimal:.0.00. 0.03, 0.05,0.07)
t	Year being calculated (from 1815 to 1864)

Steps:

1. Add the year's unpaid labor value *Pt* to the existing debt balance *Bt*−1.
2. Apply the compound interest by multiplying the total by (1+*r*).

Reflection:

- Laborers worked and were unpaid ⇒Pt.
- The debt grew with time like a loan.

Step-by-step calculation from 1815 to 1864 at 7 percent interest:

Year 1815

$$B_{1815}=(0+P_{1815})\,(1+r)$$

$$B_{1815}=(4101.04)\,(1.07)$$

$$B_{1815}\approx 4388.11$$

Year 1816

$$B_{1816}=(B_{1815}+P_{1816})\,(1+r)$$

$$B_{1816}=(4388.11+4101.04)\,(1.07)$$

$B_{1816} = (8489.15)\ (1.07)$

$B_{1816} \approx 9072.38$

Table 4.7 formula: Table 4.7 presents the total value in 2025 of wages that were never paid to enslaved people between 1815 and 1864, using compound interest to account for the time since the labor was performed.

Rather than treating this debt as a single sum due at the end of slavery in 1864, Table 4.7 applies year-by-year compounding to each annual amount of unpaid wages. That is, wages from earlier years (such as 1815) have more time to accrue interest than those from later years (such as 1864), resulting in a historically grounded and financially accurate measure of what is owed today.

The formula for this calculation is:

$$B_{2025} = \sum_{t=1815}^{1864} P_t \cdot (1 + r)^y$$

Results:

B_{2025} is the total in 2025

Pt is the unpaid labor in year *t*

R is the interest rate

t is each year from 1815 to 1864

y is the number of years each unpaid wage has compounded: $y = 2025 - t$

Table 4.7 applies compound interest at 0, 3, 5, and 7 percent to the total value of unpaid labor ($254,586.16) in 1864, projecting the debt through 2025.

Example: Step-by-step calculation at 7 percent compound interest to the unpaid balance of $254,586.16 in 1864, projecting the debt through 2025:

$B_{2025} = B_{1864} \cdot (1 + r)^{2025-1864}$

$B_{2025} = B_{1864} \times (1.07)^{2025-1864}$

$B_{2025} = \$1,753,326.83 \times (1.07)^{61}$

$B_{2025} = \$1,753,326.83 \times 53.18847172$

$B_{2025} = \$93,272,690,870.24$

The Combined Cost of Freedom Foreclosed

The Black beneficiaries' measurable losses include stolen wages, denied inheritances, and missed opportunities that could have transformed their lives. Table 4.8 shows that the lost inheritance, railroad shares, and fifty years of uncompensated labor together accumulated debt ranging from $348,468 at 0 percent interest to more than $114 billion at a 7 percent interest.

Table 4.8 Inheritance, Railroad Shares, Unpaid Labor Denied

Rate	Inheritance (1854–2025)	Railroad shares (1890–2025)	Unpaid labor (1815–1864–2025)	Total
0%	$42,666.00	$51,216.00	$254,586.16	$348,468.16
3%	$6,687,246.83	$59,152,391	$49,086,341.17	$114,925,979.00
5%	$179,247,071.91	$1,002,986,094	$2,352,926,702.95	$3,535,159,868.86
7%	$4,515,521,486.96	$16,711,457,827	$93,272,690,870.24	$114,499,670,184.20

Note: Accounting guardrail (no double counting). This table sums three distinct streams, each modeled on a non-overlapping basis: (1) legacy principal, (2) equity returns from railroad shares/dividends, and (3) unpaid labor.

Table 4.9 estimates a potential outcome in which, in 1868, 10 percent of the inheritance was invested in land in downtown Atlanta or the Old Fourth Ward—property that now would be worth up to $96 million. These numbers expose a system built to extract Black labor and transfer its value into White wealth, while locking Black families out of the foundations of prosperity. Opportunities were stolen along with the future they could have built.

Table 4.9 Land Investment Opportunity Denied

Per-acre value	× 639.67 Acres
$30,000	$19,190,106.00
$75,000	$47,975,262.00
$100,000	$63,967,020.00
$150,000	$95,950,530.00

Note: Scenario estimate based on 10 percent of inheritance; not included in Table 4.8 roll-up to avoid double counting.

Bondage Funded State and County Government

The same bondage that stripped Black families of wages, inheritances, and land also generated recurring revenue for Fulton County and the State of Georgia. Denying Gideon's Black beneficiaries their emancipation was an act of personal enrichment for Gartrell and a fiscal boon for local governments that converted human captivity into a stable tax base.

Beginning in 1751, Georgia placed a tax on enslaved people by enacting a flat per capita tax on human property.[29] After colonial rule, the state continued to generate money in the same manner, no longer under the governance of the British Crown. For decades, many enslavers found the flat-rate tax inequitable and complained to lawmakers. Regardless of an enslaved person's age, skills, or productivity, the rate remained the same. This structure was rationalized as fair to White enslavers across the state because it simplified taxation at a time when wealth disparities among planters were widening.[30]

By 1850, Georgia's fiscal system was under pressure to modernize revenue collections. The economy evolved and land usage intensified, and across the South, slavery became each state's most valuable

economic institution. In response, the Georgia legislature enacted the Ad Valorem Property Tax Act of 1851 and 1852, which fundamentally transformed how property, including human chattel, was assessed.[31] For the first time, enslaved people were assigned value as taxable assets rather than merely counted. The law imposed a revenue cap, allowed for rate adjustments, and authorized the state to set a general property tax rate. Most significantly, it mandated that enslaved people be entered into county tax digests as appraised property alongside land, livestock, and furniture.[32]

In addition to being a bureaucratic adjustment, the ad valorem system established enslaved persons as the most valuable and reliably taxable form of wealth in the South. By design, this system enabled counties to create recurring revenue streams from human bondage. Newly established counties such as Fulton could levy an additional tax of up to 50 percent of the state tax rate.[33] For example, the state imposed $0.50 per $100 of assessed value, and the county collected an additional $0.25 per $100 in 1853 and during the years of the Civil War. In other years, the state enforced $0.25 per $100, and the county, $0.25 per $100.[34] In effect, each enslaved body was monetized twice: once for the state and once for the local government.

Courts Preserved Slavery for Tax Revenue

At the time of Francis Gideon's death in 1853, his thirty intended beneficiaries were assessed with a value of $14,643 in the county's estate records (Table 4.10). The Fulton County Superior Court and Georgia Supreme Court rulings denied their emancipation and inheritance while enriching Gartrell and ensuring their continued listing as taxable property. By contributing to the county's financial framework, the Black population documented in the Fulton County Tax Digest directly generated new and consistent revenue. The enslaved beneficiaries' assessed value generated $73.22 for the state and an additional $36.61 for Fulton County, equivalent to $1,500 in 2025 (Tables 4.10 and 4.11). Modest as these sums may seem, they were crucial in the county's first year of operations, helping to fund salaries, land purchases, and construction of essential public buildings and roads. By 1854, the total value of all enslaved persons in Fulton County was recorded at $961,292, accounting for nearly one-third of the county's taxable wealth.[35] That year, Fulton County collected $2,403.23 in taxes on enslaved people alone—equivalent to nearly $100,000 in 2025 (Tables 4.10 and 4.11).

After the death of Gideon's daughter and heir, Louisianna, Gartrell seized control of the estate and refused to transfer his deceased wife's inheritance to the Black beneficiaries. Instead, he expanded his holdings by moving nineteen enslaved people, likely all women, from Wilkes to Fulton County, swelling his total to forty-nine by 1855. The value of these individuals accounted for 42.2 percent of his total estate.[36] Keeping those thirty people on the Fulton County tax rolls guaranteed Fulton County and the state a reliable stream of tax revenue for the next decade (Tables 4.10 and 4.11).

Table 4.10 County Ad Valorem Taxes on Enslaved People*

Year	Total enslaved	Value of all enslaved	Value attributed to 30*	County tax rate	County tax (PV)	Notes
1854	30	$14,643	$14,643*	0.25%	$36.61	Full 30 assessed directly
1855	49	$24,400	$14,939*	0.125% adj.	$37.35	Adjusted for 30 of 49
1856	48	$24,500	$15,313*	0.125% adj.	$38.28	Adjusted for 30 of 48
1857	47	$24,600	$15,723*	0.125% adj.	$39.31	Adjusted for 30 of 47
1858	42	$25,300	$18,071*	0.125% adj.	$45.18	Adjusted for 30 of 42
1859	~36	~$25,000	$20,833*	0.125% adj.	$52.08	Adjusted for 30 of 36
1860	36	~$26,000	$21,667*	0.125% adj.	$54.17	Adjusted for 30 of 36
1861	~30	~$26,500	$26,500	0.25%	$132.50	Full 30 assessed
1862	14	$27,000	$27,000*	0.25%	$135.00	Only 14 individuals
1863	~14	~$28,000	$28,000*	0.25%	$140.00	Only 14 individuals
1864	14	$48,000	$48,000*	0.25%	$240.00	Only 14 individuals

Note: Compounded annually to 2025 (0, 3, 5, and 7 percent); rate varies, all else constant. * Adjusted for thirty beneficiaries, 1854–1864.

Table 4.11 County Ad Valorem Taxes on Enslaved Persons, Adjusted for Gideon's 30 Beneficiaries, 1854–1864, 2025

Year	Value attributed to 30	County tax (PV)	FV at 0%	FV at 3%	FV at 5%	FV at 7%
1854	$14,643	$36.61	$36.61	$2,690.03	$20,936.40	$1,288,091.44
1855	$14,939	$37.35	$37.35	$2,796.29	$21,139.31	$1,246,999.96
1856	$15,313	$38.28	$38.28	$2,805.18	$21,139.00	$1,188,758.24
1857	$15,723	$39.31	$39.31	$2,829.49	$20,970.52	$1,148,633.66
1858	$18,071	$45.18	$45.18	$2,969.48	$21,025.79	$1,101,059.85
1859	$20,833	$52.08	$52.08	$2,884.82	$20,207.44	$1,073,040.35
1860	$21,667	$54.17	$54.17	$2,877.20	$19,637.44	$981,441.90
1861	$26,500	$132.50	$132.50	$4,078.23	$25,333.27	$1,215,633.43
1862	$27,000	$135.00	$135.00	$3,242.88	$20,788.75	$962,980.95
1863	$28,000	$140.00	$140.00	$2,932.60	$18,774.78	$845,945.16
1864	$48,000	$240.00	$240.00	$6,911.87	$38,935.09	$1,488,063.55
Total	—	**$950.47**	**$950.47**	**$37,067.09**	**$248,917.79**	**$12,540,648.54**

Note: County only; 1854–1864, 2025, at 0, 3, 5, and 7 percent. **Source:** Fulton Co. digests/ledgers; not in Table 4.8.

Government Revenue from Bondage

The logic of the ad valorem tax system was both efficient and morally corrosive. By assigning dollar values to enslaved bodies, Fulton County embedded slavery into its operating budget. Slavery became a vital component of the local economy. The more enslaved people a county held, the more stable its finances. The more courts denied emancipation, the more predictable the revenue stream. In this way, local government became a stakeholder in slavery's persistence and a partner in its legal defense.

The Fulton County Tax Assessment records make the scale of this system plain. Between 1854 and 1864, county assessments on the thirty individuals named in Gideon's will generated $950.47 in direct county revenue, and when doubled by the state's levy, the total reached $1,901.54.[37] Carried forward to 2025, these seemingly modest sums compound to $37,069 at 3 percent, $248,918 at 5 percent, and over $12.5 million at 7 percent (Table 4.11). Accounting for the state's collected ad valorem taxes, the totals double: $74,138 at 3 percent, $497,836 at 5 percent, and $25,081,298 at 7 percent. Empirical evidence, preserved in probate ledgers and tax digests, reveals a revenue stream built on the appraisal and taxation of human bondage.

Concrete and Recorded Evidence of a Debt Owed

Visible today are the roads, courthouse, jail, and other built infrastructure of Fulton County, seeded by these revenues. The debt is measurable: wages stolen, inheritances denied, and futures foreclosed. Each line in the county ledger represents a person, born or transported into bondage, whose body, labor, and intellect were converted into both private fortune and public finance. The system's incentives ensured that bondage enriched individuals like Lucius J. Gartrell. It also underwrote the fiscal stability of Fulton County Government.

Conclusion

A*CS v. Gartrell*, decided by Georgia's highest court in 1857 after an appeal from Fulton County Superior Court, sits at the intersection of law, money, and the fate of Black lives. Its question was simple: Could a White enslaver, in his will, free through ACS the Black people he enslaved and leave them an inheritance to start free lives in Liberia or the United States? The courts said no.

Who and What Is Owed?

This study utilizes Fulton County Government's own records to determine both who and what is owed. Probate records provide the names and tax digests and court rulings trace the values. Together, the records identify thirty intended beneficiaries and the principal sums that should have gone to them and, by extension, to their descendants. Antecedent and precedent rulings at the time of *ACS v. Gartrell* allowed for emancipation through an intermediary, namely ACS. While in-state manumission was not permitted in Georgia, it was legal both to grant emancipation posthumously and to bequeath property to a Black person, whether free or enslaved.

Paths Foreclosed

The *ACS v. Gartrell* rulings closed off two lawful paths. The beneficiaries might have left through ACS to build independent households with working capital in Liberia or remained in Georgia as free people with inheritances—even while facing discriminatory poll taxes, fees, curfews, licensing barriers, and limits on movement. In either case, the money identified here could have paid for land, businesses, education, and security across generations. The absence of those investments is a stark reminder of the lost potential, visible in surviving public records.

Method and Measurement

The method is straightforward. Researchers reconstructed the story from county ledgers and records, identifying the people and the assets intended for them, and totaling the principal from three sources: blocked inheritances, diverted railroad shares, and unpaid labor. Those amounts are then carried forward using the same formulas courts apply when inheritances are wrongly withheld. Assumptions are stated plainly and kept conservative so that numbers can be checked and verified. To align timelines across components, Table 4.12 summarizes base year, end year, and rates. Unless noted as a consumer price index (CPI) comparison for context, all tables use the compounding framework, and CPI figures are excluded from sums.

Table 4.12 Timeline Alignment for Components

Component	Base year(s)	End year	Compounding	Rates
Inheritance (legacy principal)	1854	2025	Annual	3%, 5%, 7%
Railroad shares and dividends	1890	2025	Annual	3%, 5%, 7% (sens. 6%, 8%, 10%)
Unpaid labor	1815–1864	2025	Annual	3%, 5%, 7%
(Optional) Lost land scenario	1868	2025	Annual	3%, 5%, 7%

Note: Base years from the record; year-end 2025; streams non-overlapping (see Table 4.8).

Findings and Causal Chain

This study's findings join people, policy, and profit in a single ledger. Georgia law classified enslaved people as taxable property, and Fulton County turned that status into revenue through assessments and collections. The result is a clear chain: Georgia law made Black people taxable assets, which funded public institutions and fortified private fortunes, and enslaved people lost both freedom and wealth. Because the proof is in Fulton County's own records and ledgers, the obligation is specific, measurable, and verifiable. The very records that once extracted value now show the debt owed.

Significance

ACS v Gartrell is more than a legal episode. It is a stark example of how Fulton County took opportunity from thirty people and their descendants and how that loss financed the development of the world

around them. It also records an act of private reparations derailed: Gideon sought to emancipate and transfer property to his intended beneficiaries and to grant them recompense for labor he stole. The courts denied him the freedom to atone and to grant manumission and inheritance. The evidence uncovered in this study names the people, measures the harm, and focuses on the families to whom Gideon's wealth was meant to flow in this case. The thirty individuals, their descendants, and those yet to be born must be made whole.

Endnotes

1 F. Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, "The African Colonization Movement in Georgia: The Expatriation of Freeborn and Emancipated Blacks in Georgia, 1817–1860" (master's thesis, Clark Atlanta University, 2001) pp. 22, 50, and 51.

2 American Colonization Society, Annual Report of the American Colonization Society (1836) (James C. Dunn, 1836).

3 Muscogee County (Ga.) Probate Court, *Last Will and Testament of William H. Torrance,* ca. 1840s, Muscogee County Probate Records, Columbus, Georgia; Liberty County (Ga.) Probate Court, *Last Will and Testament of Charles C. Jones Sr.,* 1848, Liberty County Probate Records, Hinesville, Georgia; and American Colonization Society Records, 1848, Library of Congress.

4 See Paul Finkelman, Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson (M. E. Sharpe, 2001), pp.183–85; and American Colonization Society, *Annual Report of the American Colonization Society (*1848) (ACS, 1848).

5 Adams v. Boswell, 23 Ga. 62 (1850).

6 Cleland v. Waters, 19 Ga. 35 (1855).

7 Myrick v. Vineburgh, 32 Ga. 593 (1860).

8 To learn more about the ruling of the cases, see "Manumission: The Weak Link in Georgia's Law of Slavery," Mercer Open Repository, https://mercer.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10898/7695/48_41MercerLRev701%281989-1990%29.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

9 In Adams v. Bass (1850), the Georgia Supreme Court upheld a will that emancipated enslaved people through the American Colonization Society, holding that "the law of this State does not extend to acts done beyond its jurisdiction; emancipation abroad is valid" (23 Ga. 62, 65 [1850]). In Cleland v. Waters (1855), the Court again affirmed that such testamentary provisions were permissible, stating that "when freedom is conferred by removal beyond the limits of this State, the bequest stands" (19 Ga. 35, 38 [1855]). And in Myrick v. Vineburgh (1860), the Court reiterated the principle, warning only that if the beneficiaries were free "for one hour in Georgia," the bequest would fail (32 Ga. 593, 597 [1860]). The decision in ACS v. Gartrell thus did not align with this controlling case law. See also Alfred L. Brophy, Reparations: Pro and Con (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 51–58.

10 Brophy, 53.

11 Eric Foner, Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877 (Harper & Row, 1988), pp. 36–37; Edward Baptist, The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism (Basic Books, 2014), pp. 350–355.

12 See *In re Estate of Heller*, 320 A.2d 372 (Pa. 1974) (imposing compound interest on executors who withheld inheritance funds); William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (University of North Carolina Press, 2020), pp. 255–258; *O.C.G.A. § 7-4-2(a)(1)(A)* (Georgia statutory interest at 7% simple interest); *Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund v. Greenough*, 105 U.S. 527 (1882) (holding that equity may require compound interest where fiduciaries wrongfully profit from trust funds).

13 Fulton County Wills & Estates,1853–1854, Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.

14 Georgia General Assembly, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville at an Annual Session in November and December, 1851* (Boughton, Nisbet & Barnes, 1852); Howell Cobb, *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia* (Christy, Kelsey & Burgh, 1851), pp. 1065–1071; see also Howell Cobb, *A Compilation of the General and Public Statutes of the State of Georgia* (W. Thorne Williams, 1859), summarized in David L. Sjoquist, "A Brief History of the Property Tax in Georgia," Fiscal Research Center Report 281 (2014), pp. 4–6.

15 Fulton County Wills & Estates,1853–1854.

16 Georgia Railroad and Banking Company, Annual Reports, 1850–1890, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, GA; John F. Stover, The Railroads of the South, 1865–1900 (University of North Carolina Press, 1955); Gene Aldrich, The Georgia Railroad, 1833–1916: An Historical Study (University of Georgia Press, 1970).

17 Fulton County Wills & Estates, 1853–1854; Georgia Railroad & Banking Company par share values; Stanley Lebergott,

Manpower in Economic Growth: The American Record since 1800 (McGraw–Hill, 1964); US Bureau of Labor Statistics, *History of Wages* (1929); Fulton County Tax Records (1853).

18 The Western & Atlantic Railroad (W&A), chartered in 1836 and owned by the State of Georgia, has been continuously leased to private operators since 1870—first to a company led by former governor Joseph E. Brown, then to the Nashville-based Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway (NC & St.L) starting in 1890, which was absorbed into the Louisville & Nashville Railroad (L&N); L&N later became part of Seaboard Coast Line Industries, which merged into the Seaboard System Railroad in 1982 and eventually consolidated into CSX Transportation in 1986, which remains the current leaseholder. See Digital Library of Georgia, *Western & Atlantic Railroad, Officers' Report, 1867*, accessed November 17, 2025, https://dlg.usg.edu/record/gaarchives_warr_225, noting that the line remained state-owned and leased to private operators, including CSX. Also see "Western and Atlantic Railroad" Wikipedia, accessed November 17, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_and_Atlantic_Railroad, confirming continued state ownership and lease by CSX; and "CSX Transportation" Wikipedia, accessed November 17, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CSX_Transportation, detailing the corporate lineage from Seaboard Coast Line to CSX Transportation.

19 Fulton County Inventory and Appraisement (C-722), Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.

20 According to Fulton County's 1891 *Inventories and Appraisals Record*, Lucius J. Gartrell's estate was listed as owning twenty-four shares of the Marietta & North Georgia Railroad. That company's lineage runs as follows: Marietta & North Georgia to Atlanta, Knoxville & Northern (1890s) to Louisville & Nashville (1902) to Seaboard Coast Line (1982 merger) to CSX Transportation (1986 consolidation). See Fulton County, Georgia, *Inventories and Appraisals Record*, 1891, Estate of Lucius J. Gartrell; H. Roger Grant, *The Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston Railroad, 1836–1857* (University of North Carolina Press, 2014), pp. 211–213; Maury Klein, *History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad* (Macmillan, 1972), pp. 395–402.

21 Estimated valuation based on the corporate succession of the Marietta & North Georgia Railroad through the Atlanta, Knoxville & Northern and Louisville & Nashville to Seaboard Coast Line and CSX Corporation. Stock split history for CSX (1980, 1983, 1991, 2006) is documented in *"Stock Split History,"* CSX Corporation Investor Relations, accessed November 18, 2025, https://investors.csx.com/stock-information/default.aspx. The range of $17,000 to $138,000 represents an opportunity-cost calculation of what the Marietta & North Georgia Railroad shares might have become if their appraised 1891 value had been preserved and grown at compounded rates of return consistent with long-run equity performance. Using the estate's valuation of $25 per share (132 shares = $3,300), compounding forward from 1891 to 2025 produces approximately $17,000 at 3 percent annual growth and $138,000 at 7 percent yearly growth. These figures reflect lost investment potential, not the actual outcome of the railroad's corporate reorganizations, which in practice diluted or extinguished most shareholder equity. Dividend yields are based on historical averages for Class I railroads in the 20th century.

22 Fulton County Inventory and Appraisement (C-722), 1891.

23 Fulton County Tax Records (1853–1870), Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia. Mary Combs is credited as the only free person of color to purchase property in Atlanta in 1856. Her home and land were sold in 1862.

24 Fulton County Inventory and Appraisement (C-722), 1891, Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia. Atlanta City Directory (1874), Atlanta-Central Fulton County Library, Special Collections, Atlanta, Georgia.

25 Lebergott, *Manpower in Economic Growth*, Table A-3, "Average Monthly Earnings of Hired Farm Labor"; Stanley Lebergott, "Labor Force and Employment, 1800–1960," in *Output, Employment, and Productivity in the United States after 1800*, ed. Dorothy S. Brady (Columbia University Press for NBER, 1966), pp. 117–204, accessed November 17, 2025, https://www.nber.org/system/files/chapters/c1567/c1567.pdf; Robert A. Margo, "Wages and Labor Markets in the United States, 1820–1860," *NBER Historical Working Paper Series*, no. 40 (2000); US Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Government Printing Office, 1975). For regional wage estimates and Margo's data, see Georgia-specific wage estimates for White male manual laborers, which are not available for the antebellum period. As a proxy, we applied nominal earnings for the Southern Atlantic region—which includes Georgia, as compiled by economic historian Robert A. Margo. For 1850 and 1860, Margo's data provide monthly farm labor wages for Whites with board ($12.96 in 1850; $17.18 in 1860) and daily common labor wages for Whites without board ($0.66/day in 1850; $0.83/day in 1860). These regional wages represent approximately 73 to 83 percent of Northern salaries and are the most geographically relevant series available.

26 Period wage assignments are based on South Atlantic regional averages and interpolations drawn from Lebergott, *Man-*

power in Economic Growth, Table A-3; and Lebergott, "Labor Force and Employment, 1800–1960"; supplemented with Margo, "Wages and Labor Markets in the United States, 1820–1860"; and US Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States*. Monthly wage values applied in the calculations were as follows: 1815–1839, $10.93/month; 1840–1849, $11.52/month; 1850–1853, $12.11/month; 1854–1859, $12.96/month (Margo's 1850 farm labor with board figure, adjusted for no board); 1860–1864, $17.18/month (Margo's 1860 farm labor with board figure, adjusted for no board). Published monthly estimates assume 66 hours per week (≈3,432 hours per year). These were adjusted to reflect the enslaved work schedule of 14 hours per day × 365 days per year (5,110 hours annually) by multiplying baseline earnings by the ratio of 1.4889. Children ages five to ten were valued at one-quarter the adult annual rate, consistent with historical wage differentials for youth labor. At the same time, those over ten were classified as adults. Headcounts were estimated as follows: 1815–1839, twenty adults and four children; 1840–1849, twenty-two adults and three children; 1850–1859, twenty-five adults and five children; 1860–1864, thirty adults and no children. Group totals for each period were calculated as (adults × adult annual value) + (children × child annual value), with period totals representing the sum of yearly group totals.

27 During the nineteenth century, White children entered the workforce at strikingly young ages. On farms, children under ten often performed light tasks such as tending animals or carrying water. In contrast, older children assumed heavier responsibilities; see Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (Princeton University Press, 1985). Industries frequently hired children over ten. Textile mills employed children as young as seven to nine as "doffers" and spinners, and coal companies used "breaker boys" between ages eight and twelve; see Walter I. Trattner, *Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America* (Quadrangle Books, 1970); and Hugh D. Hindman, *Child Labor: An American History* (M.E. Sharpe, 2002). Census data confirm the scope: in 1880, nearly one-in-six children ages ten to fifteen were counted in the labor force, and reformers noted it was common for children between ten and thirteen to work full-time at physically demanding jobs; see US Census Bureau, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Report on the Social Statistics of Cities* (Government Printing Office, 1886).

28 "2026 Georgia Budget and Primer," Georgia Budget and Policy Institute, accessed November 17, 2025, https://gbpi.org/georgiabudgetprimer/?_gl=1*1lh67lh*_up*MQ..*_ga*MTY4Mjk0MzE3NS4xNzU2OTQxMjM1*_ga_ZWZC5HZ1Y-J*czE3NTY5NDEyMzQkbzEkZzEkdDE3NTY5NDEyMzckajU3JGwwJGgw.

29 For information about Georgia's 1755 revenue act and poll tax of one shilling per enslaved person, see Alvin Rabushka, *Taxation in Colonial America* (Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 695–696; see also Georgia Colonial and State Tax Laws, 1751, Georgia Archives; and David L. Lewis, *The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828–1856* (Harper & Row, 1963), p. 112.

30 Gavin Wright, *Slavery and American Economic Development* (Louisiana State University Press, 2006), pp. 54–55.

31 Georgia General Assembly, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville at an Annual Session in November and December, 1851*; Sjoquist, "Brief History of the Property Tax," pp. 4–6; Cobb, *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia*, pp. 1065–1071; see also Cobb, *A Compilation of the General and Public Statutes of the State of Georgia*.

32 Georgia General Assembly, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville at an Annual Session in November and December, 1851*; Sjoquist, "Brief History of the Property Tax," pp. 4–6.

33 Georgia General Assembly, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1853–1854*, which includes provisions authorizing counties to levy up to 50 percent of the state tax; confirmed in Sjoquist, "Brief History of the Property Tax," pp. 5–6.

34 Georgia General Assembly, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1853–1854*; Sjoquist, "Brief History of the Property Tax," pp. 5–6.

35 Fulton County Tax Digest, 1854, Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.

36 Fulton County Tax Digest, 1855, Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia.

37 Fulton County Tax Assessment Records, 1855–1864.

Part Two:

On the Backs of Black People



Reparations Denied: Black Exclusion and White Compensation in Post-War Fulton County, 1865–1877

Christopher Smothers

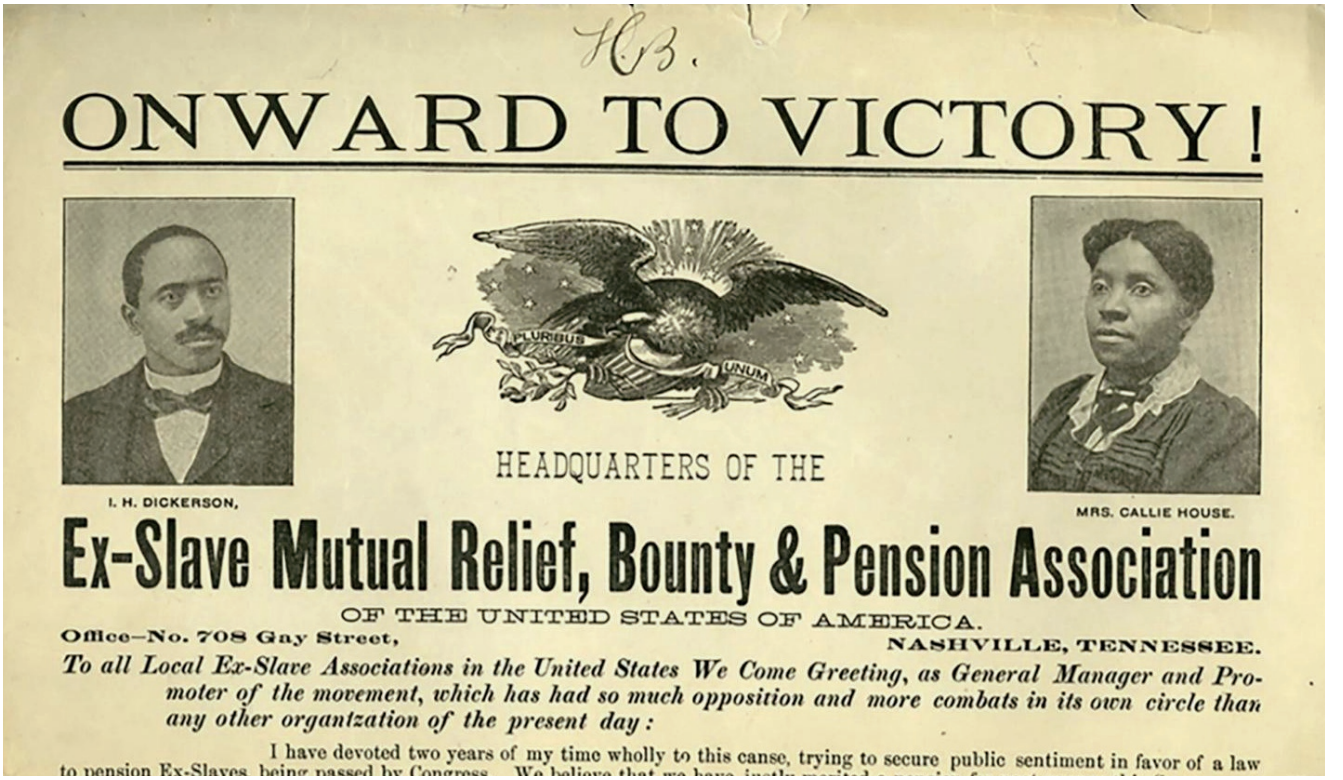


Figure 5.1 The Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty & Pension Association led by Callie House and I. H. Dickerson. The association was an early grassroots movement demanding federal reparations for formerly enslaved Americans. *Credit:* National Archives, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, RG 15.

The Union victory at the end of the Civil War heralded a transformative era for the United States, marked by the abolition of slavery and the ambitious yet fraught period of Reconstruction. Freed Black people looked forward to an era of political agency, economic independence, and land ownership—pillars of self-sufficiency that had long been denied to them. However, while Reconstruction promised racial and economic justice, it largely failed to deliver. Historians such as W. E. B. Du Bois and Eric Foner have argued that Reconstruction was an unfinished revolution, undermined by White resistance and federal inaction.[1] The Southern Claims Commission, established by Congress to compensate Union loyalists in the South for wartime property losses, became a crucial mechanism through which many former enslavers sought to recover their economic standing.[2] This essay explores the nuances of those claims in Fulton County, Georgia, with a particular focus on Alfred Austell—namesake of Austell, Georgia—alongside claimants from Campbell and Milton Counties. While White Southerners navigated this process to recoup financial losses, formerly enslaved individuals faced systematic exclusion from comparable compensation,

perpetuating economic disparities that reverberate to the present day.

The Southern Claims Commission, created in 1871, sought to compensate Southern Unionists for property losses incurred due to the war.[3] This initiative represented a political compromise: Northern Republicans sought to support loyal Southerners in rebuilding their lives, while Southern interests leveraged the commission to restore pre-war economic assets. To receive compensation, claimants had to prove both their Union loyalty and their tangible property losses. For White Southerners, this presented a significant opportunity to regain financial stability. In Fulton County alone, only 14.9 percent of claims (40 out of 269) were approved, with additional approvals in Campbell and Milton Counties—regions that now form modern Fulton County.[4] The commission ultimately served as a conduit for economic restoration, disproportionately benefiting those with the knowledge, influence, and resources to navigate the claims process, including former enslavers. This aligns with broader historiographical discussions on Reconstruction, which emphasize how federal policies, while appearing neutral, often reinforced existing racial and economic hierarchies.[5]

Alfred Austell, a prominent Atlanta banker and former enslaver, serves as a compelling case study of the Southern Claims Commission's operations. Austell's claim for $15,222 worth of tobacco was the single largest claim in Georgia.[6] His wartime allegiances were complex; while he harbored Unionist sympathies, he also provided material support to Confederate relatives. As the cashier of the Bank of Fulton, Austell wielded significant financial influence, positioning himself strategically in the tumultuous post-war economy. Though his claim was ultimately disallowed, his case underscores the intricate intersection of loyalty, wealth, and restitution in the Reconstruction South. The success of his White peers in navigating the claims process highlights how Reconstruction policies favored the economic rehabilitation of former enslavers over the empowerment of formerly enslaved individuals, reinforcing the arguments of historians who assert that Reconstruction's economic policies failed to address Black economic disenfranchisement in any meaningful way.[7]

The approval of forty claims in Fulton County alone underscores the extent to which former enslavers and other White Southerners benefited from the Southern Claims Commission. Even though Austell's claim was rejected, the overall process demonstrated how wealth and privilege enabled many White Southerners to reclaim economic losses. In contrast, Black claimants faced formidable obstacles. Of the $25,699 in approved claims paid out in Fulton County, only $3,479—just 13.5 percent—went to Black claimants.[8] Among the ten American freedmen who applied in Fulton County, six were formerly enslaved individuals. Furthermore, only five women filed claims, compared to thirty-five men, meaning women accounted for just 12.5 percent of all claimants, revealing the gendered disparities that compounded racial inequities in access to financial restitution.[9] These statistics reflect broader patterns across the Reconstruction South, where economic policies disproportionately benefited White citizens while leaving Black Americans vulnerable to systemic discrimination and financial precarity.[10]

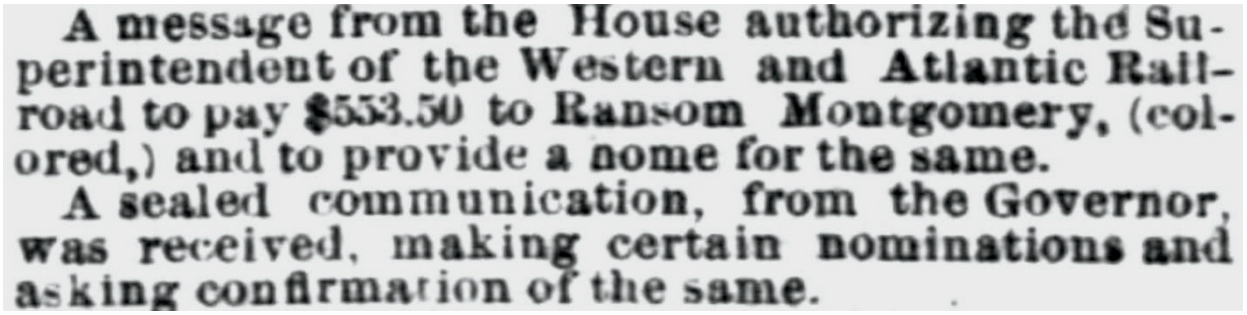
While White Southern Unionists had formal avenues to reclaim lost wealth, Black Americans were systematically excluded from economic compensation for their centuries of forced labor. Efforts to grant reparations, such as General William T. Sherman's Special Field Orders No. 15—commonly referred to as the "forty acres and a mule" policy—were swiftly dismantled.[11] President Andrew Johnson's 1865 Amnesty Proclamation nullified land redistribution efforts, forcibly evicting formerly enslaved people from land they had begun to cultivate. As a result, Black Americans were left without the resources necessary for economic independence and often forced into exploitative labor arrangements such as sharecropping, which perpetuated cycles of poverty and economic dependence. The failure to provide land and financial restitution has been widely recognized by scholars as a turning point that cemented racial wealth disparities for generations.[12]

The federal government's resistance to reparations extended beyond land policies. By the late 19th century, the so-called ex-slave pension movement sought to secure financial compensation for formerly enslaved individuals, paralleling the pensions provided to Union veterans. Leaders like Callie House and organizations such as the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty, and Pension Association (MRB&PA) championed this cause, only to face relentless opposition from federal agencies.[13] The Bureau of Pensions, the Post Office Department, and the Department of Justice aggressively suppressed the movement, branding it fraudulent, targeting its leaders, and

obstructing its communications. These efforts effectively extinguished any hope of government-backed financial restitution for formerly enslaved individuals, further entrenching racial economic disparities. As scholars of Reconstruction have noted, the federal government's prioritization of White economic stability over Black justice played a significant role in shaping racial inequalities that persist to this day.[14]

Ransom Montgomery, State-Level Recompense

An example of state-level recompense for stolen wages can be seen in the case of Ransom Montgomery, a formerly enslaved man purchased by the state of Georgia to work at the state capitol.[15] After the war, Montgomery petitioned the Georgia legislature for unpaid wages for his forced labor, resulting in a resolution for compensation. Though he ultimately received some payment, it was a meager sum. Years later, after injuring himself on railroad steps, he attempted to sue the City of Atlanta. The city and railroad company retaliated by forcing him out of his home—an act emblematic of the systemic barriers that Black Americans faced when seeking justice and restitution. Montgomery's case provides a critical precedent for discussing reparations at the state and federal levels, reinforcing the broader argument of this study.[16]


A message from the House authorizing the Superintendent of the Western and Atlantic Railroad to pay $553.50 to Ransom Montgomery, (colored,) and to provide a home for the same.

A sealed communication, from the Governor, was received, making certain nominations and asking confirmation of the same.

Figure 5.2 On July 30, 1868, the Georgia legislature granted a relief of $553.50 to Ransom Montgomery for unpaid wages while enslaved by the state, according to the *Atlanta Constitution*, July 31, 1868. However, the *Weekly Atlanta Intelligencer* stated the amount as $562.50 on August 5, 1868. *Credit: Atlanta Constitution*, July 31, 1868.

By examining the Southern Claims Commission alongside the thwarted ex-slave pension movement and cases like Ransom Montgomery's, this study underscores the long-standing failure of the federal and state governments to adequately address the economic injustices inflicted upon Black Americans. The disparities entrenched during Reconstruction did not merely persist; they deepened over generations, creating the vast racial wealth gap seen today. The case of Alfred Austell and the broader struggles for reparations highlight the urgent need for a comprehensive and just approach to addressing these historical wrongs. A serious reckoning with Reconstruction's unfulfilled promises is not just a matter of historical interest but a necessary step toward rectifying centuries of racial economic inequality.[17]

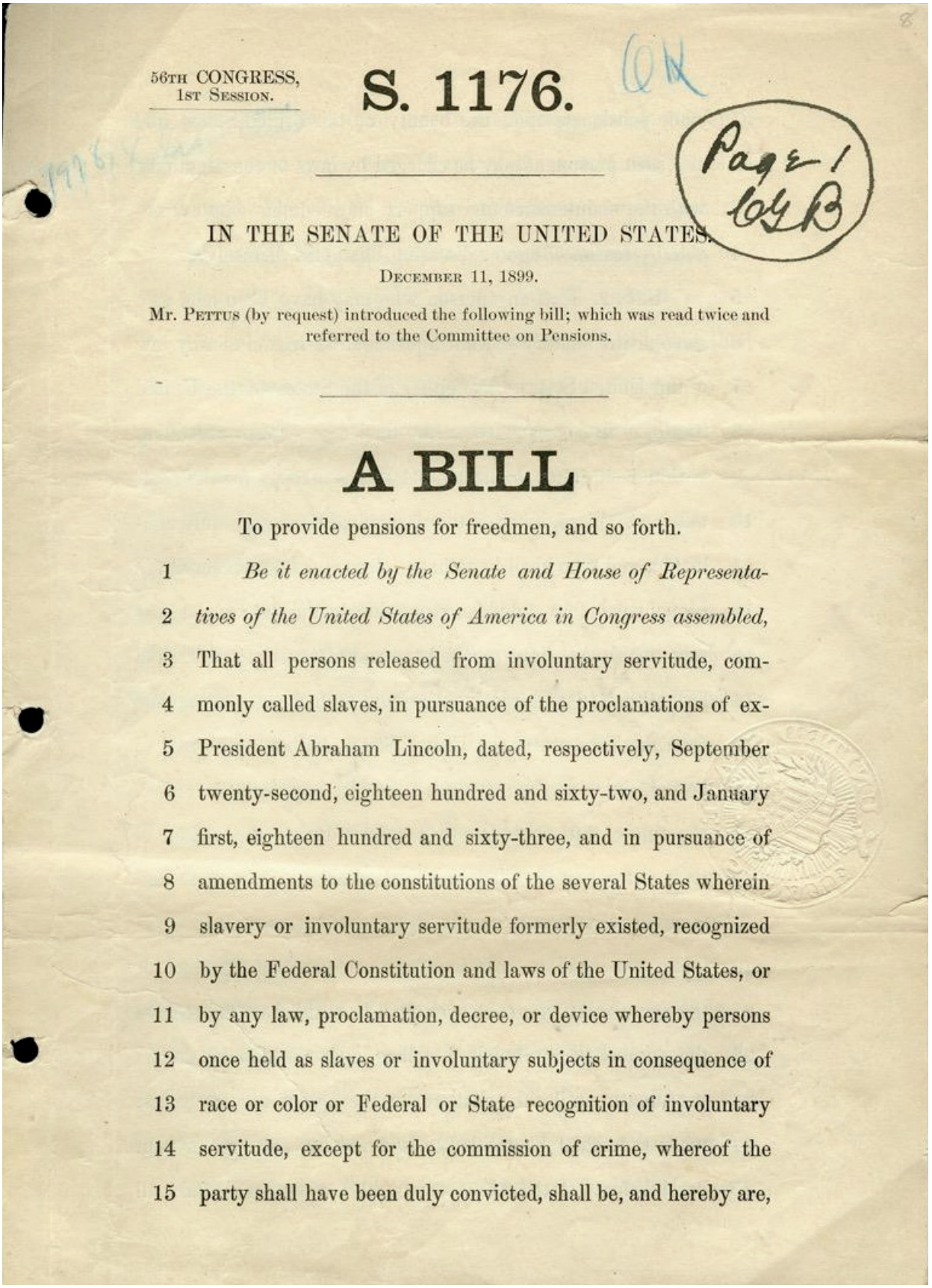
Economic Analysis

In Fulton County, the Southern Claims Commission processed 269 petitions for wartime property losses, yet only forty of those claims (about 14.9 percent) were approved. Although the total awards paid amounted to $25,699, just $3,479 (13.5 percent) went to Black claimants, meaning that most compensation flowed to White petitioners.

The most striking single application was Alfred Austell's request for $15,222 in tobacco losses, the largest claim in Georgia; despite its scale and his financial influence as a prominent banker, his petition was ultimately denied. Yet the fact that he and similarly well-connected White Southerners could navigate the claims process at all underscores how social and economic capital shaped access to federal restitution.

Black applicants faced steep hurdles. Of the ten American freedmen who filed in Fulton County—six of whom had been formerly enslaved—only a handful received any payment, and those awards represented a mere fraction of the commission's outlays. Gender also compounded barriers: Just five women submitted claims, compared to thirty-five men, so that female petitioners accounted for only 12.5 percent of all applicants and thus fared particularly poorly in this restitution scheme.

By channeling nearly 87 percent of available funds into White hands, the commission reinforced the dispossession of formerly enslaved people, denying them meaningful compensation and leaving many without land or capital. In omitting Black claimants, the Southern Claims Commission deepened post-war capital disparities, effectively perpetuating landlessness, dependence on sharecropping, and the intergenerational racial wealth gap that continues to shape American economic life.



56TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION.

S. 1176.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

DECEMBER 11, 1899.

Mr. PETTUS (by request) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A BILL

To provide pensions for freedmen, and so forth.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all persons released from involuntary servitude, commonly called slaves, in pursuance of the proclamations of ex-President Abraham Lincoln, dated, respectively, September twenty-second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and January first, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, and in pursuance of amendments to the constitutions of the several States wherein slavery or involuntary servitude formerly existed, recognized by the Federal Constitution and laws of the United States, or by any law, proclamation, decree, or device whereby persons once held as slaves or involuntary subjects in consequence of race or color or Federal or State recognition of involuntary servitude, except for the commission of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and hereby are,

Figure 5.3 1899 U.S. Senate Bill S.1176, proposing federal pensions for formerly enslaved people.
Credit: Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

Endnotes

1 W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, *1860–1880* (Free Press, 1998), p. 708.

2 Eric Foner, Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877 (Harper & Row, 1988), p. 251.

3 United States Congress, *Report of the Commissioners of Claims* (Government Printing Office, 1873), pp. 12–15.

4 Southern Claims Commission, Approved Claims for Georgia (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC), Microfilm Publication M1650.

5 Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 279–283.

6 Southern Claims Commission, Case Files of Alfred Austell (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC), Claim No. 11804.

7 Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, p. 711.

8 Southern Claims Commission, Georgia Claimants and Compensation Records (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC), Microfilm Publication M1650.

9 Hannah Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom: Citizenship, Sexual Violence, and the Meaning of Race in the Post-Emancipation South* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009), pp. 119–123.

10 Foner, *Reconstruction*, pp. 437–439.

11 William T. Sherman, Special Field Orders, No. 15, January 16, 1865 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).

12 Claude F. Oubre, *Forty Acres and a Mule: The Ruined Hope of Reconstruction* (Louisiana State University Press, 1978), pp. 56–58.

13 Mary Frances Berry, *My Face Is Black Is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), pp. 88–91.

14 Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (Vintage Books, 1980), pp. 431–434.

15 Georgia Legislature, Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1879, pp. 246–248.

16 "The Case of Ransom Montgomery," *Atlanta Constitution,* April 4, 1883, p. 2.

17 David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 287–290.

Chapter Six

Convict Labor in Fulton County, Georgia

John Wright

Coin blood into gold;
who cares for the cost?
There's money to make
though a soul may be lost.
Then cut him, and carve him;
\Throw his flesh to the hog.
It is only a convict who died
like a dog.

—Nashville Banner, February 7, 1885

Convict Leasing in Georgia, 1868-1909

During the Civil War, convicts in the state penitentiary in Milledgeville were put to work manufacturing rifles, bayonets, and other munitions for the Confederate war effort.[1] However, the Milledgeville Penitentiary was burned during General Sherman's March to the Sea. As a result, in the wake of the Civil War, Georgia did not have a building to serve as a state penitentiary. Instead of building one, the state legislature opted for leasing as a method of disposing of people convicted of crimes. In December 1866, the state legislature passed an act "to regulate the manner in which the Penitentiary shall be managed, and to provide for farming out the same." Under the act, convicts could be leased to private interests for periods of not more than five years.[2] The first convicts were leased on May 11, 1868, when General Thomas H. Ruger, provisional governor of Georgia, agreed to furnish William A. Fort of Rome, Georgia, with one hundred able-bodied Black convicts to work on the Georgia and Alabama Railroad for one year in return for the sum of $2,500. Through a second contract made on July 2, 1868, William A. Fort and Joseph I. Printup leased one hundred convicts to work on the Selma, Rome and Dalton Railroad for one year. Fort and Printup agreed to pay $1,000 for that labor, along with bond of $10,000 to insure the safekeeping and humane treatment of the prisoners.[3] Colonel Overton H. Walton, the principal keeper of the penitentiary, reported to the governor in January 1869 that the costs of receiving, outfitting, and transporting convicts to the lessee exceeded the returns on the lease. Walton also noted that large numbers of convicts had either escaped or died, and that "humane treatment" was "entirely ignored."[4] Despite the principal keeper's report, on June 28, 1869, the entire population of the state penitentiary was leased to Grant, Alexander and Company. By January 7, 1870, the company controlled 393 convicts.[5] It agreed to take all convicts sentenced to the penitentiary and relieve the state of all expenses of their care except the salary of the principal keeper, who was to be allowed to inspect the convicts at any time. The company promised to treat the convicts humanely and not to overwork them. The state received no money for the labor of those convicts but was relieved of the expense of supporting them.[6]

In 1870, the first investigation of the convict leases system was conducted by a committee of the Georgia General Assembly. It found the condition of convicts was generally good. However, the investigators noted that sleeping quarters were often overcrowded and too few hours were allowed for sleep during the short nights of the summer months. They further noted that water facilities were inadequate in many camps, and the personal cleanliness of the convicts was generally neglected. Finally, they found that cruel and inhuman punishment was inflicted on prisoners at times. On September 6, 1870, following the legislative investigation, a resolution instructing the

governor to return all convicts to a central penitentiary under state control was introduced in the Georgia House of Representatives but not adopted.[7]

Barely two years after the first incarcerated citizens were leased, the first calls to abolish convict leasing were made due to physical abuse and lack of care. Instead, the legislature passed an act in 1871 that provided for the continuation of the lease system. The act required that contracts be made for the labor of any number of convicts at not less than twenty-five dollars per capita per annum for one or two years. Hours of labor and punishment for convicts were regulated by the new law. New contracts were to be made by the governor at the expiration of Grant, Alexander, and Company's lease. Seven bids were submitted for convicts in 1872. Despite the investigation that revealed Grant, Alexander and Company's mistreatment and abuse of convicts, their bid was accepted by the governor.[8] With the passage of the act, convict leasing became a source of revenue for the state.

Another act, passed by the legislature in March 1874, provided that convicts could be leased for periods from one to five years in such numbers as the governor saw fit. The 1874 act further established the penitentiary as a revenue stream for the state. Under the law, Grant, Alexander, and Company contracted 180 convicts for five years at ten dollars each per year. Other firms and individuals were able to lease convicts for railroad construction, coal and iron mining, farming, and pottery.[9] By 1875, there were 926 convicts in the state penitentiary—ninety White males, 805 Black males, thirty Black females and one White female—all leased to private interests throughout the state.[10]

Just two years later, on February 25, 1876, the legislature adopted an extensive act "to regulate the leasing out of Penitentiary convicts." It authorized the governor to make contracts leasing convicts for not less than twenty years to one or more companies. On April 14, 1876, Governor James M. Smith advertised for bids under the new lease law. Smith made contracts with three companies to lease all convicts in the penitentiary. Each company was to pay its pro rata share of $500,000 in twenty equal annual installments.[11] These three companies would control state convicts until the leasing system ended in 1908.

The Penitentiary Companies and Their Original Owners[12]

Penitentiary Company One

Original owners:

- Joseph E. Brown (former Georgia governor, 1857–1865, and U.S. Senator 1880–1891) – Atlanta
- Julius Brown – Atlanta
- John T. Grant – Atlanta
- William D. Grant – Atlanta
- Jacob Searer (Boston investor)

All convicts leased to Penitentiary Company One were sent to the Dade Coal Company, Joseph E. Brown, President.

Penitentiary Company Two

Original owners:

- Benjamin G. Lockett (owned businesses in Fulton County that leased convicts)
- J W Lockett
- William B. Lowe – Atlanta
- John B. Gordon (future Georgia governor, 1886–1890, and U.S. Senator, 1891–1897) – Atlanta

- Lee A. Jordan

Penitentiary Company Three

Original owners:

- Thomas Alexander – Atlanta, West End
- William D. Grant – Atlanta
- W. W. Simpson
- John W. Murphy
- John W. Renfroe (state treasurer, later assistant to president of Dade Coal Co.) – Atlanta

Opposition to convict leasing was widespread and increased over time. Many opposed it because it presented competition with "free labor" and held down wages, while others opposed its inhumanity and cruelty. Inspections, harsh criticism, and efforts to end the convict lease system continued throughout the period. An investigation of the convict camps conducted by a legislative committee in 1881 led to calls for legislation to provide an officer to stand between convicts and lessees in every camp "to protect the prisoners from cruel and inhumane treatment." The committee also made note of the fact that there was nothing reformatory about the convict lease system.[13]

Following a highly critical report on conditions in many of the convict camps Governor John B. Gordon—a former Confederate general, head of the Georgia Ku Klux Klan, and one of the original investors in Penitentiary Company Number 2—spoke out against the convict leasing system. In 1896, he chaired hearings investigating conditions in the convict camps and the condition and treatment of prisoners. In a speech to the Georgia General Assembly on December 1, 1896, he stated,

> It [the convict lease system] places pecuniary interests in conflict with humanity. It makes possible the infliction of greater punishment than the law and the courts have imposed. It renders impracticable the proper care by the State of the health of its prisoners or their requisite separation according to classes, sexes and conditions. It reduces to minimum the chances for reformation. It places convict labor, in many many instances, in direct competition with the honest labor of the State.[14]

Despite the investigations and Governor Gordon's hearings on December 21, 1897, the legislature chose to continue the convict lease system. However, it did make several changes to the system. Lease terms were shortened to five years. The new law also abolished the office of principal keeper, replacing it with a three-man commission responsible for inspection and reports. The principal physician's office was eliminated, as well, and the camps themselves were made responsible for engaging a local doctor for convicts' needs. In addition, older or infirm men, all women, and boys under fifteen were to be sent to a state-operated prison farm; all other convicts were to be leased. The legislation also contained a provision that mandated segregation by race. This racial segregation among convicts, along with Black disenfranchisement, was part of a growing movement in the 1890s to legally segregate the races. Both were key elements of the strategy of forced racial subordination during that decade.[15]

In 1908, a report highly critical of conditions in the convict camps was made public. The original report was declared "lost"; however, a carbon copy of it was located and read at legislative hearings on conditions in the convict lease camps.[16] Throughout the state, public meetings were held in opposition to the convict lease system's continuation. One meeting in Atlanta adopted resolutions stating that the convict lease system was characterized throughout its existence by barbarous treatment of convicts and corruption and graft on the part of state officials. Furthermore, a "ghastly record of horrors and crimes done by public officials and employees" had been revealed during an investigation by the joint House and Senate committee. The people of Atlanta and Fulton County, therefore, denounced the existing penitentiary system as "a crime against God, a blot on the civilization of the south,"

and expressed their disapproval of "any kind of a bill whatsoever that . . . [continued] in any form the convict lease system," demanding its immediate abolition.[17] In the face of such public outcry, the legislature was forced to act. In a special session held in September 1908, the legislature passed a bill to abolish convict leasing. The system concluded in Georgia on April 1, 1909, when all existing leases ended.[18]

However, the end of convict leasing did not end counties' use of convicts on chain gangs. In fact, in 1908, as convict leasing was ending, Governor Hoke Smith boasted that "we are about to inaugurate upon a broad scale the improvement of our roads in Georgia," a project made possible by the large pool of forced labor suddenly at the state's disposal.[19] For the next forty-six years, convicts would quarry stone, build roads and bridges, dig culverts, and drain swamps for the state and counties of Georgia.

For a list of Georgia convict camps identified by the task force, see Attachment 6.1.

Convict Leases in Fulton County

Early and close connections existed between convict leasing and Fulton County. One of the earliest convict leasing firms, Grant, Alexander and Company, which leased convicts to build railroads throughout the state, had its home office in Atlanta.[20] Leased convicts in Fulton County worked in a variety of industries: lumber and timber, construction, railroad building, broom-making (women), and brickmaking. There were at least twelve camps in Fulton County that housed convicts (see Appendix 6.1).

In 1876, the Georgia legislature created the penitentiary system to manage leased convicts. A majority of the original owners of the three penitentiary companies lived in or had major business interests in Fulton County, most in Atlanta. Over the years, Fulton County residents gained near-total control of all three penitentiary companies. Convicts who were not put to work for businesses located in Fulton County were subleased to interests across the state. Subleased convicts mined coal and iron ore in North Georgia, made pipe and tile in Central Georgia, and worked in the timber industry cutting trees, working in sawmills, and making turpentine at camps throughout the state. Other convicts worked across the state on farms and plantations, and many others worked in large factories making bricks.

Readily accessible clays along the Chattahoochee River and easy access to Atlanta's railroad hub made Fulton County an ideal site for brickmaking. Benjamin G. Lockett and William B. Lowe built adjacent brick factories on the banks of the Chattahoochee River, and both companies used convict labor to manufacture the bricks. In 1885, former Atlanta Mayor James W. English bought Lockett's interest in the B. G. Lockett Company and engineered a merger with Lowe's Bolton Brick. The new company was incorporated in Fulton County on June 22, 1885, as the Chattahoochee Brick Company, with James English as president.[21] Using convicts to produce bricks, the Chattahoochee Brick Company became the largest brick manufacturer in the country, producing 200,000 bricks a day. Chattahoochee bricks were used on projects throughout the Atlanta metro area, including the State Capitol, the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, the Exposition Mills, numerous Grant Park Homes, King Plow Works, the Whittier Mills, the exterior walls of the Oakland Cemetery, the Pullman Plant in Kirkwood, meat packing and warehouse buildings near the Inman Rail Yard, and Atlanta streets, sewers, and sidewalks. Still, half of Chattahoochee Brick's revenue came from export, particularly to ports throughout the Caribbean.[22]

Captain James W. English moved to Atlanta in May 1865, immediately following the Civil War. His

first job in the city was scraping and hauling bricks from buildings destroyed during the war. Over time, he was secured better jobs and began investing in real estate, with extensive holdings in Atlanta and Buckhead. In 1877, he was elected to the Atlanta City Council, and in 1881, he was elected mayor. After serving one term, he became a member of the Atlanta Police Commission, serving as a commissioner from 1883 to 1905 and 1907 to 1916, including fourteen years as chair.[23] As a police commissioner, he had a direct role in establishing policies and procedures for the Atlanta Police Department and for determining what officers should consider "criminal activity." By setting law enforcement policies and priorities, the police commission could directly influence the number of persons, particularly Black persons, being arrested and ultimately fed into the penitentiary or Fulton County chain gangs.

Captain English became more deeply involved in convict leasing as Chattahoochee Brick and his real estate holdings grew. He eventually became president of Penitentiary Company Number 3, and he was a major investor in Penitentiary Company Number 2. As such, he had control over roughly two-thirds of the convicts in Georgia. Table 6.1 indicates how Captain English and Chattahoochee Brick came to dominate the state's convict lease system.

Table 6.1 Convict Control, 1886–1897[24]

Report Year	Statewide Camps	Convicts	Chattahoochee Brick Camps	Convicts
1886	14	1,527	8	649
1888	14	1,537	10	1,375
1892	15	1,940	3	497
1893	16	2,168	3	676
1894	18	2,328	4	786
1896	26	2,357	11	1,247
1897	26	2,235	13	1,206

In direct violation of the Convict Act of 1876, convicts controlled by Captain English and Chattahoochee Brick but not needed for brick making were subleased to other enterprises throughout the state, including other businesses owned by English. Subleased convicts were involved in brickmaking, logging, cross-tie production, sawmilling, turpentining, and railroad construction.[25] Subleasing convicts proved less lucrative than expected, however, so Captain English and Chattahoochee Brick diversified, expanding into railroad construction, mining, and the timber industries, using convict labor for all. Other convicts from Chattahoochee Brick were used to build the Atlanta branch of the Massachusetts-based Whittier Textile Mills. Rather than paying for the construction, Whittier compensated Captain English with stock in his company. Operating with equipment installed in 1886 and paying annual dividends of 12.5 percent to 50 percent, Chattahoochee Brick continued to be profitable until the convict lease system was abolished.[26]

For a list of Fulton County convict lease holders identified by the task force, see Attachment 6.2. For a list of Fulton County convict lease camps identified by the task force, see Attachment 6.3.

Fulton County Chain Gangs, 1866–1955

In October 1866, the Fulton County grand jury recommended that persons convicted of misdemeanors be organized into chain gangs and be put to work on public roads.[27] In 1874, incarcerated individuals leased to Grant, Alexander and Company were put to work on public projects in Fulton, Floyd, Walton, and Hart Counties.[28] By 1876, a Fulton County judge, noting the poor condition of roads, ordered the creation of chain gangs of county misdemeanor convicts "to ameliorate these conditions."[29]

Subsequently, people who were convicted of misdemeanors in Fulton County were placed on the Fulton County chain gang. In addition, the Fulton County chain gang paid a monthly fee for misdemeanor convicts from other counties. The county also accepted state felony convicts for the chain gang. Members of the chain gang built and paved roads, built bridges, dug culverts and roadside ditches, and drained swamps. Convicts also worked in quarries, blasting, digging, and cutting stone and crushing gravel for county projects. Other convicts were put to work on municipal projects in Atlanta, building and improving roads, laying curbs and sidewalks, and building sewers.

For a list of Fulton County "chain gang" camps identified by the task force, see Attachment 6.4.

The Evolution of Unfree Labor in Georgia

Democrats' victory at the polls in 1870 effectively returned control of the state government to anti-Reconstruction, anti-reform White politicians. The restoration of "home" rule was made possible through use of extralegal means of coercion. The Ku Klux Klan and other terrorist organizations regained control by intimidating Blacks and reformist Whites and keeping them from voting. Former Confederates saw such methods as ways to redeem the South. They saw the machinery of crime control as another. Thus, state penal policies whereby more and more Blacks were subjected to perpetual hard labor helped to increase the cohesion of a White South.[30]

The perpetuation of slavery was ensured through implementation of two separate systems of punishment. Through "plantation justice," enslavers had sought to impose an absolute system of authority on those they enslaved. Monarchical law and the slave codes prescribed barbaric and public punishments. In Louisiana, for example, rebels' heads were "stuck upon poles along the Mississippi River as a grim warning [to] slaves." Northern prison reformer Matthew Carey was sickened to learn that South Carolina had enacted a law "for burning alive slaves who murder their masters." The tactic was as clear as it was old: Various European monarchies had turned punishment into a public spectacle, allowing rulers absolute control over their subjects. At public executions, the bodies of the condemned were visibly destroyed in front of the people. Similarly, enslaved people on plantations were forced to witness the control and power of their White enslavers at public hangings and whippings. The most widely used plantation punishment was whipping: "no other penalty carried the same meaning or so embodied the social relations of the peculiar institution. The lash in the White hand on the Black back was a symbol of bondage recognized by both races."[31]

Unfree laborers in the convict leasing system were subject to the same harsh labor practices and cruel punishments enforced under slavery.[32] Southern landowners believed the gap between themselves and the laboring class was permanent and unbridgeable, yet lived in near-constant fear of uprisings by enslaved people. Following the Civil War, they were unwilling to relax their traditional controls over the Black labor force. As the system of convict labor developed after the war, the lash was retained as the preferred form of punishment for convicts. Discipline in convict camps was repressive. Prisoners were whipped for many reasons, ranging from failure to meet daily work targets to "bad attitude" to not being liked by guards or "whipping bosses." The lease system perpetuated the tradition of slavery in another respect: it did not discriminate between male and female labor.[33] Sadly, the abuse and mistreatment of convicts was not limited to convict lease camps, but also extended to county chain gangs.

Convict overseers also used enslavers' method of classifying laborers according to their ability to work into first-, second-, third-, fourth-, and fifth-class hands. Able-bodied males were referred to as "full hands"; women and young prisoners were known as "half-hands." Company employers were reluctant to lease prisoners who were too old or too sick to work, referred to as "dead hands."[34]

The State of Georgia used the convict labor system to satisfy its demand for "unfree" labor and desire for profit, along with White Georgians' resistance to emancipation and racial equality. The convict labor system facilitated the development of a new system of racial hierarchy.[35] After the Civil War, Georgia passed a series of "Black Codes," which targeted recently emancipated Black people and denied them fundamental freedoms. Violation of the Black Codes provided a primary avenue to incarcerate Black people, who were arrested at high rates for these minor crimes. The Black Codes were also used to enforce sexist notions about how women should move through the world. Women displaying behaviors considered "unwomanly" were targets for ostracism. However, only Black women were arrested for these crimes.[36]

Mistreatment of Incarcerated Citizens in Fulton County

To establish mistreatment and abuse of unfree labor in Fulton County and Georgia, this study started by looking at conditions at the Chattahoochee Brick Company. One vestige of the plantation South that carried forward to convict camps in Georgia and across the South was "whipping bosses" or "overseers." Whipping bosses were hired to enforce rules and mitigate confrontations among convicts. However, their absolute power led them to recreate the same cycles of brutality that had evolved within the Southern plantation system and became full-grown during the post-emancipation era. Captain James T. Casey, overseer for Chattahoochee Brick, "was a 'barbarous' whipping boss who beat fifteen to twenty convicts each day, often until they begged and screamed."[37]

The report of the 1907 legislative investigation into Georgia's convict camps was highly critical of conditions and treatment of convicts at Chattahoochee Brick. The report found that convicts were "compelled to work on Sunday and at night, that they were forced to carry loads of bricks at a fast trot from the ovens to be loaded onto railroad cars." Further, the investigation found that food was poor and badly cooked; bedding was dirty and unsanitary; floors in sleeping apartments were dirty; and dining rooms

were filthy and unfit for any use. The investigators recommended that the warden at Chattahoochee Brick be removed.[38] Conditions at Chattahoochee Brick were a focus of the 1907 legislative investigation. The public release of details of the report and the legislative hearings, held in 1908, resulted in public outcry against convict leasing and poor treatment in the camps. As a result, the convict leasing system was ended in a special legislative session held in the fall of 1908.

Convicts in Fulton County chain gang camps were not necessarily any better off than convicts leased to private interests. The Fulton County Grand Jury made regular inspections of the county's chain gang camps. However, while grand jury reports occasionally called for specific improvements at specific camps, the inspections were inconsistent. Sometimes convicts were asked about conditions and treatment, but they were generally reluctant to speak freely, as camp wardens and guards were usually present. On July 3, 1889, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners heard a report detailing a July 1 riot by convicts at the South Atlanta convict camp.[39] The riot occurred after the Fulton County Grand Jury reported multiple issues at the camp. Among those issues were a lack of cleanliness at the camp, inadequate and poorly prepared rations, and whipping of convicts who were sick or otherwise unable to do as much work as others. The grand jury condemned the "excessive whipping and inhuman treatment" of convicts at the camp and recommended that the Board of Commissioners ensure that superintendents, bosses, and guards be "men of human feelings, with hearts of flesh, and not hearts of stone."[40] In 1901, following an inspection of convict camps throughout the state, Warden J. C. Moore of the state penitentiary made a report to the prison commission. His report stated that no camp in the state neglected or declined to conform to the rules of misdemeanor camps to the extent that Fulton County did. After noting specific violations of state prison commission rules by Fulton County, Warden Moore noted that the "rules are conformed to in most of the camps in the state, and none have failed to comply when the matter has been brought to their attention except Fulton."[41] In in a report published in the *Atlanta Constitution* on April 29, 1906, the Fulton County Grand Jury reported that the two physicians charged with caring for convicts in county-operated camps were guilty of "the grossest neglect of duty." The grand jury recommended that both physicians' contracts be terminated.[42] They found that the "present physicians, no matter what the reason may be, have been guilty of the grossest neglect of duty. . . . They have failed to respond to the sick calls from convict camps until the day after they had been summoned, and from testimony given before us it has appeared that when they did reach the camps, they manifested little interest in their patients."[43]

In 1914, the State Prison Commission and the Fulton County Grand Jury began an investigation of the Fulton County chain gang camps. One former convict gave testimony in which he stated,

> When I went to prison, I did not expect good treatment; I expected a hard time. But I did not expect to be treated like a dog; to be hounded and cursed and beaten and worked until my bones ached and I couldn't close my fingers; day after day. I didn't expect to live in surrounding that would have been repellant to a hog, to be fed on food filled with worms and forced by men with shotguns in their hands and the machinery of the law at their beck and call, to submit to indignities and insults that are sufficient excuse, in my mind, for murder, to have armed men who couldn't read or write, but who were officers of the law,

> blackguard me and apply vile epithets to my mother, and threaten to kill me or have me flogged if I protested.

The former convict had begun his sentence at the Chattahoochee Brick Company in 1908 and was transferred to the Fulton County chain gang camp at Buckhead when the convict lease system ended. In his testimony, he stated that the lease system was "infinitely better than the system that now prevails in Fulton County. I don't believe there is a convict in Georgia who wouldn't rather work under the lease system than under the system used in Fulton County."[44]

Former employees of Fulton County also testified to the brutality in the camps. Jeffrey Beck was a blacksmith at the Wieuca camp, located about a mile beyond Buckhead. In his testimony about Ed Tyree, the convict boss at the camp, he said,

> I don't think that man has a spark of sympathy or humanity within his body. He is as hard and callous and brutal as a man can be. He is nothing more than a flogging machine. I have seen him beat up negroes for no other reason than that they were unable to work.[45]

At the Adamsville camp, the grand jury heard terrible stories about guard Charley Wood's alleged cruelties. Half a dozen convicts spoke of being reported for whippings because Wood didn't like their looks, of being reported and flogged for no reason at all, and of being forced to work when their hands were covered with sores and abscesses and their bodies racked with illness and pain. The grand jury reported finding in the Adamsville camp bottles that smelled very strong and some that tasted of whiskey. Convicts in this camp said drunkenness among the guards—men armed with shotguns—was a common occurrence.[46]

A February 6, 1914, article in the *Atlanta Georgian* about the grand jury investigation opened with the statement, "Stories of fiendish tortures and of being whipped with a leather strap studded with copper rivets. . . ." The article documented incidents at the Bellwood and Minor Camps in Fulton County. The article documented the case of convict John James, a convict whom the guard had "whipped every morning for a month, until he finally became so week and lame in his back that he was taken to the hospital where he died in a few days from the effects of the terrible beatings he had received." It was further noted that the grand jury would begin an investigation of the Roseland Camp. Another article in the February 6, 1914, *Atlanta Georgian* discussed "atrocities practiced by prison guards at Fulton County's Buckhead Camp. Actions by some guards were termed as "triple distilled essence of hell."[47] As a result of the revelations of abuse in the Fulton County chain gang camps, Philip Weltner, Secretary of the Georgia Prison Reform Association and former Fulton County Deputy Solicitor General urged the grand jury to abolish the lash, chains and other things that have "made the torture of prisoners a fine art in the county camps."[48]

Despite the findings of the State Prison Commission and the Fulton County Grand Jury, a November 1914 *Atlanta Georgian* article on the laying of concrete roads stated that "Fulton County, Georgia is securing splendid results with negro convict labor. Georgia counties with excellent sand and gravel accessible and cheap convict labor can build concrete roads more cheaply than any other section in the

land." Fulton County convicts were also quarrying the stone and crushing the gravel for road construction at the Bellwood and Sandy Springs quarries.[49]

While direct links are hard to document, the Ku Klux Klan appears to have had at least some impact on chain gangs in Fulton County. A banner headline on page one of the August 6, 1921, Ku Klux Klan publication *The Searchlight* read, "Negroes Must Serve on Chain Gangs Now."[50] In Fulton County, Paul S. Etheridge was the Imperial Kloncil, or chief attorney, for the Klan. In 1923, he was named the Klan's chief-of-staff, the number two position in the organization.[51] He was also Chair of Fulton County's Committee on Public Works, a role that gave him direct control over county chain gangs and camps and allowed him to exert strong influence over the hiring of wardens, whipping bosses, and guards at the camps.

Etheridge was not an outlier. People owing their first allegiance to the Klan held elected positions at the state, county, and local levels. Other Klan members occupied positions throughout all levels of government. With Klansmen serving as judges, prosecutors, and law enforcement officers, the Klan was effectively able to operate a shadow government. They made decisions about who to arrest, prosecute, or, more ominously, have flogged or even murdered. Author Stetson Kennedy, serving as a paid agent of Deputy State Attorney General Dan Duke, reported that at a meeting of the Nathan Bedford Forest Klavern #1, the Grand Dragon boasted, "We've got well over a hundred policemen in the Nathan Bedford Forrest Klan, Klavern Number 1."[52] One example of the shadow government's operations comes from a 1946 meeting of Klavern Number 1, when a Klansman complained about a Black employee of the coffee shop in the Grady Hotel who he thought was too "familiar" with White women. At a later meeting, the Nighthawk, or the Klavern's head of security and enforcement, informed the Grand Dragon, "We considered the case very thoroughly Chief, and finally decided the best thing to do was ask one of our Brothers who is a deputy sheriff to give the nigger two years on the chain-gang."[53] This illustrates how the Klan saw the chain gang as an option at their disposal, along with kidnapping, flogging, and murder. Once on the chain gang, convicts were subject to "atrocities practiced by prison guards"—actions later termed as "triple distilled essence of hell."[54]

Robert Elliott Burns, a White World War I veteran arrested for shoplifting, was sentenced to four years on the chain gang in Campbell County. He escaped and made his way to Chicago, where he became a very successful businessman. He was ultimately returned to Georgia and returned to the Fulton County chain gang. After he managed to escape again and make his way to New Jersey, Burns wrote a book about his experiences on the chain gang, *I Am a Fugitive from the Georgia Chain Gang*, stating, "The chain gang is simply a vicious, medieval custom . . . and is so archaic and barbarous as to be a national disgrace."[55] That was particularly true in Fulton County.

Quantifying the Financial Harm

Following the Civil War, Georgia opted to lease convicts to private businesses rather than rebuilding its penitentiary system. This convict leasing system began in 1868 and lasted until 1909. Fulton County, and Atlanta in particular, became a hub of this practice, with major companies like the Chattahoochee

Brick Company relying heavily on convict labor.

Chattahoochee Brick Company

The system of convict leasing was extremely profitable for businesses but devastating for the convicts, who received no pay. To quantify the financial damage done to these individuals and their descendants, the research uses historical wage estimates, adjusted for inflation, and apply them to the specific number of convicts leased to Chattahoochee Brick each year.

Estimating Unpaid Wages

Chattahoochee Brick Company leased hundreds of convicts each year between 1886 and 1909. During that period, convicts were leased for $10 to $25 per year, per person, but the value of their labor was much higher. Below are two estimates of the unpaid wages:

- **Conservative Estimate:** Assuming a free laborer performing similar tasks in construction or brickmaking earned $1 per day for three hundred days of labor each year, the total annual wages per worker would have been approximately $300.
- **Liberal Estimate:** For specialized labor like brickmaking, the assumption is that workers should have earned 37 cents per hour, the standard rate for brickmakers in 1910, which translates to $2.96 per day, or $888 per year.

Using the number of convicts leased to Chattahoochee Brick from 1886 to 1909 allows the calculation of the total unpaid wages over time. Table 6.2 reports these figures.

Table 6.2 An Economic Analysis of Convict Labor by the FCRTF

Year	Number of Convicts	Conservative Estimate	Liberal Estimate
1886	649	$194,700	$576,312
1887	649	$194,700	$576,312
1888	1,375	$412,500	$1,221,000
1889	1,375	$412,500	$1,221,000
1890	1,375	$412,500	$1,221,000
1891	1,375	$412,500	$1,221,000
1892	497	$149,100	$441,336
1893	676	$202,800	$600,288
1894	786	$235,800	$698,928
1895	786	$235,800	$698,928
1896	1,247	$374,100	$1,106,136
1897	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928
1898	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928
1899	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928
1900	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928
1901	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928
1902	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928
1903	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928
1904	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928
1905	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928
1906	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928
1907	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928
1908	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928
1909	1,206	$361,800	$1,070,928

Adjusting for Inflation

To fully understand the modern equivalent of these lost wages, the researcher adjusted for inflation using the Consumer Price Index's historical series. The inflation factor from 1909 to 2023 is 33.9.

- **Conservative Estimate:** The total unpaid wages for all convicts from 1886 to 1909, based on wages of $300 per year, is approximately $7.94 million. Adjusted for inflation, this amounts to $269.18 million today.
- **Liberal Estimate:** The total unpaid wages for all convicts from 1886 to 1909, based on wages of $888 per year, is approximately $20.37 million. Adjusted for inflation, this amounts to $796.80 million today.

Impact of Compound Interest

The previous section quantified the lost wages of convicts subjected to chain gangs, estimating the total financial loss for Black convicts in Fulton County between approximately $270 and $800 million today. However, this figure only reflects wages that would have been paid had convicts been compensated at the time. To calculate the total financial opportunity loss, including compound interest, the researcher uses the following method:

$$A_{conservative} = 269,179,560 \times \left(1 + \frac{0.025}{1}\right)^{1\times115}$$

$$A_{conservative} = 4,605,604,056$$

$$A_{liberal} = 796,795,906 \times \left(1 + \frac{0.025}{1}\right)^{1\times115}$$

$$A_{liberal} = 13,633,005,622$$

Results

Assuming a real annual interest rate of 2.5 percent (a standard assumption for the time period), the total financial opportunity loss, including compound interest, is between approximately $4.6 and $13.6 billion. This reflects the potential wealth that could have accumulated if these wages had been paid to the convicts and invested over time.

Conclusion

The money that companies like Chattahoochee Brick saved by exploiting convict labor was either pocketed by the owners or reinvested into their businesses. This allowed them to grow their enterprises, acquire more land, and employ even more forced labor. However, the local Black population felt the effects of this wealth extraction profoundly, as they were systematically deprived of economic opportunities. These unpaid wages represent a loss of wealth not only for the laborers, but also for the broader Black community. The descendants of those convicts missed out on generational wealth accumulation, which has long-term impacts on economic mobility, housing, education, and business ownership.

Using the conservative estimate, the researcher found that convict laborers at Chattahoochee Brick were deprived of approximately $269.16 million worth of wages in today's dollars. The more liberal estimate raises this figure to $796.8 million. Adjusting for the compound interest that would have accrued over the 115-year period, these conservative and liberal figures amount to $4.6 billion or $13.6 billion, respectively. These unpaid wages and the interest that may have accrued from them represent a clear economic harm done to the Black community, and reparations are a necessary step to address these injustices.

Appendix 6.1: Data and Calculations

1. Conservative wage estimate ($1/day, 300 days/year)

Assumptions:

- **Free labor wages:** $1/day for 300 days/year
- **Annual wages:** $300 per convict

Total unpaid wages (conservative) = Number of convicts × $300/year

2. Liberal wage estimate (37 cents/hour, 300 days/year)

Assumptions:

- **Free labor wages:** 37 cents/hour ($2.96/day)
- **Annual wages:** $888 per convict

Total unpaid wages (liberal) = Number of convicts × $888/year

3. Inflation adjustment (CPI 1909-2024, Factor: 33.9)

Using the Consumer Price Index (historical series), the researcher adjusted the total unpaid wages to reflect their present-day value.

Conservative Estimate

Inflation-adjusted total (conservative) = Total unpaid wages × 33.9

Inflation-adjusted total (conservative) = 7, 940, 400×33.9 = 269, 179, 560 ≈ $269.18 million

Liberal Estimate

Inflation-adjusted total (liberal) = Total unpaid wages × 33.9

Inflation-adjusted total (liberal) = 23, 504, 304×33.9 = 796, 795, 906 ≈ $796.80 million

4. Formula for compound interest

$$A = P \times \left(1 + \frac{r}{n}\right)^{nt}$$

Where:

- A is the total financial opportunity loss, including interest.
- P is the principal amount (in this case, the estimated lost wages: between $269.18 million and $796.80 million).
- r is the real annual interest rate (assuming 2.5 percent, or 0.025).

- n is the number of times that interest is compounded per year (assumed 1 for annual compounding).
- t is the number of years (115 years from 1909 to 2024).

Calculation:

$$A_{conservative} = 269,179,560 \times \left(1 + \frac{0.025}{1}\right)^{1 \times 115}$$

$$A_{conservative} = 4,605,604,056$$

$$A_{liberal} = 796,795,906 \times \left(1 + \frac{0.025}{1}\right)^{1 \times 115}$$

$$A_{liberal} = 13,633,005,622$$

Total financial opportunity loss, including compound interest: $4.6 to $13.6 billion

5. Additional assumptions made

- **Three hundred working days per year:** The researcher assumed that each convict worked three hundred days per year (six days per week for fifty weeks). This does not account for illness, injury, or death, which may have reduced actual days worked. Additionally, it is quite possible that the number of work days exceeded three hundred per year.
- **Constant wages:** The wages of $1 per day (conservative) or 37 cents per hour (liberal) were assumed to be constant over time, even though wages may have fluctuated due to economic changes during the period.
- **No mortality or morbidity considered:** The analysis assumes that all convicts were able to work full-time without interruption due to health issues or premature death, despite historical reports of high mortality rates among leased convicts.
- **Stable number of convicts:** The number of convicts leased to Chattahoochee Brick each year was assumed to be constant for periods where data was unavailable. Specifically, 1,206 convicts were assumed from 1898 to 1909.
- **Uniform wage for all convicts:** All convicts are assumed to have performed similar labor, and the researcher also assumed they would have earned the same wages, despite potential differences in skill, productivity, and the type of labor performed.
- **Inflation adjusted from 1909:** The researcher applied the inflation adjustment starting from 1909, despite convict leasing beginning in 1868. Inflation prior to 1909 was not considered, which may have led us to understate the real economic losses incurred during that earlier period.
- **Focus on wage loss only:** The analysis focuses solely on wage loss due to unpaid labor and

does not account for other forms of exploitation or economic harm (e.g., physical abuse, long-term health consequences).

Attachment 6.1

Convict Camps in Georgia

Note: This is not a comprehensive list of convict camps in Georgia. For example, locations of "summer camps," movable camps, and railroad camps are not included, since those camps moved as the areas being worked on changed. Reports and articles may have used different or similar names when referring to the same camps. Camp names also sometimes changed with changes in company ownership. Additionally, some of the listed chain gang camps are likely duplicates due to name changes or other factors.

Adrain Camp – English, James W, Jr & James, Thomas J – Sawmill & Farming – Emanuel County

Albany Camp – Cruger & Pace – Brick Making – Albany – Dougherty County

Alexanderville Camp – Lowe, W B, English, James, Dixon, Merritt W, Hambry & Toomer, Chattahoochee Brick – Railroad Ties, Sawmill, Turpentine – Echols County

Alford, C A Camp – Turpentine – Worth County

Allison, J R & Company – Irwin County

Allison, J R & Company – Pulaski County

Allison, J R & Sons – Lee County

Amoskeag Camp – Lumber – Amoskeag Lumber Company – Dodge County

Anderson's Sawmill Camp – Sawmill – Chancey – Dodge County

Anguilla State Highway Camp – massacre – 1947 – Glynn County

Arlington Lumber Company – Arlington Camp – 1896–1908 – Sawmill – Calhoun County

Ashley-Price Lumber Company Camp – Coffee County

Atlanta Honor Farm – Atlanta – DeKalb County

Augusta Camp -

Babcock Camp – Babcock Brothers Lumber, Hambry & Toomer – 1882-1908 – Sawmill – Miller County

Bainbridge Camp – Sawmill – Lowe, William B & English, James W, Jr, Chattahoochee Brick – Decatur County

Baldwin County Kaolin Works Camp – Baldwin County

Ball Ground Camp – Cherokee County

Ball Naval Store Company Camp – Turpentine – Decatur County

Barrett, Charles – Milledgeville Camp – Baldwin County

Bartow Camp – English, James W, Jr – Mining Iron Ore – Bartow County

Bartow County Camps

Bartow Iron Works Company Camp – George D Harris

Baxter and Company [likely G S]- Glynn County

Baxter, G S & Company – Fargo Sawmill Camp – Clinch County

Baxter, G S & Company – Fargo Turpentine Camp – Clinch County

Bayboro Camp – Sawmill – Smith, James M – Colquitt County

Bayne, W E – Jasper County

Beach & Son Camp – Turpentine – Coffee County

Beach, A T & Company Camp – Turpentine – Coffee County

Beach, A T & Company Camp – Turpentine – Jeff Davis County

Beach, A T & W R Camp – Turpentine – Coffee County

Beach, W R & Company Camp – Turpentine – Ware County

Betts, J S & Company Camp – Farming – Worth County

Bibb Brick Company – Macon Camp – Brickmaking – Bibb County

Bibb County Convict Camp – Bibb County

Blakely Camp – James W English Jr, Flowers Brothers Lumber Company – Sawmill – Early County

Bondurant and Joplin Camp – Brickmakers – Augusta – Richmond County

Bondurant, J P Camp – Augusta – Richmond County

Bostwick Camp – Farming – Smith, James M – Morgan County

Bowers & Kendall Camp – Turpentine – Baker County

Brice, M Camp – Sawmill & Turpentine – Brooks County

Broach Brothers Camp – Farming – Oglethorpe County

Brown, E G & Company Camp – Turpentine – Berrien County

Buford Rock Quarry Camp – Gwinnett County

Calhoun Brick Company Camp – Brickmaking – Gordon County

Callahan and Company Camp – Bainbridge – Decatur County

Callahan, John W Camp – Naval Stores – Bainbridge – Decatur County

Callahan, John W Camp – Turpentine – Early County

Camp Adrian – Emanuel County

Camp Bartow – Bartow County

Camp Echo – Sawmill – Lowe, William B – Bulloch County

Camp Glenwood – Turpentine – Chattahoochee Brick Company – Montgomery County

Camp Grady – Iron Mining – Smith, James M – Pike County

Camp Hardmont – Women's Camp – Smith, James M – Elbert County

Camp Hendrix – Charlton County

Camp Lenox – Sawmill – Chattahoochee Brick Company – Berrien County

Camp Maxwell – Cutting Railroad Cross-ties – Chattahoochee Brick Company – Charlton County

Camp McMillen – Turpentine – Chattahoochee Brick Company – Charlton County

Camp of Senator James M Smith – Oglethorpe County

Camp Oglethorpe – Farming, Brickmaking – Smith, James M – Oglethorpe County

Camp Phillips Mill – Turpentine – Chattahoochee Brick Company – Coffee County

Camp Pitts – 1897-1908 – Sawmill – Lowe, William B – Wilcox County

Camp Reynolds – Cutting Railroad Cross-ties – Chattahoochee Brick Company – Charlton County

Camp Richwood – Sawmill – Lowe, William B & English, James – Chattahoochee Brick Company, Parrott Lumber Company – Dooly County

Camp Smith – Charlton County

Camp Toledo – Charlton County

Camp Willingham – Turpentine – Lowe, William B, English, James W, Chattahoochee Brick Company – Worth County

Camp Wishart – Sawmill – Lowe, William B – Convicts Working for Gress Lumber Company – Wilcox County

Camp Worth No. 1 – Worth County

Camp Worth No. 2 – Sawmill – Lowe, William B – Worth County

Camp Worth No. 3 – Sawmilling – Smith, James M – Worth County

Canda Camp – Sawmill – Ensign, J Lee – Willingham – Worth County

Canda Lumber Company – Cole City Camp – Coal Mining – Dade County

Cartersville & Van Wery Railroad Camp – Bartow County

Cartersville City Camp #2 – Bartow County

Cedartown Camp – Marietta & North Georgia Railroad – Polk County

Cedartown Camp – Polk County

Chain Gang Hill Camp – Bartow County

Chancey Camp – Sawmill – Anderson's Sawmill -

Chatham Brick Company Camp

Chattahoochee Lumber Company Camp – Sawmill – Decatur County

Chauncey Camp – Dodge County

Chauncey Camp – Sawmill – Anderson's Sawmill – Dodge County

Cherokee Brick Company – Macon Camp – Brickmaking – Bibb County

Cherokee Iron Company Camp – Cedartown – Polk County

Chickamauga Coal and Coke Company Camp – 1875-1906 – Walker County

Chumler Hill Mining Camp – Bartow County

Coal City Camp – James W English Jr – Coal Mining – Dade County

Cole City – Coal Mining – Canda Lumber Company, Jno W McCalla – Dade County

Cole City Camp – Coal Mining – Georgia Mining & Manufacturing Company – Dade County

Cole City Camp – Coal Mining – Lowe, W B & English, James – Dade County

Colonel Hoskins Camp – Mines – Cherokee County

Colquitt Camp – Mattox, W H – Turpentine – Miller County

Convict Camp 15 – Gilmer County

Covington Camp – Farming – Smith, James M – Newton County

Coweta Road Camp – Coweta County

Crawfish Springs Camp – Coal Mining – Chattahoochee Brick Company – Walker County

Cross Roads Camp – Whites – Bartow County

Cruger [sometimes Kruger] and Pace – Albany Camp – brick making – Dougherty County

Culbreath, T G – Tarver Camp – Turpentine – Echols County

Dade Coal Company Camp – Gov Joseph E Brown – Dade County

Dempsey Camp – Sawmill – Avery & Company – Dodge County

Dixon, Merritt W – Egypt Camp – Sawmill – Effingham County

Dodge County Camp – Dodge County

Doe Run Camp – English, James W, Jr – Turpentine – Worth County

Donaldson & Babb – Decatur County

Donaldsonville Camp – Donalson Lumber Company – Turpentine – Seminole County

Donaldsonville Camp – Sawmill & Turpentine – Chattahoochee Brick Company, Donaldson Lumber Company – Decatur County

Dormine Camp – Hambry & Toomer, Palmer Company – Turpentine – Pickren – Coffee County

Dorminey-Price Lumber Company Camp – Berrien County

Dunwoody & Coleman Camp operated Cherokee Brick Co – Macon – Bibb County

Durham Coal and Coke Company Camp – 1884-1907 – Walker County

Durham Mines Camp – Coal Mining – Chattahoochee Brick Company, James M Smith, Chicamauga Coal & Coke, Durham Coal & Coke – Walker County

Egypt Camp – Dixon, Merritt W – Sawmill – Effingham County

Elberton Convict Camp – Elbert County

Ensign Camp – Canda Lumber Company – Sawmill – Worth County

Ensign, J L Camp – lumber – Worth County

Enterprise Lumber Company – Pitts Camp – Sawmill – Steele, A B – Wilco County

Enterprise Lumber Company – Worth Camp – Steele, A B – Worth County

Enterprise Lumber Company Camp – Steele, A B – Wilcox County

Eufaula Brick Company Camp – Brickmaking – Quitman County

Fargo Camp – Baxter, G S Company, Hambry & Toomer – Saw Mill, Turpentine – Clinch County

Fargo No. 2 – Hambry & Toomer – Sawmill, Turpentine – Clinch County

Fawcett Camp – Brickmaking – Liberty County Manufacturing – Liberty County

Fenders Camp – Turpentine – McRee, Edward J – Valdosta – Lowndes County

Fish Creek Camp -

Fish Creek Camp – Cherokee Railroad – Polk County

Fisher, A B & Company Camp – Coffee County

Fleming & Hines Camp – Turpentine – Mitchell County

Fletcher & Handley Camp – Naval Stores – Irwin County

Flowers Brothers Lumber Company – Jakin Camp – Sawmill – Early County

Flowers Brothers Lumber Company – Saw Mill – Blakely – Early County

Flowers Lumber Company Camp – operated by Blakely – Sawmilling – [Blakely Southern RR] – Early County

Floyd County Road Camp – Floyd County

Floyd, S F & Company – Ware County

Foy, E E Lumber Company Camp Sawmill & Railroad – Effingham County

Foy, E E Manufacturing Company Camp – Egypt – Effingham County

Georgia Iron & Coal Company [somtimes Georgia Coal & Iron] Camp – 1879-1904 – Iron Mining – Dade County

Georgia Iron & Coal Company [somtimes Georgia Coal & Iron] Camp – Bartow County

Georgia Lumber & Turpentine Company Camp – Clinch County

Georgia State Prison Farm – Milledgeville – Baldwin County

Georgia Steel Company Camp – Bartow County

Glenwood Camp – Sawmill – Chattahoochee Brick Company – Montgomery County

Graysville Camp – Catoosa County

Greer, N C and Son Camp – Glynn County

Gress Lumber Company – 1878-1909 – Multiple locations

Gress Lumber Company Camp – Sawmill – Berrien County

Gress Lumber Company Camp – Sawmill – Gress, G V – Wilcox County

Gress, G V & Company Camp – Milltown Camp -

Griffin, W H & J H – Wilkes County

H E Pritchett and Company Camp – Laurens & Telfair County

H Stevens, Son & Company Camp – Bibb County

Hall Station Road Camp – Bartow County

Hamby & Toomer Camp – Sawmill – Clinch County

Hamby & Toomer Camp – Turpentine – Echols County

Hamby, W B & Toomer, William Camp – lumber – Ware County

Harris, George D Camp – Mining – Bartow County

Harris, Rev George D Camp – Iron Works – Bartow County

Haylow Camp – Railroad & Crossties – Chattahoochee Brick Company – Echols County

Heardmont Camp – Farming – Smith, James M – Elbert County

Heartsease Camp- English, James W, Jr – Sawmill – Berrien County

Higston Lumber Company Camp – Turpentine – Mitchell County

Hinson, Jasper Camp – Turpentine – Miller County

Hodges, C S & Powell, M D Camp – Turpentine – Decatur County

Hodo Camp – Farming Sawmill – James, Thomas J – Johnson County

Holmes, J B S – farming & sawmill – Lowndes County

Howard, C B Camp – Taylor County

Howard, T J Camp – brickmaking – DeKalb County

Iron Belt Railroad and Mining Company Camp – Bartow County

Jakin Camp – English, James W, Jr – Sawmill – Decatur County

James Lumber Company Camp – Emanuel County

James, W E Camp – saw mill – Berrien County

Jarrell, Jno w Camp – Farming – Oglethorpe County

Jones, R R – Morgan County

Joslin Camp – Lumber – Dale Dickson & Company – Liberty County

Josselyn Camp – Liberty County

Kingston Camp – Bartow County

Kramer Camp – English, James W, Jr & Lowe, William B – Sawmill – Wilcox County

Lenox Camp – Sawmill – Chattahoochee Brick – Berrien County

Little Brothers Camp – Farming – Franklin County

Lockett, B G Camp – Dougherty County

Lookout Coal & Coke Camp – 1882-1909 – C Greer & Son -

Lookout Mountain Mines Camps – Coal – James W English Jr, Merritt W Dixon – Dade & Walker Counties

Lowe, William Bell & Company Camp -

Lowther, O H Camp – Turpentine – Ware County

Lunday, C C Camp – Farming – Terrell County

Mattox [Maddox], W H Camp – Farming [Women Only] – Elberton Georgia

Mattox, W H – Colquitt Camp – Turpentine – Miller County

Maxwell Camp – Logging & Turpentine – Chattahoochee Brick Company – Charlton County

Maxwell, Captain M O – Captain Maxwell's Camp – 1883-1908 – Chattahoochee Brick Company – Charlton County

McCalla, John W Camp – Cole City Camp – Coal Mining – Dade County

McConnell Brothers Camp – Turpentine – Clinch County

McConnell, G B Camp – Turpentine- Dougherty County

McDowell & Pool Camp – Turpentine – Baker County

McKinnon, L T Camp – lumber – Wayne County

McMillen – Turpentine – Chattahoochee Brick Company – Charlton County

McLand & Company Camp – Turpentine – Worth County

McRee Brothers Camp – Farming – Lowndes County

McRee, George R & Sons – Lowndes County

Milltown Lumber Company Camp – Saw Mill – Gress, G V Company – Berrien County

Millwood Camp – Hambry & Toomer – Turpentine – Ware County

Minneola Camp – Lowndes County

Muscogee Brick and Terra Cotta Company Camp – Columbus Georgia – Muscogee County

Oakfield Camp – Turpentine – E E Foy Manufacturing Company – Oakfield – Worth County

Offerman Camp – Sawmill – Dale Dickson & Company, Pierce County

Old Town Camp – Jefferson County

Old Town Plantation Camp – Farming – Jefferson County

Parrott Lumber Company – Richwood Camp – Sawmill – Dooly County

Parrott Lumber Company Camp – Cordele – Crisp County

Pauper Farm Camp – Bartow County

Phillips Mill – Turpentine – Chattahoochee Brick – Coffee County

Pine Log Camp – Bartow County

Pinetucky Camp – Farming – James, Thomas J – Jefferson County

Pinson & Allen Camp – Nicholsville now Nickelsville – Gordon County

Pinson, T J Camp – Turpentine – Worth County

Pinson's Camp – Turpentine – E E Foy Manufacturing Company – Sumner – Worth County

Pitts Camp – 1897-1908 – Sawmill – Avery & Company, Enterprise Lumber Company – Wilcox County

Price, J D Camp – Farming – Oconee County

Pritchett Turpentine Company Camp

Renfroe, John W Camp – Farming – Washington County

Rentz, E P Camp – Farming – Emanuel County

Reynolds Camp – Railroad Ties – Chattahoochee Brick – Charlton County

Richwood Camp – Sawmill – Chattahoochee Brick – Dooly County

Riddle, William C Camp – Farming – Washington County

Ridge Valley Iron Works Camp – Dalton – Whitfield County

Rising Fawn Camp Iron Mining – Dade Coal Company – Dade County

Riviers Camp – Logging – James, Thomas J – Emanuel County

Rogers Station Camp – Bartow County

Rome RR Camp

Royster Guano Company Camp – Macon – Bibb County

Saffold Camp – Turpentine – English, James W, Jr, Callahan, John W – Saffold – Early County

Sharpe & Drake Camp – Turpentine – Decatur County

Sharpe Camp – Farming – Lowe, William B – Bulloch County

Sharpe, J R Camp – Turpentine – Miller County

Sharpe, Jno R Camp – Turpentine – Baker County

Shingler, T J & Brothers – Turpentine – Decatur County

Shingler, T J & Brothers Camp – Turpentine – Miller County

Sibley Camp – Dooly County

Sirmans Camp – Turpentine – McRee, Edward J – Clinch County

Smith Riddle & Company Camp – Farming – Washington County

Smith, James M – Durham Mines Camp – Coal Mining – Walker County

Smith, James M Camp – Cole City Camp – Coal Mining – Dade County

Smith, James M Camp – Farming – Oglethorpe County

Smith, T J Camp – Farming – Washington County

Smithsonia Camp – Farming – Smith, James M – Oglethorpe County

Smyrna Camp – Cobb County

Southern Lumber Company Camp – 1906-1910 – Tifton – Tift County

Southern Mining Company Camp – Cole City Camp – Coal Mining – Dade County

Stanley, S M Camp – Turpentine – Valdosta – Lowndes County

Stanleys Camp – Turpentine – McRee, Edward J – Valdosta – Lowndes County

State Farm Camp – Boys under 15 – Farming – Baldwin County

State Farm Camp – Men – Farming – Baldwin County

State Farm Camp – Women – Farming – Baldwin County

Steele, A B & Company Camp – Lumber & Rail Roads – Dodge County

Stephens Pottery Company – Pottery – Macon – Bibb County

Stetson Lumber Company Camp – Arlington – Calhoun & Early Counties

Stetson Lumber Company Camp – Sawmill – Thomas County

Stevens, J H and W C – pottery works

Stevens, W B Camp – Pipe Manufacturing – Macon – Bibb County

Stewart, W W & Brother Camp – Coffee County

Stewart, W W & Brother Camp – Timber – Coffee County

Stockade 1 – Macon & Brunswick Railroad -

Stockade 2 – Brunswick Railroad

Stockade 2 – Macon & Brunswick Railroad

Stockade 3 – Air-Line Railroad

Sugar Hill Camp – Bartow County

Sugar Hill Convict Camps – Bartow County

Swift Brothers Camp – Farming – Elbert County

Taylor County Camp – Taylor County

Taylor, Colonel Camp – Farming – Washington County

Taylorsville Camp – Bartow County

Tennessee Fertilizer Company Camp – Sulphuric Acid – Albany – Doughty (Dougherty) County

Thomas Camp – Farming – Washington County

Trayner, Terrence Camp – Farming – Milledgeville – Baldwin County

Walker Coal and Iron Company Camp – Joseph E Brown – Walker County

Waltertown Mills Camp – Lumber – Waltertown – Ware County

Watertown Camp – Sawmill – Johnson, Lem – Waycross – Ware County

Waycross Camp – Hambry & Toomer – Turpentine – Ware County

Willingham Camp – Turpentine – Chattahoochee Brick – Worth County

Wolf Pen Camp – Bartow County

Worth County Road Camp – Worth County

Wrightsvillle Camp – Smith, James Monroe – Railroad Grading – Johnson County

Z T Brantley Camp – Washington County

Attachment 6.2

Convict Lease Holders in Fulton County

Alexander, Thomas – Atlanta – Fulton County

Ansley, F J – Enterprise Lumber Company – Fulton County

Chattahoochee Brick Company – Brickmaking, Coal Mining, Logging, Railroad Construction, Sawmill, Turpentine – Charlton, Decatur, Echols, Fulton, Walker Counties

Cox, Edward – Atlanta – Fulton County

English, James Warren – President, Chattahoochee Brick Company – Atlanta – Brickmaking, Coal Mining, Logging, Railroad Construction, Sawmill, Turpentine – Charlton, Decatur, Echols, Fulton, Walker Counties

English, James Warren, Jr – Atlanta – Brickmaking, Coal Mining, Iron Mining, Logging, Railroad Construction, Sawmill, Turpentine – Charlton, Decatur, Echols, Fulton, Walker Counties

Lookout Mountain Coal & Coke – Coal Mining -James W English, Jr President – Walker County

Georgia Improvement Company – Railroad Construction – Atlanta – Fulton County

Gordon, John B – Former Governor – Fulton & DeKalb Counties

Grant & Company – Fulton County

Grant, Alexander, & Company – First Convict Leasing Company – Fulton County

Grant, John T – Fulton County

Grant, John T and William D – Public Works – Fulton County

Grant, William D – Fulton County

Gress, George V – Lumber, Sawmill – Berrien Dodge Lowndes Wilcox & Fulton Counties

Gress, Morgan V – Lumber – Fulton & Wilcox Counties

Harper, W D – Railroad – Fulton County

Holmes, Doctor J B S – Atlanta – Fulton County

Hurt, Joel – Fulton County

Lockett, B G – Fulton County

Lockett, J W – Fulton County

Lowe, William Bell – Atlanta – Sawmill & Farming – Bulloch, Fulton, Wilcox, Worth Counties

Lowe, William Bell & English, James – Sawmills & Turpentine – Decatur, Dooly, Echols, Worth

Meador, T D – Atlanta – Fulton County

Palmer Brick Company – Brick Making – Atlanta – Fulton County

Parrott Lumber Company – Lumber – Office (shared with Chattahoochee Brick) – Fulton County

Pope, J W – Enterprise Lumber Company – Fulton County

Simpson, John J – Lumber, Railroad Construction – Fulton County

Simpson, W W – Farming – Jefferson County – Banking – Fulton County

Steele, A B – Lumber, Railroad Construction – Home – Atlanta – Fulton County

Steele, A B & Company – Lumber – Headquarters – Atlanta – Fulton County

Attachment 6.3

Fulton County Convict Lease Camps

Note: This is not a definitive list of convict lease camps in Fulton County. The names of convict lease camps sometimes changed with changes in companies' ownership.

A B Steele and Company – Lumber & Rail Roads – Fulton County

Alexander & Broomhead – Construction Co – Fulton County – 1869 – 1878[?]

B G Lockett & Co – on Chattahoochee River likely the same as W B Lowe's Camp or Chattahoochee Camp likely same as later Chattahoochee Brick Company Camp – Fulton County – 1882 – 1885

Bolton Broom (manufacturer) – Piedmont Broom Company – Fulton County – 1890 – 1891

Chattahoochee Brick Company – Brickmaking – Fulton County – 1885 – 1909

Enterprise Lumber Company – Atlanta – Fulton County – 1883 – 1909

Grant & Company – Southwest Atlanta – Fulton County – 1883

Grant, W D Camp – near Atlanta – Fulton County – 1885

Lockett, B G Camp – Bricks – Fulton County – 1882 – 1885

Lowe's, WB Camp – on Chattahoochee River – Bolton Broom – Fulton County – 1884 – 1886

Lowe, Steele & Company – Bricks – Fulton County – 1884 – 1885

Palmer Camp – English, James W, Jr – Brickmaking – Atlanta – Fulton County – 1899 – 1909

Attachment 6.4

Fulton County Chain Gang Camps

Note: This is not a comprehensive list of chain gang camps in Fulton County. Camps that moved or changed locations—such as "summer camps," movable camps, and railroad camps—are not included. Also, some of the listed chain gang camps are likely duplicates due to name changes or other factors.

Adamsville Camp – Fulton County – 1913-1925

Alpharetta – Fulton County – 1932-1975

Atlanta City Prison Farm – ca 1920-ca 1990

Bellwood – Fulton County – ca 1893 – 1950s

Ben Hill – Fulton County – ca 1913 – 1950s

Bolton Camp – Fulton County – 1884 – 1887

Buckhead – Fulton County – 1904 – 1909

Camp Number 2 – Fulton County – West Peachtree – [Camp May have changed locations] – 1887

Camp Number 3 – Fulton County – five miles out Campbelltown Road – 1887

Camp Number 4 – Fulton County – three miles out Jonesboro Road – 1887

Chattahoochee Camp – Fulton County – ca 1909 – ca 1950

Colored Industrial Farm – Adamsville – Fulton County – 1917-1962

Colored Women's Camp – Fulton County – 1907 – 1928

Convicts on Road Crews – Fulton County – 1895 – 1928

Donaldson's, T J Camp – Fulton County – 1885 –?

Dunwoody – Fulton County – 1909

East Point Camp – Fulton County – 1913 – 1917

Fairgrounds – Fulton County – 1873 – 1880s

Fulton County Alms Houses

Fulton County Barracks – Fulton County – 1897 – 1911

Fulton County Convict Camp – also called Clara or F C Road Camp – Marietta Road –

Fulton County Road Camp

Fulton County Tower – Jail – 1898 – 1960 – demolished 1962

Hapeville – Fulton County – 1905 – 1922

Humphries Street Barracks Camp – 1891 – 1898

Juvenile Industrial Farm – Colored – Fulton County – 1934 – 1936

Juvenile Industrial Farm – White – Fulton County – 1905 – 1940

McPherson Camp – Fulton County – 1912 – 1914

Milton Camp – Fulton County – 1932

Miner [Minor] Camp – Fulton County – 1919 – 1914

Movable Camp – Fulton County – 1915 –?

North Atlanta Camp (may be West Peachtree Street Camp) – Fulton County – 1886 – 1992

North Boulevard Camp – Fulton County – 1900

North Camp – Powers Ferry Road – Fulton County – 1928 – 1934

Oakland City Camp – Ashby St – Fulton County – 1910 – 1920

Old Campbell County – 1912 – 1932

Old Milton County – 1923 – 1932

Peachtree – Fulton County – 1892 – 1906

Peachtree Township – Fulton County –

Peters Park Camp – Fulton County – 1884 – 1885

Piedmont Road – Fulton County – 1926

River Camp (DeFoor's Ferry) – Fulton County – 1921 – 1947

Rosalind Camp – Fulton County – 1911 – 1916

Sandy Springs – Fulton County – 1914 – 1944

South Bend Camp – Hapeville – Fulton County – 1920 – 1924

South River Camp – Fulton County – 1905 – 1907

South Side (near Stewart and Cleveland Avenues) – Fulton County – ca 1882 – 1939

Stonewall – Fulton County – 1932 – ca 1952

Utoy Camp – Campbelltown Rd – Fulton County – 1912 – 1928

West Peachtree Street – Fulton County – 1891 – 1897

West Side – Fulton County – 1924 – 1932

Wiauca Road – Women's Camp – Fulton County – ca 1897 – 1933

Wieuca Camp – Colored – Fulton County – ca 1897 – 1933

Wieuca Camp – White – Fulton County – ca 1897 – 1933

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35 Newton, "Slaves of the State: The Exploitation of Women Through Convict Leasing," p. 15.

36 Newton, "Slaves of the State: The Exploitation of Women Through Convict Leasing," p. 16.

37 Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (Doubleday, 2008).

38 *Atlanta Constitution*, July 26, 1908, pp. 1, 3.

39 *Atlanta Constitution*, Feb Thu, Jul 04, 1889.

40 *Atlanta Constitution*, June 26, 1889.

41 *Atlanta Constitution*, April 3, 1901.

42 *Atlanta Constitution*, April 29, 1906.

43 *Atlanta Journal*, April 28, 1906.

44 *The Atlanta Georgian*, February 2, 1914, p. 1.

45 *The Atlanta Georgian*, Wed. Feb. 4, 1914.

46 *The Atlanta Georgian*, Wed. Feb. 4, 1914.

47 *The Atlanta Georgian*, February 6, 1914.

48 *The Atlanta Georgian*, February 6, 1914.

49 *The Atlanta Georgian and News*, November 11, 1914.

50 *The Searchlight*, August 6, 1921.

51 *The Dawn*, December 1, 1923.

52 Stetson Kennedy, *I Rode with the Ku Klux Klan*, (Arco Publishers, Ltd., 1954), p. 118.

53 Kennedy, *I Rode with the Ku Klux Klan*, p. 67.

54 *The Atlanta Georgian*, February 6, 1914.

55 Robert Elliott Burns, *I Am a Fugitive from a Georgia Chain Gang!* (Grosset and Dunlap, 1932), p. 118.

Chapter Seven

Fulton County's Chain Gangs and Public Infrastructure

Amanda Meng, PhD

Abstract

Fulton County operated the most extensive and brutal reincarnation of slavery in the state of Georgia: convict labor leasing and the county chain gang. Accordingly, the intention of this research is to quantify and qualify the harm the Fulton County chain gang inflicted on those subjected to it. To this end, the researcher built the most comprehensive dataset possible of incarcerated citizens in Fulton County. This research leveraged official state and county records, newspaper articles, and scholarly literature to document the harm caused by the Fulton County chain gang and the extent to which Fulton County residents benefited from this heinous and profitable system of extracting free labor from incarcerated people. The research findings show that for the first forty years, 86 percent of incarcerated individuals whose race was recorded were Black (see Figure 7.1). Sentences served by incarcerated Black citizens were nearly three times longer than those served by incarcerated White citizens. Additionally, the lost wages of these incarcerated individuals working for free on the chain gang totaled $240 million, when converted into 2024 dollars. Further economic analysis estimates the total financial opportunity loss due to unpaid chain gang labor in Fulton County to be $1.78 billion.

Research Questions

- What was the harm committed by Fulton County in the racialized practice of the county chain gang?
- How did the county and its residents benefit from the county chain gang?
- What does Fulton County own in compensation for the harm caused by the practice of the chain gang?

Figure 7.1 *Credit:* Detroit Publishing Co., Publisher: A Southern Chain Gang (Between 1900 and 1906) Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2016803065/.


016155. A SOUTHERN CHAIN-GANG.

Approach and Sources

To contextualize the harm of the county chain gang and the benefit to Fulton County and its residents, researchers performed a review of scholarly literature, cataloged newspaper articles referencing the county chain gang, and reviewed and studied official state and county records. To quantify the impact of the chain gang, an official state record of convicted persons, the Georgia Registry of Convicts, was digitized for the years 1854 to 1966. The digitized data includes the following fields: name, birth year, received date, county where convicted, race, crime, sentence, and release date. These official records provide the most complete dataset available for incarcerated citizens in Fulton County from 1854 to 1966.

Research Challenges

The Georgia Registry of Convicts provides the most authoritative data source for incarcerated citizens in the state of Georgia. However, in digitizing and analyzing this data, the researcher discovered an odd distribution pattern of the data over time, suggesting that some years are incomplete. While the data included several fields of interest, not all fields were completed in the registries, leaving blank values in the digitized version. Further, the Registry of Convicts is a hand-written record. Additional fields such as "location," which included the convict labor camp or facility an incarcerated individual was sent to, had to be transcribed, which involved finding a name on the left-hand side page in the registry and reading or interpreting the hand-written location on the right-hand side page. This was time-consuming, tedious work. The researcher was only able to input location data for a total of 341 incarcerated citizens. Moreover, Fulton County did not keep a registry that could be used to identify individuals charged with misdemeanors who provided unpaid labor on the Fulton County chain gang. While the records are not always complete, they consistently and clearly document the racialized practice of incarceration, mistreatment, and labor and economic exploitation of Black Fulton County residents.

Methodology

For quantitative data, the researcher used the Georgia convict data to (1) identify the racial makeup of convicted people in Fulton County; (2) compare the sentence length, gender, and age of Black and White convicts to track racial disparities and identify the racialized impact of Fulton County convictions; and (3) identify sentence lengths, calculated based on the convicts' received and released dates. The researcher used the calculated sentence length to identify the wages lost by virtue of the unpaid labor the convicts provided. This value was determined based on sentence in days, average wage over time,[1] and consumer price index (CPI) sourced from the U.S. Department of Labor.[2] The average daily wage for farm labor was used to determine wages lost during an inmate's years of incarceration, and the CPI was used to determine the value of these lost wages in 2024 dollars. Because this labor was not an expense to Fulton County, it can also be calculated as an economic benefit to the county and to its citizens. To further understand the benefit to the county and establish the county's role in the establishment, maintenance, and operation of the chain gang, the researcher examined newspaper and magazine articles, Fulton County Board of Commissioners' minutes, and research articles on the subject. Finally, the researcher also investigated the conditions in which the incarcerated individuals who were sentenced to the Fulton County chain gang worked and lived, through documented examples of the county's negligent care of inmates and the mistreatment and abuse inmates experienced.

Racial Data

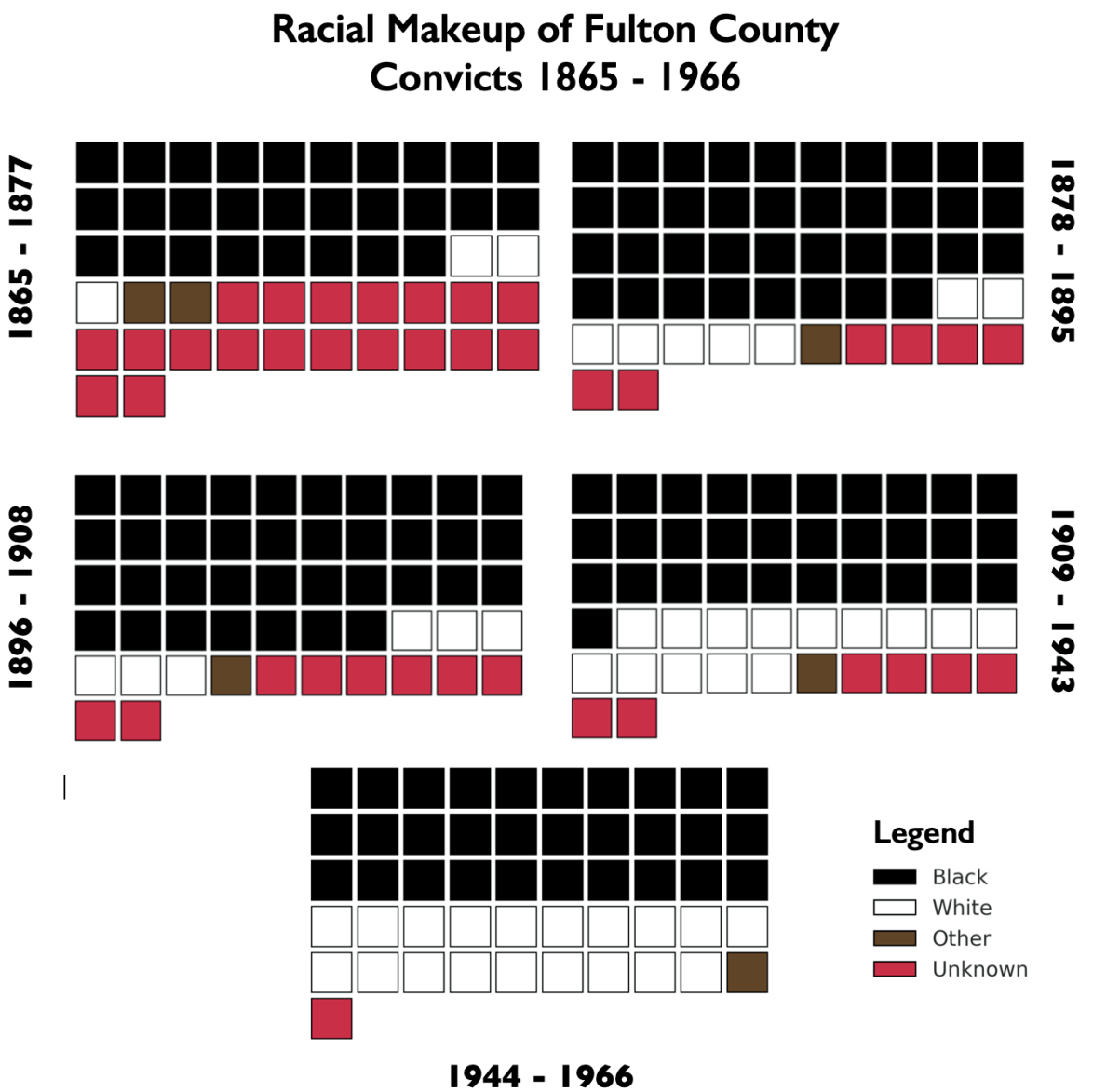


Figure 7.2 Racial makeup of Fulton County convicts with known race over five time periods, 1865–1966

Racial Makeup and Sentence Length, 1865–1966

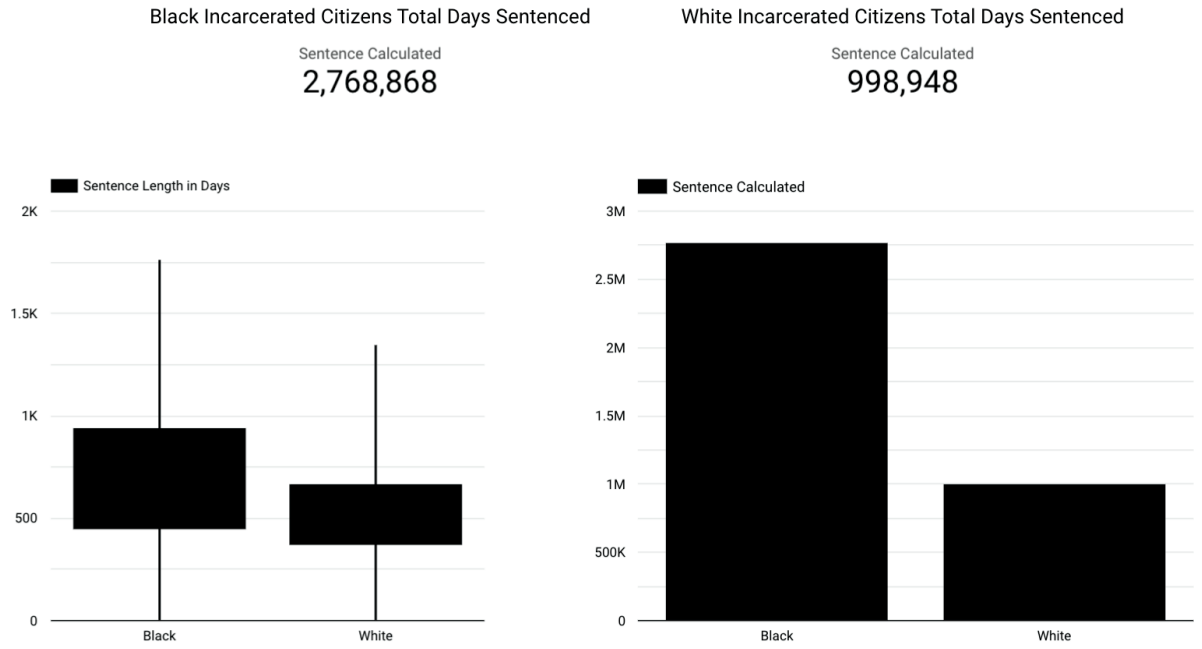


Figure 7.3 Sentence length of Fulton County Black versus White incarcerated individuals, 1865–1966

The numbers at the top of Figure 7.3 represent the total sentenced days for Black and White incarcerated citizens in Fulton County from 1865 to 1966. The chart on the bottom left shows that the minimum, average, and maximum sentence lengths for Black convicts were higher than the averages for White convicts. The bar chart on the bottom right visualizes the difference between Black and White convicts' sentence length by putting the sums side-by-side.

Results

Of the 50,365 incarcerated citizens in Fulton County from 1854 to 1966, 63 percent of individuals whose race was documented were Black. Looking at the proportion of incarcerated Black citizens over time highlights how race informed the evolution of convict labor practices in Fulton County over time. In early years, the convict registry data shows that incarcerated individuals in Fulton County were overwhelmingly and disproportionately Black (see Figure 7.1). The percentage of incarcerated Black citizens decreased only after convict leasing was abolished by the State of Georgia in 1908, and it decreased again once the chain gang was abolished in 1943. The racialized practice of incarceration is also documented in the dates relating to lengths of prison sentences (Figure 7.2). To estimate the lost wages of Black incarcerated citizens, the racial identity data, the receive date and the release date had to be available. Of the incarcerated citizens recorded in the registry, only 8,836 contained sufficiently complete records to estimate lost wages. For those individuals for whom all of this data was present, the researcher was able to calculate approximately $76,926,250.17 in lost wages. In Table 7.1, the researcher provides the lost wages by year for every year in the dataset for which sufficient data was available

to calculate sentence length. The ~$77 million estimate reflects a very low calculation of incarcerated laborers' actual lost wages, due to the incomplete data available in the Georgia Registry of Convicts. Indeed, the 8,836 individuals for whom lost wages could be calculated only represent 32 percent of the incarcerated Black individuals in the dataset. Using this sample to calculate lost wages for 100 percent of Black incarcerated individuals would yield a total of $240,394,531.78 of unpaid labor. Notably, even this calculation is a low estimate of lost wages because the researcher used the average daily farm labor wage as the daily wage estimate. This is likely low for Fulton County, which was an economic powerhouse in Georgia. Despite the likelihood that $77 million is a significant underestimation of the total amount of lost wages, these calculations document the lowest monetary amount extracted from Black inmates for their free labor and reflect the corresponding economic benefit to Fulton County and its residents. With more time and resources, researchers could fill important data gaps and calculate the exact amount of lost wages derived from incarcerated laborers, which is likely significantly higher than the estimated $77 million. The next section provides context for understanding and interpreting this result.

Table 7.1 Lost Wages of Black Incarcerated Citizens in Fulton County

Sentence year	Sentence length in days	Average wage of farm laborers per day	Wages lost	CPI inflation factor	Wages lost in 2024 dollars
1859	16,667	$0.65	$10,833.55	37.9	$410,591.55
1860	16,181	$0.76	$12,297.56	37.9	$466,077.52
1868	18,730	$0.87	$16,295.10	22.15	$360,936.47
1869	26,098	$0.87	$22,705.26	23.13	$525,172.66
1874	5,845	$0.94	$5,494.30	27.59	$151,587.74
1878	1,461	$0.84	$1,227.24	31.45	$38,596.70
1888	7,924	$0.98	$7,765.52	33.11	$257,116.37
1892	6,679	$0.98	$6,545.42	34.56	$226,209.72
1893	7,150	$0.92	$6,578.00	34.95	$229,901.10
1894	2,768	$0.84	$2,325.12	36.57	$85,029.64
1895	7,891	$0.85	$6,707.35	37.54	$251,793.92
1897	6,65	$0.94	$625.10	37.9	$23,691.29
1898	4,049	$0.94	$3,806.06	37.9	$144,249.67
1899	3,480	$0.99	$3,445.20	37.9	$130,573.08
1900	8,831	$0.99	$8,742.69	37.45	$327,413.74
1901	5,775	$0.99	$5,717.25	37	$211,538.25
1902	10,764	$1.09	$11,732.76	36.57	$429,067.03
1903	3,526	$1.09	$3,843.34	35.74	$137,360.97
1906	3,838	$1.32	$5,066.16	34.95	$177,062.29
1907	10,556	$1.32	$13,933.92	33.46	$466,228.96
1908	8,792	$1.32	$11,605.44	34.19	$396,789.99
1909	2,830	$1.31	$3,707.30	34.56	$128,124.29
1912	3,177	$1.44	$4,574.88	32.43	$148,363.36

1913	6,659	$1.48	$9,855.32	31.77	$313,103.52
1914	6,938	$1.43	$9,921.34	31.45	$308,950.53
1915	10,253	$1.45	$14,866.85	31.14	$462,953.71
1916	5,866	$1.60	$9,385.60	28.86	$270,868.42
1917	20,304	$2.00	$40,608.00	24.57	$997,738.56
1919	28,876	$3.10	$89,515.60	18.18	$1,627,393.61
1920	12,890	$3.56	$45,888.40	15.73	$721,824.53
1921	16,060	$2.17	$34,850.20	17.57	$612,318.01
1922	15,802	$2.14	$33,816.28	18.72	$633,040.76
1923	24,388	$2.45	$59,750.60	18.39	$1,098,813.53
1924	110,993	$2.44	$270,822.92	18.39	$4,980,433.50
1925	172,409	$2.46	$424,126.14	17.97	$7,621,546.74
1926	137,484	$2.49	$342,335.16	17.77	$6,083,295.79
1927	87,947	$2.46	$216,349.62	18.08	$3,911,601.13
1928	43,201	$2.43	$104,978.43	18.39	$1,930,553.33
1929	74073	$2.42	$179,256.66	18.39	$3,296,529.98
1930	82,997	$2.16	$179,273.52	18.83	$3,375,720.38
1931	118,412	$1.65	$195,379.80	20.69	$4,042,408.06
1932	154,310	$1.18	$182,085.80	22.96	$4,180,689.97
1933	152,842	$0.70	$106,989.40	24.2	$2,589,143.48
1934	117,032	$0.625	$73,145.00	23.47	$1,716,713.15
1935	173,507	$0.70	$121,454.90	22.96	$2,788,604.50
1936	138,398	$0.775	$107,258.45	22.63	$2,427,258.72
1937	173,746	$0.825	$143,340.45	21.84	$3,130,555.43
1938	53,902	$0.925	$49,859.35	22.31	$1,112,362.10
1939	25,973	$1.025	$26,622.33	22.63	$602,463.21
1940	6,818	$1.15	$7,840.70	22.47	$176,180.53

1941	34,119	$1.25	$42,648.75	21.4	$912,683.25
1942	185,692	$1.3	$241,399.60	19.3	$4,659,012.28
1943	184,739	$1.375	$254,016.13	18.18	$4,618,013.15

Discussion

Convict Labor in Fulton County: Motivation and Benefits

In 1866, three years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the State of Georgia outlawed convict leasing.[3] Ten years later, in 1876, a Fulton County judge established Georgia's first county chain gang. It consisted of people convicted of misdemeanors who were tasked with improving Fulton County unpassable roads.[4] Misdemeanor offenders were sentenced to the chain gang when they were unable to pay fines levied by a Fulton County judge. Research shows that Fulton County operated sixty-three convict labor camps where inmates stayed while working the chain gang.[5]

The benefits of incarcerated citizens' labor to Fulton County were twofold. First, the county derived a monetary benefit from leasing incarcerated individuals to companies, such as the Chattahoochee Brick Company, that paid the county for these unpaid laborers. This direct benefit—and the county's lack of concern for the well-being of incarcerated citizens after they were leased to private companies—is evident in a 1902 address to the state legislature by Governor Allen D. Candler. He stated,

> [W]hen these criminals are sentenced, the county officers sell them to counties or private parties, divide up the proceeds of the sale, and the transaction ends there. The county officials having done this, feel satisfied that they have done all that is required of them, and the future of the incarcerated individual is left to the man who gets them . . . the county commissioners pay very little attention to the matter, taking it for granted that the lessees will care for the incarcerated individuals properly, work them humanely and turn them out when their servitude expires, but this, it is said, they do not always do, and in consequence complaints of one kind or another are constantly reaching the executive office.[6]

This statement, published in the *Atlanta Journal*, makes clear that county officials profited from the practice of leasing incarcerated individuals for labor and did not have to spend money ensuring their health and well-being.

The second way Fulton County benefited from unpaid labor by incarcerated people was through the reduced cost of public work projects, namely construction of roads and bridges with the unpaid labor of the county's chain gang. It is clear the county found the use of incarcerated individuals to be right and proper, reflected in statements in the January 3, 1912, Board of Commissioners' minutes.[7] After highlighting the low cost of using free laborers on grading, paving, and sewer projects compared to "what it

would have cost at contract prices," the Fulton County Commissioner lauded "the wisdom of using the convicts for public work and other public improvements." Additionally, Fulton County residents realized the collateral economic benefit of paved roads.[8] Paved roads resulted in reduced maintenance costs for modes of transportation, thereby increasing property values.[9] The Fulton County Board of Commissioners was aware of the fiscal advantages the county derived from the use of its chain gang. The board exercised exclusive control over the use of its chain gang for public works projects and guarded against threats to this authority by Atlanta city officials, who complained in City Council minutes and newspaper articles that Atlanta roads were being neglected.[10]

Inhumane Treatment, Care, and Conditions

While the county raised tax revenue earmarked to cover the cost of maintaining its unpaid labor force (e.g., food, housing, clothes, tools, guards, and transportation), unpaid incarcerated people experienced entirely inadequate care and work and living conditions that resulted in malnutrition, disease, severe injury, and even death.[11] In fact, this chain gang and leasing system would later be described as "a ghastly record of horrors and crimes done by public officials and employees."[12] Numerous cases of negligence and mistreatment of Black prisoners were presented to the Fulton County Board of Commissioners and documented in their meeting minutes.[13] Attachment 7.1 to this section provides accounts, presented to the Fulton County Board of Commissioners, of deplorable living and working conditions, subpar food provisions, beatings by guards that disabled inmates, and homicides on the Fulton County chain gang. The following case study provides one such example:

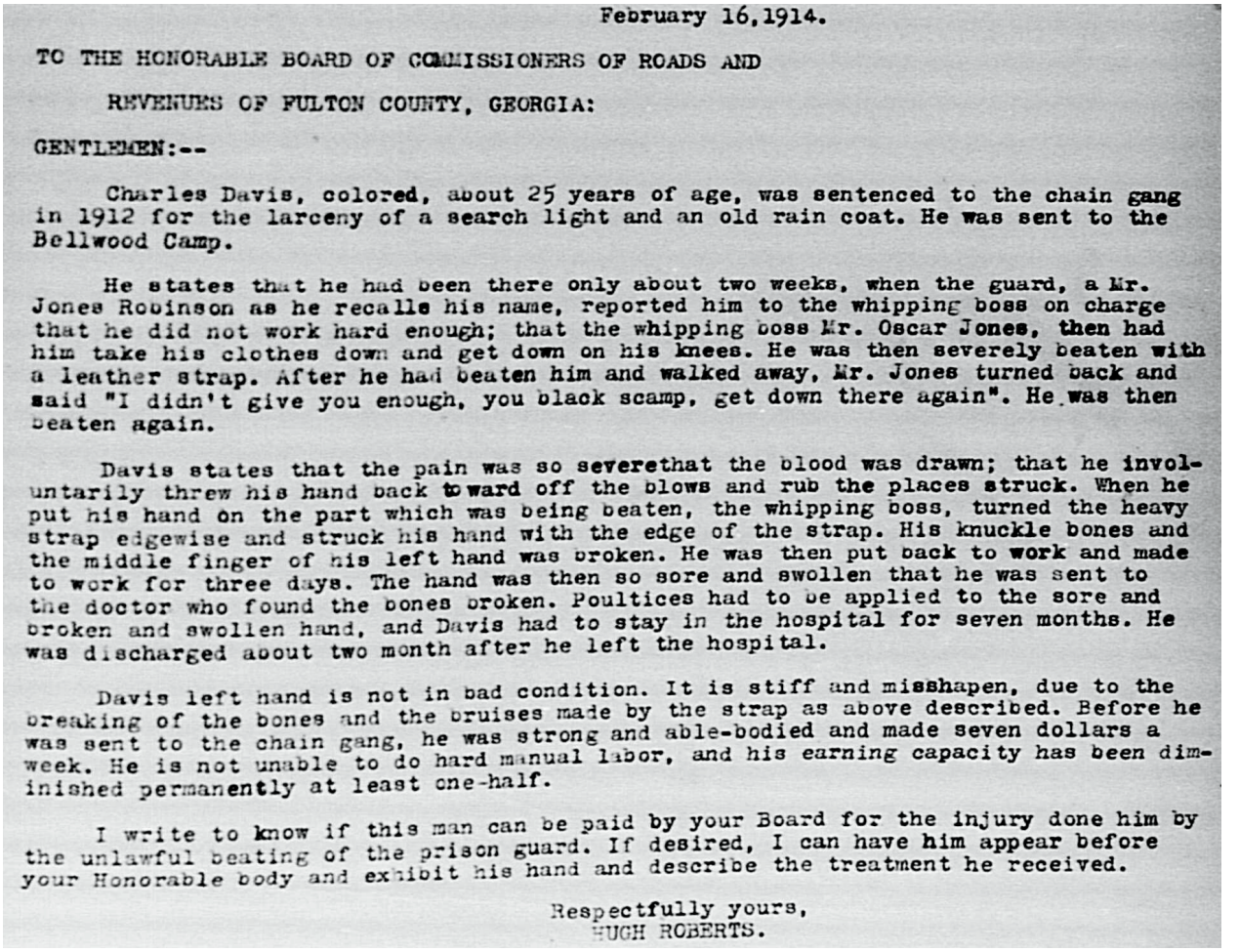
> In 1913, a convict plead guilty to crimes of assault and battery and was sentenced to pay a fine of $75 or work for eight months in the chain gang. Not being able to pay the fine, he was sent to Bellwood Camp and put to work in the Pittsburgh sewer, where he was required to stand, at times, waist deep in the sewer water. The convict was not provided any rubber boots despite requesting them. His tight shackles rubbed and chafed his ankles, causing blisters, bleeding, and open wounds. His legs, ankles, and feet became infected by sewer water until he became so weak, he passed out in the sewer. When he finally received medical attention, he was suffering from sepsis and his legs and ankles were swollen to twice their normal size. Once his wife learned of his condition, she raised the $75 to pay the fine and carried him out of the camp.[14]

It was not until 1914, after a Fulton County Grand Jury presentation exposed the living and working conditions of chain gang laborers, that the Fulton County Board of Commissioners and county wardens began to make changes.[15] For example, the Board of Commissioners determined the chain gang's custom of requiring prisoners to work from sun-up to sun-down to be excessive and set the maximum number of working hours at ten per day.[16] Additionally, the minutes from an April 1914 Board Commissioners meeting reflect admission of the poor quality of food provided to inmates.[17] Still, while some changes were made, it was not a priority of the commissioners'. Fulton County officials were aware of the substandard care and conditions experienced by Black inmates but failed to implement meaningful quality-of-life improvements for those forced to work on Fulton County chain gangs.

Incarcerated White Citizens

The focus on incarcerated Black citizens is justified by racial disparities in arrests and charges against Black Fulton County residents. It is well documented that Black residents of Fulton County were arrested in greater numbers and charged with crimes like loitering just to meet Fulton County's demand for unpaid labor.[18] Additionally, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners made clear during this period that they preferred not to use incarcerated White citizens, or "whitecappers," because they were "too respectable to make good workers."[19]

The research data shows that Black, Fulton County residents comprised the largest population of those incarcerated in the Fulton County convict leasing and chain gang system from 1865 to 1966. Given this significant disparity, the calculations only rely on data pertaining to incarcerated Black individuals.



February 16,1914.

TO THE HONORABLE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF ROADS AND

REVENUES OF FULTON COUNTY, GEORGIA:

GENTLEMEN:--

Charles Davis, colored, about 25 years of age, was sentenced to the chain gang in 1912 for the larceny of a search light and an old rain coat. He was sent to the Bellwood Camp.

He states that he had been there only about two weeks, when the guard, a Mr. Jones Robinson as he recalls his name, reported him to the whipping boss on charge that he did not work hard enough; that the whipping boss Mr. Oscar Jones, then had him take his clothes down and get down on his knees. He was then severely beaten with a leather strap. After he had beaten him and walked away, Mr. Jones turned back and said "I didn't give you enough, you black scamp, get down there again". He was then beaten again.

Davis states that the pain was so severethat the blood was drawn; that he involuntarily threw his hand back toward off the blows and rub the places struck. When he put his hand on the part which was being beaten, the whipping boss, turned the heavy strap edgewise and struck his hand with the edge of the strap. His knuckle bones and the middle finger of his left hand was broken. He was then put back to work and made to work for three days. The hand was then so sore and swollen that he was sent to the doctor who found the bones broken. Poultices had to be applied to the sore and broken and swollen hand, and Davis had to stay in the hospital for seven months. He was discharged about two month after he left the hospital.

Davis left hand is not in bad condition. It is stiff and misshapen, due to the breaking of the bones and the bruises made by the strap as above described. Before he was sent to the chain gang, he was strong and able-bodied and made seven dollars a week. He is not unable to do hard manual labor, and his earning capacity has been diminished permanently at least one-half.

I write to know if this man can be paid by your Board for the injury done him by the unlawful beating of the prison guard. If desired, I can have him appear before your Honorable body and exhibit his hand and describe the treatment he received.

Respectfully yours,
HUGH ROBERTS.

GEORGIA, FULTON COUNTY,

TO FULTON COUNTY, GEORGIA AND TO THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS OF SAID COUNTY:

The petition of Mrs. A.M. Bell respectfully shows:

(1) That she is the wife of A.M. Bell, who was killed about 5:40 O'Clock on June 11,1915, while working as a convict in a rock quarry near East Point, Ga.

(2) Petition shows that said A.M. Bell, deceased, is survived by petitioner and one little daughter, age seven years, and that both petitioner and said daughter are left in a destitute condition.

(3) The husband of petitioner had been convicted and was confined in the penitentiary of said County, and at the time he met his death was engaged with two other convicts, one named Manice and the other named Thornton, in drilling a hole preparatory to making a blast in said quarry. The said A.M. Bell was double shackled, and was inexperienced and had only been confined in the said chain-gang for a few days, and was unfamiliar with blasting, dynamiting powder, and all danger incident to this kind of work.

The Board of County Commissioners,

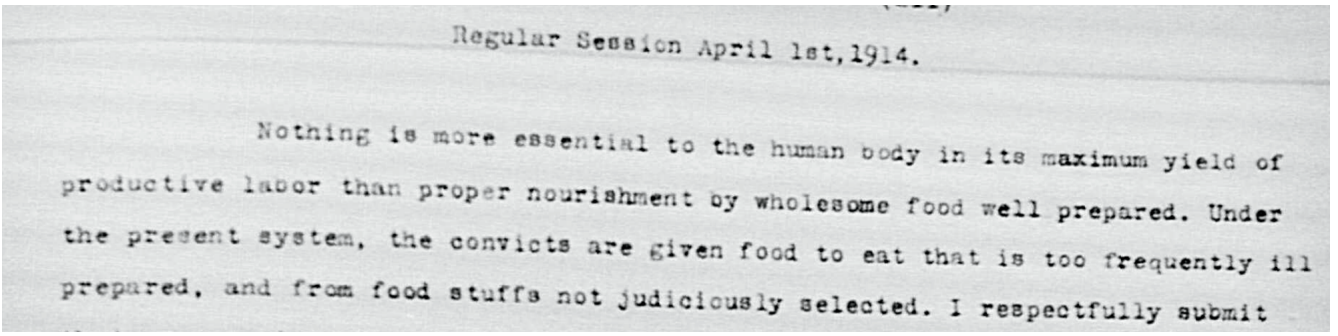
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:--

We take the liberty of pointing out certain evils existing in the convict camps of Fulton County with the confident belief that you will apply the remedy.

The night-boxes for human refuse stand in the aisles of the bunk houses throughout the night and remain until the men are taken to work. At times the odor from these boxes especially at the morning meal, is unbearable. Observance of the Prison Commission rules would remove this disgusting state of affairs.

The men bathe in hogsheads cut in two, on the average of five men to the tub, with no change of water and without towels. No care is taken to have diseased convicts bathe in separate vessels.



Regular Session April 1st, 1914.

Nothing is more essential to the human body in its maximum yield of productive labor than proper nourishment by wholesome food well prepared. Under the present system, the convicts are given food to eat that is too frequently ill prepared, and from food stuffs not judiciously selected. I respectfully submit

Figure 7.4 Excerpts from Fulton County Board of Commissioners Minutes related to chain gang incidents of torture, maltreatment, and death.

An Economic Analysis of Chain Gang Infrastructure

From 1854 to 1944, chain gangs were used to extract labor from incarcerated citizens, many of whom were Black men subjected to higher arrest and conviction rates and disproportionately harsh sentences. This system allowed counties, including Fulton, to benefit from free labor. Using quantitative analysis of Georgia's convict data, this report aims to estimate the economic impact of chain gangs on incarcerated Black people in Fulton County, measuring wages lost due to forced labor and adjusting them for inflation and compound interest.

Summary of Methodology

To quantify the economic harm done to Black convicts subjected to chain gangs in Fulton County, the researcher followed a systematic approach:

- **Conviction data by race**: Using Georgia convict records, the researcher identified the racial breakdown of prisoners in Fulton County. A comparison between the sentences of Black and White prisoners was conducted to highlight racial disparities in sentencing.
- **Sentence length and wages lost**: For incarcerated people for whom complete data (receive and release date) were available, the researcher calculated sentence length. The average daily wage of farm laborers during the period of incarceration was applied to estimate wages lost during each convict's sentence. These values were then adjusted to 2024 dollars using the CPI from the U.S. Department of Labor.

Summary of Findings

Between 1854 and 1966, approximately 50,365 convicts were registered in Fulton County, of whom 63 percent were Black. This statistic underscores the racial disparities in the prisoner population. As convict labor practices evolved, the racial composition of the unpaid labor force shifted. Notably, the percentage of Black prisoners decreased after the State of Georgia abolished convict leasing in 1908 and again after the chain gang system was officially abolished in 1943.

Among the 50,365 convicts, there was only sufficient data to estimate lost wages for 8,836 prisoners. This sample size represents 32 percent of the population of incarcerated Black people in the dataset. For these 8,836 Black prisoners, the estimated total of lost wages amounted to $76,926,250.17 in 2024 dollars. This estimate reflects the lower-bound of economic harm done by forcing convicts to work without pay while benefiting Fulton County. This calculated amount does not include interest on lost wages.

Extrapolated Estimate

Given that only 32 percent of the dataset had sufficient data to calculate wages lost, the researcher can extrapolate the total lost wages for the entire population of Black prisoners in Fulton County. Assuming that the 32 percent sample is representative, the researcher can multiply the estimate by the inverse proportion to generate an estimate for 100 percent of unpaid Black prisoners:

$$\text{Total Estimated Wages Lost} = \frac{100}{32} \times 76,926,250.17 = \mathbf{\$240{,}394{,}531.78}$$

However, this estimate does not include any compound interest that these wages for unpaid labor would have accrued over the decades.

Impact of Compound Interest on Lost Wages

The previous section quantified the lost wages of incarcerated citizens subjected to chain gangs, estimating the total financial loss for Black incarcerated individuals in Fulton County to be approximately *$240 million* in today's dollars. However, this figure only reflects wages that would have been paid had unpaid prison laborers been compensated at the time. To calculate the total financial opportunity loss, including compound interest, this research uses the following approach:

$$A = P \times \left(1 + \frac{r}{n}\right)^{nt}$$

Where:

A is the total financial opportunity loss, including interest.

P is the principal amount (in this case, the estimated lost wages, $240,394,531.78).

r is the real annual interest rate (2.5 percent or 0.025).

n is the number of times that interest is compounded per year (assumed 1 for annual compounding).

t is the number of years (eighty-one years from 1943 to 2024)

Calculation

$$A = 240,394,531.78 \times \left(1 + \frac{0.025}{1}\right)^{1\times 81}$$

$$A = 1,776,469,196.51$$

Thus, with a real annual interest rate of *2.5 percent*, the total financial opportunity loss, including compound interest, is approximately *$1.78 billion*. This reflects the potential wealth that could have accumulated if the lost wages had been paid to the prison laborers and invested over time.

Incorporating a *2.5 percent real interest rate*, the total financial opportunity loss resulting from unpaid chain gang labor in Fulton County is estimated to be *$1.78 billion*. This figure includes not only the original lost wages, but also the wealth that could have accumulated based on those wages over eighty-one years, through compound interest. The loss of these wages and the associated opportunity for wealth accumulation represents a significant financial harm to the individuals subjected to forced labor and their descendants.

Data and Calculations

Formula for compound interest:

$$A = P \times \left(1 + \frac{r}{n}\right)^{nt}$$

Where:

A is the total financial opportunity loss, including interest.

P is $240,394,531.78 (principal, or lost wages).

r is 2.5 percent (0.025) annual real interest rate.

n is 1 (annual compounding period).

t is eighty-one years (from 1943 to 2024).

Calculation

$A = 240,394,531.78 \times (1.025)^{81}$

$$A \approx 1,776,469,197$$

Total financial opportunity loss, including compound interest: $1.78 billion.

Additional Assumptions

- **Real annual interest rate:** The researcher used a real annual interest rate of 2.5 percent, excluding inflation, because inflation adjustments have already been applied in calculating the lost wages. This rate reflects a reasonable estimate of returns on low-risk investments such as bonds or savings accounts.
- **Compounding period:** The wages are compounded annually over eighty-one years, from 1943 (when Georgia outlawed the chain gang system) to 2024. This calculation assumes that the full amount of wages would have been invested or saved at the end of the chain gang era.
- **No additional contributions:** The calculation assumes that no additional contributions (e.g., future wages, inheritance) were made to the principal after 1943. This makes the calculation conservative, reflecting only the compounding of the lost wages themselves.
- **Wage data:** The wage data used for the lost wages calculation is based on historical farm labor wages, which may underestimate wages for other forms of labor convicts were forced to perform. This further makes the final estimate conservative.

Conclusion

It is clear that convict leasing and the chain gang system were profitable enterprises for Fulton County and its residents. The use of unpaid Black prisoners on public works projects lowered the overall cost of such projects, and Fulton County generated profits from leasing Black prisoners to private companies. Additionally and tragically, Fulton county did not shoulder the cost of taking care of Black prisoners who were leased or worked on Fulton County chain gangs, affording the county a steady and foreseeable fiscal windfall. The documented inhumane treatment and living and working conditions of Black prisoners on chain gangs—which often resulted in injury, suffering, and death—was known to Fulton County officials who oversaw the system. However, it appears that the significant profit margin overshadowed any humanitarian concerns. While estimates of the amount of lost wages are conservative, in light of significant data gaps, they establish that unpaid, incarcerated Black laborers were deprived of $1.78 billion in lost wages. This staggering economic deprivation does not reflect the economic benefit Fulton County derived from the use of unpaid labor, which can be calculated in terms of the money Fulton County saved on public works projects and money it made leasing inmates.

Endnotes

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Part Three:

The Black Taxpayer's Burden



Chapter Eight

The Illusion of Fairness: Exposing and Measuring Hidden Disparities in Land and Property Ownership, Valuation, and Tax Burden by Race in Fulton County, Georgia, 1865–1937

Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD

Abstract

Since 1960, economists have analyzed property assessment data to illustrate the historical overtaxation of Black Americans. After the fall of Reconstruction in Georgia and while living under the reign of Jim Crow, Blacks in Fulton County experienced extreme economic hardship to pay hefty county taxes to maintain the modicum of property they collectively possessed. They also received fewer and inferior services from county government. This pattern of inequity highlights the ongoing impact of systemic injustices that have burdened Black communities for generations. Earlier reports not only produced patterns of tax inequity, but their findings also caused advocates to push for policy change. In 1974, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) sued Fulton County Government for overassessing properties owned by Black residents. Michael Lomax, the first Black person elected as Chairman of Fulton County Board of Commissioners, sought to correct past wrongs by implementing a countywide property reappraisal in 1991. In response, some White residents of North Fulton organized a tax revolt in opposition. While the Fulton County Board of Commissioners has worked to remedy past tax injustice, queries continue to be raised about the systemic overtaxation of Black residents. In 2023, 80 percent of properties auctioned by the Fulton County Sheriff's Office for unpaid taxes were in historically Black neighborhoods.[1]

To learn how long and to what degree Black land and homeowners in Fulton County were subject to disproportionately high tax burdens compared to Whites, it is imperative to examine those years that have been less studied: 1865 to 1937. These years have not been investigated as exhaustively as latter years because of a lack of accessibility to earlier, critically important records housed within repositories belonging to Fulton County Government.[2] The same challenges confronted this study. Researchers for this study extracted data from the *Report of the Comptroller-General of the State of Georgia* and the *Georgia, U.S., Property Tax Digests, 1793–1892*[3] and digitized original records to develop new tabular datasets for statistical analysis.[4] The patterns of Black Fulton County residents overpaying direct taxes (poll, property, and personal and income taxes) since the county's establishment in 1852 were revelatory. By identifying the technocratic calculation employed by Fulton County tax assessors, this researcher determined that Black-owned property was overassessed but taxed at the same nominal rates as White-owned property. This guise created the illusion of fairness. In reality, Black residents paid higher direct taxes compared to Whites, and the quantity and quality of county services provided to them did not match direct taxes paid to Fulton County Government. Studying technocratic calculations found in annual assessment reports is imperative in identifying tactics employed against Black property owners to

hide discriminatory practices of overtaxation in plain sight.

Research Questions

This study investigates property valuation data from the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras. It presents the following pivotal questions: Did Black property owners shoulder a higher tax burden than their White counterparts in Fulton County? If so, to what extent? What were the key factors that led to the extreme overtaxation of Black residents?

Methodology

Before 1940, Fulton County Tax Digest records were documented according to the race of taxpayers. While this practice was discontinued after 1937, data recorded in this manner worked to this study's advantage, making it possible to create tabular datasets comparing property values and ownership distributions in Fulton County by race.

Data from the annual Report of the Comptroller-General of the State of Georgia and the Georgia, U.S., Property Tax Digests, 1793-1892 were extracted to create new tabular datasets examining Black-owned and White-owned: (1) land and (2) city/town property (see Tables 8.1 to 8.4 and 8.5.1 to 8.5.4).[5]

While the *Report of the Comptroller-General* published datasets reflective of Black wealth and polls, critical data comparing the value and ownership of land along racial lines per county did not exist. The report was void of tables showing (1) total acreage of White-owned land; (2) total assessed value of White-owned land; (3) percentage of White-owned land; and (4) average assessed value of White-owned land per acre. The same was true when investigating the quantity and assessed value of White-owned homes and commercial properties. To state it plainly, the data was not in plain sight.

The Dual Lens Hidden Disparities Theorem and Statement

The *Dual Lens Hidden Disparities Theorem*, created by Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD, exposes and measures hidden systemic disparity in ownership, valuation, and taxation of land and "city/town property" for historically disadvantaged groups.

For this study, the theorem was used to measure Black ownership of land and residential/commercial property ("city/town property"), the overvaluation of Blacks' wealth, and the tax burden shouldered by Blacks residing in Fulton County from 1868 to 1937. The theorem also exposes and measures the degree of wealth owned by Whites in Fulton County, along with their annual tax breaks. Those figures are then compared to Black and White ownership, valuation, and taxation in Georgia during two years, 1906 and 1933, to determine the degree to which Black Fulton County residents were taxed, compared to all county residents in Georgia.

The Dual Lens Hidden Disparity Theorem also exposes the illusion of fairness, which demonstrates that equal millage rates did not produce equal tax outcomes for all taxpayers. Racialized overvaluations of Black-owned land and homes caused real economic harm, even though nominal rates appeared race-neutral.

Strengths and weakness of the theorem

The Dual Lens Hidden Disparity Theorem could be applied to expose and measure other hidden disparities: income, housing, health, education, gender, etc. It could also extend to reveal and measure hidden global inequities by analyzing resource distributions between developing and developed nations.

The theorem could also become a framework for analyzing hidden systemic disparities, regardless of the specific group affected. However, ignoring race as a key factor could minimize the theorem's ability to measure racial disparities in ownership, valuation, and taxation while baring the illusion of fairness.

The theorem does not offer calculations of annual taxes paid to county government. Without knowing the millage rate determined annually by the Board of Commissioners, it is difficult to learn the amount of county property taxes residents paid along racial lines.

Points of Clarity and Terms

The Fulton County Board of Commissioners and other governing authorities determine the annual tax or millage rate.[6] The Fulton County Board of Assessors, established in 1913, is responsible for the *valuation* of property, while the Fulton County Tax Commissioner is responsible for collecting property taxes on behalf of the Fulton County Government, two school systems, and some city governments located within the county.[7]

The Fulton County Board of Assessors records and levies two property types: real and personal.[8] *Real property* is defined as land and structures affixed to land. *Personal property* is moveable, "has inherent value or is representative of value," and is not permanently affixed to real estate.[9] Before 1940, the Board of Assessors recorded real property valuations separately by "land" and "city/town property." *Land* was defined as property connected to the ground and the space above and below it, and *city/town property* was termed to encompass items erected, growing, or affixed to land, such as structures, timber, etc., classified today as "real estate." For this study, *city/town property* will be used when referencing *residential and commercial properties* (homes, barns, commercial structures, timber, etc.) in the cities or towns of Fulton County and throughout Georgia. Throughout Fulton County's annual property digests, all land was classified as *improved land*, meaning land that was modified positively and made useful.

The tax levied against land and city/town properties was classified as an *ad valorem tax*, meaning that such properties are taxed according to their value.[10] The amount of tax paid or the economic impact of taxation on individuals, groups, or industries is termed as a *tax burden*. When computing the tax burden by race, the *millage rate* (the rate at which local property taxes are calculated against assessments) is irrelevant to this study because the mill, determined by the Board of Commissions, was the same for residents in their respective city or town within the county and not calculated according to race.[11] However, the millage rate created the illusion of fairness.

Properties were assigned an *assessed value*. It is unclear what factoring Fulton County Government applied to perform valuations before 1937. Still, the higher assessment of wealth owned by Blacks compared to Whites clearly demonstrates that actions performed by the assessors were not uniform. Instead, land and city/town properties were arbitrary and disproportionally valued.

Since 1968, valuations have been based on an assessment methodology determined by Georgia legislators but executed by the Board of Assessors at the county level. Except as otherwise provided in Code Section OCGA 48-5-7, Georgia law requires that taxable tangible property be assessed at 40 percent of the fair market value.[12] To pay a lesser percentage violates the law.

The revenue generated from property taxes collected by the Fulton County Government was and continues to be used to support services provided by local and state governments.

The Falsehood of the Renters Class and Taxation

It is critical to note that, although non-property owners are likely to be renters, they indirectly contribute toward property taxes in the form of rent. Lower-income persons and those with higher incomes who cannot secure financing to successfully enter into land and home ownership are likely to belong to a population of renters. This study shows that from 1865 to 1937, 99.19 percent of Black residents in Fulton County were essentially a *renters class*, a term used by Booker T. Washington in *Tuskegee and its People: Their Ideals and Achievements* (1905). Like all land and city/town property owners, they also paid taxes to Fulton County Government but without the benefits of land and home ownership.

Introduction

For the first seventy-five years following emancipation, Black residents' struggle to acquire land was evident, as they owned only a meager 0.81 percent of all improved land in Fulton County, Georgia. The tabular data (Tables 8.1 to 8.4 and 8.5.1 to 8.5.4) presented in this study starkly reveals the persistent disparities between White and Black taxpayers from 1868 to 1937. The taxation system in Fulton County habitually assessed Black-owned land and homes at a higher rate, thereby imposing a high tax burden on Black property owners. This practice was a persistent issue and contributed to decades of economic inequity. The application of the Dual Lens Hidden Disparities Theorem further highlights the persistence of the problem, showing that Black Fulton County land- and homeowners carried a tax burden averaging 209.25 percent compared to the burden on Whites from 1868 to 1937, yet Fulton County Government woefully underserved them. This was not a short-lived issue, as for decades more, Black residents either received inferior or no services from Fulton County Government.

Racial Disparity in Land Ownership, Valuation, and Taxation

Dominance in Land Ownership

In 1862, Mary Combs, a free Black washerwoman and the sole Black landowner in Fulton County, sold her downtown Atlanta property to purchase her enslaved husband's freedom.[13] For the next six years, Whites owned 100 percent of all improved land in the county. Even after the forced evacuation of Whites during the Civil War's Battle of Atlanta, Whites returned to Fulton County to regain domination of nearly 91,000 acres of land. As freed people, Blacks did not come into land ownership until three years after the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment. From 1868 to 1938, White landowners

consistently controlled over 98 percent of all land in Fulton County. Data collected for this study shows a consistent dominance of Whites in land ownership with Blacks possessing only a marginal share. For example, in 1868, Whites owned 90,812 acres of land (99.92 percent), while Blacks owned 75 acres (0.08 percent). In 1937, White-land ownership increased to 269,514 acres (99.19 percent), compared to 2,200 acres (0.81 percent) owned by Blacks.

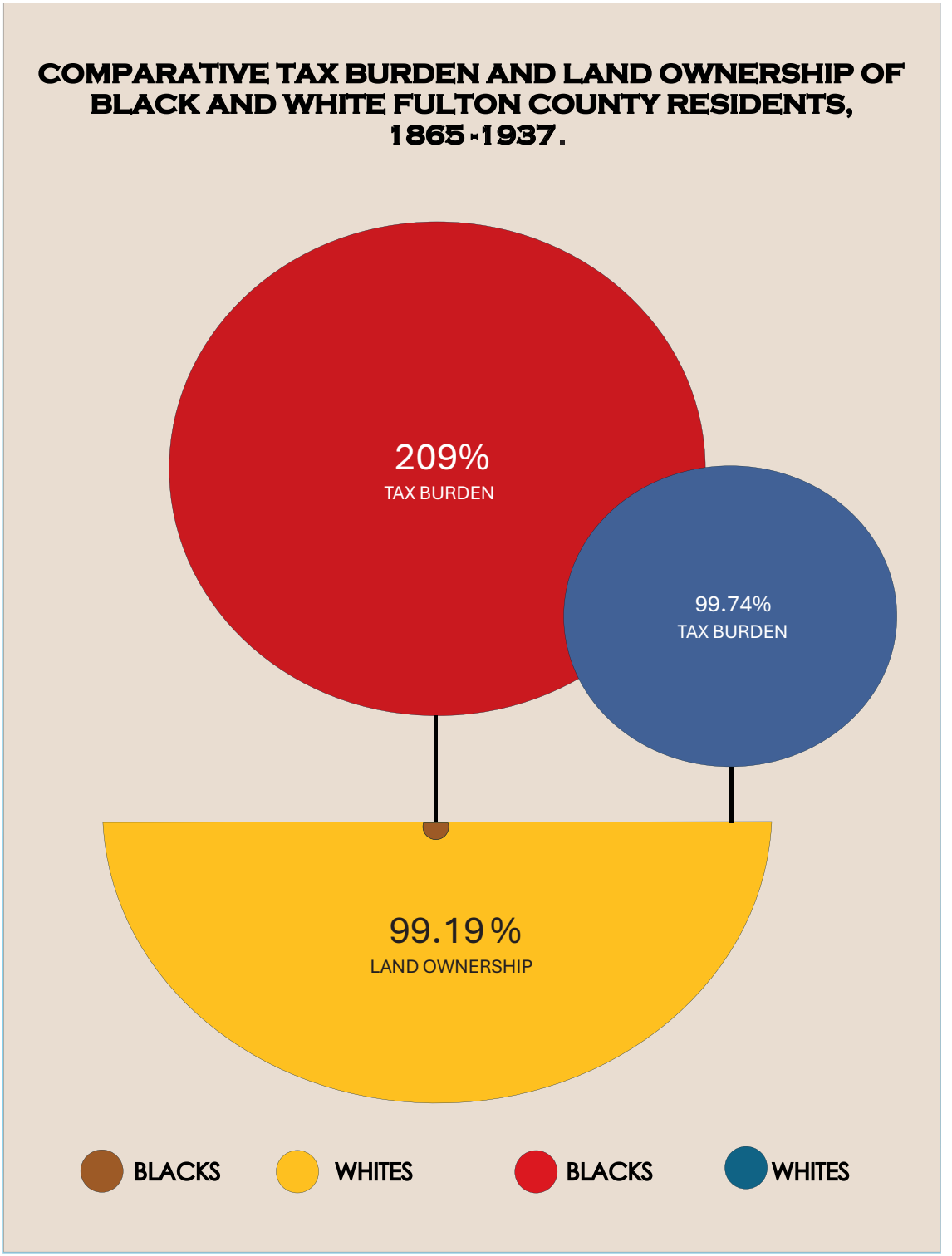
Land Valuation and Taxation

Throughout the datasets (Tables 8.1 to 8.4), Whites dominated land ownership, yet the per-acre valuations performed by Fulton County tax assessors tell a more nuanced story. Except for two small periods (1868 to 1872 and 1882 to 1885), between 1868 and 1937, Black-owned land was accessed at a disproportionately high percentage compared to White-owned land.

As noted, Blacks did not come into land ownership in Fulton County until 1868. For the next six years, the collective 404 acres of land owned by newly freed Blacks were assessed at 46 percent less than White-owned land. In 1874, a shift occurred. Black landowners collectively owned a meager 642 acres of land, and suddenly, their land was assessed at higher values than White landowners', suggesting an intentional overvaluation of land to punish Blacks for securing an iota of economic autonomy.

Despite owning significantly less land than Whites, higher assessments typically translated to property taxes, resulting in Black landowners paying disproportionally more taxes per acre than White landowners. For example:

- In 1869, its *lowest year*, land owned by Whites was assessed at $11.69 per acre, while land owned by Blacks was assessed at $6.67 per acre. Black-owned land was assessed at 57.07 percent that of Whites and accounted for 0.08 percent of all available land in Fulton County.
- In 1906, its *highest year*, White-owned land was assessed at $53.33 per acre, while Black-owned land was assessed at $160.58 per acre. Consequently, the tax burden for Black landowners was 301.13 percent that of White landowners. White-owned land was assessed at 97.44 percent (2.56 percent below average). Blacks owned 1.31 percent of all available land in Fulton County.
- At the close of 1937, White-owned land was assessed at $90.50 per acre, while Black-owned-land was assessed at $134.10 per acre. The value of land decreased due to the Great Depression. During this harsh economic period, the burden for Black Fulton County taxpayers was 148.19 percent of the rate paid by White landowners.



Blacks owned 0.81% of land in Fulton County and carried a tax burden twice that of Whites from 1865 to 1938. White landowners received an average tax credit of 0.26% annually. Image Credit: Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, Ph.D. © 2025

Figure 8.1 Comparative tax burden and land ownership of Black and White Fulton County residents, 1865–1937.

Table 8.1 Hidden Disparities in Ownership, Valuation, and Taxation of Land by Race in Fulton County, 1868–1937

Year	Total acres of improved land	Acres of White-owned improved land	Percentage of White-owned land	Acres of Black-owned improved land	Percentage of Black-owned land	Total assessed value of improved land	Total assessed value of White-owned land	Assessed value of White-owned land per acre	Total assessed value of Black-owned land	Assessed value of Black-owned land per acre	Tax burden for Black landowners compared to White land owners
1866	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1867	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1868	90,887	90,812	99.92%	75	0.08%	$921,831	$921,331	$10.15	$500	$6.67	65.71%
1869	92,839	92,764	99.92%	75	0.08%	$1,084,547	$1,084,047	$11.69	$500	$6.67	57.05%
1870	90,112	89,866	99.73%	246	0.27%	$1,195,742	$1,193,447	$13.28	$2,295	$9.33	70.25%
1871	111,316	111,047	99.76%	269	0.24%	$1,414,995	$1,412,700	$12.72	$2,295	$8.53	67.06%
1872	102,036	101,632	99.60%	404	0.40%	$1,438,672	$1,434,167	$14.11	$4,505	$11.15	79.02%
1873	104,205	103,802	99.61%	403	0.39%	$1,520,722	$1,513,267	$14.58	$7,455	$18.50	126.89%
1874	104,055	103,403	99.37%	652	0.63%	$1,517,452	$1,506,812	$14.57	$10,640	$16.32	111.99%
1875	103,943	103,486	99.56%	457	0.44%	$1,477,141	$1,465,856	$14.16	$11,285	$24.69	174.33%
1876	104,196	----------	----------	----------	----------	$1,489,055	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1877	102,451	101,976	99.54%	475	0.46%	$1,363,031	$1,351,653	$13.25	$11,378	$23.95	180.72%
1878	106,717	----------	----------	----------	----------	$1,306,122	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1879	103,674	102,925	99.28%	749	0.72%	$1,307,593	$1,293,713	$12.57	$13,880	$18.53	147.43%
1880	103,348	102,466	99.15%	882	0.85%	$1,343,546	$1,329,322	$12.97	$14,224	$16.13	124.31%
1881	107,658	106,729	99.14%	929	0.86%	$1,677,420	$1,660,840	$15.56	$16,580	$17.85	114.69%
1882	98,933	97,706	98.76%	1227	1.24%	$2,065,544	$2,046,034	$20.94	$19,510	$15.90	75.93%
1883	98,097	96,883	98.76%	1,214	1.24%	$2,605,416	$2,580,261	$26.63	$25,155	$20.72	77.80%
1884	94,898	93,806	98.85%	1,092	1.15%	$3,078,050	$3,050,915	$32.52	$27,135	$24.85	76.40%
1885	94,825	93,706	98.82%	1,119	1.18%	$3,120,230	$3,085,795	$32.93	$34,435	$30.77	93.45%
1886	100,270	98,983	98.72%	1,287	1.28%	$3,164,725	$3,116,210	$31.48	$48,515	$37.70	119.74%
1887	94,484	93,589	99.05%	895	0.95%	$3,471,015	$3,427,715	$36.63	$43,300	$48.38	132.09%
1888	96,073	94,625	98.49%	1,448	1.51%	$3,385,385	$3,329,175	$35.18	$56,210	$38.82	110.34%
1889	101,122	99,828	98.72%	1,294	1.28%	$4,549,205	$4,445,370	$44.53	$103,835	$80.24	180.20%
1890	101,079	99,728	98.66%	1,351	1.34%	$4,853,423	$4,758,438	$47.71	$94,985	$70.31	147.35%
1891	93,202	91,953	98.66%	1,249	1.34%	$5,938,189	$5,808,149	$63.16	$130,040	$104.12	164.83%
1892	100,203	98,929	98.73%	1,274	1.27%	$6,036,816	$5,935,511	$60.00	$101,305	$79.52	132.53%
1893	97,884	96,570	98.66%	1,314	1.34%	$5,894,254	$5,791,254	$59.97	$103,000	$78.39	130.71%
1894	95,870	94,623	98.70%	1,247	1.30%	$5,105,055	$5,005,595	$52.90	$99,460	$79.76	150.77%
1895	96,750	95,577	98.79%	1,173	1.21%	$4,873,735	$4,769,815	$49.91	$103,920	$88.59	177.52%
1896	98,527	----------	----------	----------	----------	$4,666,368	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1897	92,049	90,820	98.66%	1,229	1.34%	$4,364,023	$4,260,123	$46.91	$103,900	$84.54	180.23%

1898	93,872	92,642	98.69%	1,230	1.31%	$4,282,390	$4,170,830	$45.02	$111,560	$90.70	201.46%
1899	96,275	95,134	98.81%	1,141	1.19%	$4,175,815	$4,066,000	$42.74	$109,815	$96.24	225.19%
1900	95,537	94,500	98.91%	1,037	1.09%	$3,942,998	$3,849,380	$40.73	$93,618	$90.28	221.63%
1901	84,933	83,862	98.74%	1,071	1.26%	$4,077,245	$3,969,905	$47.34	$107,340	$100.22	211.72%
1902	93,271	92,210	98.86%	1,061	1.14%	$4,278,370	$4,168,165	$45.20	$110,205	$103.87	229.78%
1903	92,038	90,885	98.75%	1,153	1.25%	$4,297,745	$4,175,495	$45.94	$122,250	$106.03	230.78%
1904	86,956	85,623	98.47%	1,333	1.53%	$4,744,665	$4,591,275	$53.62	$153,390	$115.07	214.60%
1905	88,688	87,257	98.39%	1,431	1.61%	$4,281,065	$4,112,030	$47.13	$169,035	$118.12	250.66%
1906	90,271	89,090	98.69%	1,181	1.31%	$4,940,595	$4,750,945	$53.33	$189,650	$160.58	301.13%
1907	88,269	86,726	98.25%	1,543	1.75%	$5,300,055	$5,055,180	$58.29	$244,875	$158.70	272.26%
1908	87,110	85,583	98.25%	1,527	1.75%	$5,644,400	$5,393,570	$63.02	$250,830	$164.26	260.65%
1909	88,811	87,294	98.29%	1,517	1.71%	$6,032,545	$5,771,405	$66.11	$261,140	$172.14	260.37%
1910	82,673	81,079	98.07%	1,594	1.93%	$3,832,490	$3,705,075	$45.70	$127,415	$79.93	174.92%
1911	79,935	78,829	98.62%	1,106	1.38%	$4,037,685	$3,927,215	$49.82	$110,470	$99.88	200.49%
1912	79,311	78,199	98.60%	1,112	1.40%	$4,731,375	$4,622,150	$59.11	$109,225	$98.22	166.18%
1913	77,544	76,058	98.08%	1,486	1.92%	$4,708,460	$4,592,145	$60.38	$116,315	$78.27	129.64%
1914	79,299	77,900	98.24%	1,399	1.76%	$6,313,890	$6,168,210	$79.18	$145,680	$104.13	131.51%
1915	79,904	78,692	98.48%	1,212	1.52%	$6,232,545	$6,111,370	$77.66	$121,175	$99.98	128.74%
1916	70,863	69,645	98.28%	1,218	1.72%	$6,263,575	$6,139,705	$88.16	$123,870	$101.70	115.36%
1917	77,530	75,810	97.78%	1,720	2.22%	$6,299,065	$6,147,470	$81.09	$151,595	$88.14	108.69%
1918	74,724	73,417	98.25%	1,307	1.75%	$6,252,925	$6,121,135	$83.37	$131,790	$100.83	120.94%
1919	75,425	74,056	98.18%	1,369	1.82%	$6,451,110	$6,278,130	$84.78	$172,980	$126.36	149.05%
1920	76,298	74,932	98.21%	1,366	1.79%	$7,126,745	$6,912,155	$92.25	$214,590	$157.09	170.30%
1921	73,593	71,964	97.79%	1,629	2.21%	$7,699,535	$7,467,920	$103.77	$231,615	$142.18	137.01%
1922	70,438	69,073	98.06%	1,365	1.94%	$7,452,255	$7,191,992	$104.12	$260,263	$190.67	183.12%
1923	----------	----------	----------	1,432	----------	----------	----------	----------	$277,970	$194.11	----------
1924	70,513	69,229	98.18%	1284	1.82%	$9,591,730	$9,331,350	$134.79	$260,380	$202.79	150.45%
1925	72,183	70,985	98.34%	1,198	1.66%	$10,559,490	$10,354,870	$145.87	$204,620	$170.80	117.09%
1926	71,063	69,852	98.30%	1,211	1.70%	$11,840,215	$11,590,030	$165.92	$250,185	$206.59	124.51%
1927	71,063	69,852	98.30%	1,211	1.70%	$11,840,215	$11,590,030	$165.92	$250,185	$206.59	124.51%
1928	74,912	73,826	98.55%	1,086	1.45%	$13,697,815	$13,445,718	$182.13	$252,097	$232.13	127.46%
1929	71,866	----------	----------	----------	----------	$16,039,280	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1930	70,065	----------	----------	----------	----------	$16,981,710	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1931	70,484	69,588	98.73%	896	1.27%	$17,687,955	$17,379,845	$249.75	$308,110	$343.87	137.68%
1932	271,966	268,449	98.71%	3,517	1.29%	$18,894,910	$18,594,155	$69.27	$300,755	$85.51	123.46%
1933	247,322	245,147	99.12%	2,175	0.88%	$19,892,285	$19,624,615	$80.05	$267,670	$123.07	153.73%
1934	308,952	306,743	99.29%	2,209	0.71%	$20,847,920	$20,553,245	$67.00	$294,675	$133.40	199.09%
1935	265,111	262,822	99.14%	2,289	0.86%	$23,581,480	$23,271,710	$88.55	$309,770	$135.33	152.84%
1936	258,400	256,122	99.12%	2,278	0.88%	$22,905,350	$22,611,930	$88.29	$293,420	$128.81	145.90%
1937	271,714	269,514	99.19%	2,200	0.81%	$24,684,730	$24,389,705	$90.50	$295,025	$134.10	148.19%

Table 8.2 Hidden Disparities in Valuation and Taxation of Land by Race in Fulton County, 1868–1937

Year	Assessed value of White-owned land per acre	Total assessed value of land per acre	Assessed value of Black-owned land per acre	Percentage value of assessed White-own land per acre compared to total assessed value of land per acre	Percentage value of assessed Black-owned land per acre compared to total assessed value of land per acre	Tax burden for Black landowners compared to White landowners
1866	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1867	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1868	$10.15	$10.14	$6.67	100.03%	65.73%	65.71%
1869	$11.69	$11.68	$6.67	100.03%	57.07%	57.05%
1870	$13.28	$13.27	$9.33	100.08%	70.31%	70.25%
1871	$12.72	$12.71	$8.53	100.08%	67.12%	67.06%
1872	$14.11	$14.10	$11.15	100.08%	79.09%	79.02%
1873	$14.58	$14.59	$18.50	99.90%	126.76%	126.89%
1874	$14.57	$14.58	$16.32	99.92%	111.90%	111.99%
1875	$14.16	$14.21	$24.69	99.67%	173.76%	174.33%
1876	----------	$14.29	----------	----------	----------	----------
1877	$13.25	$13.30	$23.95	99.63%	180.05%	180.72%
1878	----------	$12.24	----------	----------	----------	----------
1879	$12.57	$12.61	$18.53	99.66%	146.93%	147.43%
1880	$12.97	$13.00	$16.13	99.79%	124.05%	124.31%
1881	$15.56	$15.58	$17.85	99.87%	114.54%	114.69%
1882	$20.94	$20.88	$15.90	100.30%	76.16%	75.93%
1883	$26.63	$26.56	$20.72	100.28%	78.02%	77.80%
1884	$32.52	$32.44	$24.85	100.27%	76.61%	76.40%
1885	$32.93	$32.91	$30.77	100.08%	93.52%	93.45%
1886	$31.48	$31.56	$37.70	99.75%	119.44%	119.74%
1887	$36.63	$36.74	$48.38	99.70%	131.69%	132.09%
1888	$35.18	$35.24	$38.82	99.84%	110.16%	110.34%
1889	$44.53	$44.99	$80.24	98.98%	178.37%	180.20%
1890	$47.71	$48.02	$70.31	99.37%	146.42%	147.35%
1891	$63.16	$63.71	$104.12	99.14%	163.41%	164.83%
1892	$60.00	$60.25	$79.52	99.59%	131.99%	132.53%
1893	$59.97	$60.22	$78.39	99.59%	130.17%	130.71%
1894	$52.90	$53.25	$79.76	99.34%	149.78%	150.77%
1895	$49.91	$50.37	$88.59	99.07%	175.87%	177.52%
1896	----------	$47.36	----------	----------	----------	----------
1897	$46.91	$47.41	$84.54	98.94%	178.32%	180.23%
1898	$45.02	$45.62	$90.70	98.69%	198.82%	201.46%
1899	$42.74	$43.37	$96.24	98.54%	221.90%	225.19%

1900	$40.73	$41.27	$90.28	98.70%	218.74%	221.63%
1901	$47.34	$48.01	$100.22	98.61%	208.78%	211.72%
1902	$45.20	$45.87	$103.87	98.55%	226.44%	229.78%
1903	$45.94	$46.70	$106.03	98.39%	227.06%	230.78%
1904	$53.62	$54.56	$115.07	98.27%	210.89%	214.60%
1905	$47.13	$48.27	$118.12	97.63%	244.71%	250.66%
1906	$53.33	$54.73	$160.58	97.44%	293.41%	301.13%
1907	$58.29	$60.04	$158.70	97.08%	264.31%	272.26%
1908	$63.02	$64.80	$164.26	97.26%	253.51%	260.65%
1909	$66.11	$67.93	$172.14	97.33%	253.43%	260.37%
1910	$45.70	$46.36	$79.93	98.58%	172.43%	174.92%
1911	$49.82	$50.51	$99.88	98.63%	197.74%	200.49%
1912	$59.11	$59.66	$98.22	99.08%	164.65%	166.18%
1913	$60.38	$60.72	$78.27	99.44%	128.91%	129.64%
1914	$79.18	$79.62	$104.13	99.45%	130.78%	131.51%
1915	$77.66	$78.00	$99.98	99.57%	128.18%	128.74%
1916	$88.16	$88.39	$101.70	99.74%	115.06%	115.36%
1917	$81.09	$81.25	$88.14	99.81%	108.48%	108.69%
1918	$83.37	$83.68	$100.83	99.64%	120.50%	120.94%
1919	$84.78	$85.53	$126.36	99.12%	147.73%	149.05%
1920	$92.25	$93.41	$157.09	98.76%	168.18%	170.30%
1921	$103.77	$104.62	$142.18	99.19%	135.90%	137.01%
1922	$104.12	$105.80	$190.67	98.41%	180.22%	183.12%
1923	----------	----------	$194.11	----------	----------	----------
1924	$134.79	$136.03	$202.79	99.09%	149.08%	150.45%
1925	$145.87	$146.29	$170.80	99.72%	116.76%	117.09%
1926	$165.92	$166.62	$206.59	99.58%	123.99%	124.51%
1927	$165.92	$166.62	$206.59	99.58%	123.99%	124.51%
1928	$182.13	$182.85	$232.13	99.60%	126.95%	127.46%
1929	----------	$223.18	----------	----------	----------	----------
1930	----------	$242.37	----------	----------	----------	----------
1931	$249.75	$250.95	$343.87	99.52%	137.03%	137.68%
1932	$69.27	$69.48	$85.51	99.70%	123.09%	123.46%
1933	$80.05	$80.43	$123.07	99.53%	153.01%	153.73%
1934	$67.00	$67.48	$133.40	99.30%	197.69%	199.09%
1935	$88.55	$88.95	$135.33	99.55%	152.14%	152.84%
1936	$88.29	$88.64	$128.81	99.60%	145.31%	145.90%
1937	$90.50	$90.85	$134.10	99.61%	147.61%	148.19%

Disparity in Ownership, Valuation, and Taxation of City/Town Property

Total Value of City/Town Property

Over the study period, total city/town property values steadily increased during the seventy-five years following the Civil War. However, Whites continued to dominate ownership of the majority of residential and commercial properties throughout Fulton County. In 1868, the total assessed value of city/town property owned by Blacks and Whites was $6,433,009. By 1937, this figure had increased to $156,403,800. White-owned property consistently accounted for more than 96 percent of homeownership in Fulton County, peaking at 99.87 percent in 1871.

Percentage of City/Town Property Owned by Blacks vs. Whites

As with land ownership, Black Fulton County residents did not come into home ownership until 1868. During Black residents' first years purchasing structural sites to raise a family, grow a business, increase wealth, or build community institutions, Fulton County Government assessed their collective property value at $39,575, compared to $6,393,434 for Whites. Three years after emancipation, Blacks owned 0.62 percent of all city/town property owned by county residents.

Through the first half of the Jim Crow era, the percentage of Blacks owning city/town property remained minuscule compared to Whites, and Black property ownership peaked at 3.56 percent in 1933, as the nation prepared for World War II. Four years later, that number decreased slightly. Black ownership constituted 3.42 percent of all taxable city/town property, while White ownership continued to dominate, with 96.58 percent of taxable residential, commercial, and timberland properties in Fulton County, as reported in 1937.

Valuation of Black-Owned vs. White-Owned City/Town Property

The Fulton County Tax Assessor habitually assessed Black-owned property values at a percentage alarmingly higher than that of White-owned property. As Blacks purchased property for the first time as full citizens in 1868, their homes were assessed at $526.57 per acre versus $70.40 per acre for Whites—a difference of 749.49 percent. The average Black-owned city/town property value was assessed at a rate four times higher (404.34 percent) than that of Whites during the Reconstruction period.

This trend continued from the post-Reconstruction period to the close of the Great Depression, though the average assessed property value for Blacks compared to Whites fluctuated. Valuation differences averaged beyond 200 percent from 1879 to 1899. Black-owned property was valued higher, between 117 and 496.14 percent, from 1900 to 1937, except in 1917.

The average assessed value of Black-owned city/town property peaked at $7,418.49 per acre in 1931 but declined for the next six years. By 1937, the average assessed value of White-owned property was $575.62 per acre, compared to $2,429.40 per acre for Black-owned property (433.44 percent).

Inequity in Valuation and Taxation of City/Town Property during Various Historical Periods

During periods of social unrest or Black political or economic progress, Black taxpayers experienced higher tax burdens because properties were assessed at higher rates than those of their White counterparts. Based on the tabular data (see Table 8.3), it appears that the Fulton County Government punished Black residents for achieving even a modicum of economic or political success. To reduce their chances of moving beyond their station and ability level, tax assessors from 1868 to 1937 positioned Blacks to pay higher taxes, making them vulnerable to losing their homes, businesses, and community institutions. For example,

- City/town properties owned by Blacks were assessed at a value 471 percent that of Whites. During the same years, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875, making it illegal for public facilities to discriminate against a person because of their race or previous condition of servitude.
- When Reconstruction came to a halt in 1877, Blacks' tax burden was 446 percent of that of Whites.
- As White legislators and elites came to entertain Henry Grady's "New South" proposition to industrialize the former Confederacy using Black bodies as modern machines, the average assessed value of Black-owned city/town property was 236 percent of equivalent White-owned property between 1887 and 1900.
- After nearly a dozen Blacks died at the hands of White-led lynch mobs in Fulton County from 1878 to 1899, Blacks pushed to acquire wealth through land- and homeownership throughout Fulton County. Black homeownership peaked at 3.43 percent (valued at +$1.25 million) in 1893 but would not return to this mark until forty years later.
- In 1906, the year of the three-day Atlanta Race Riot, Blacks were levied more than one-and-a-half times more in property taxes than Whites, and this unfair valuation of properties continued well into the Depression era. With the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in 1915, and with its national headquarters located in Fulton County, Blacks continued to pay more in property taxes than Whites.
- As the Black Shirts terrorist group attempted to secure jobs primarily occupied by Black workers in 1931, two years after the Wall Street Crash of 1929, Black-owned city/town property valuations leaped from $5,554.60 per acre in 1928 to $7,418.49 per acre.
- 1933 marked the height of the Great Depression, with 24.9 percent of the nation's workforce unemployed.[14] To reduce residents' tax burden, the Fulton County Board of Assessors lowered the value of White-owned city/town property from $1,734.31 per acre in 1922 to $634.28 per acre in 1933—a reduction of 63 percent. Meanwhile, Black Fulton County residents continued to be levied at a higher rate than Whites, as the Fulton Board of Commissioners did not grant tax relief equally to all county residents. Black-owned city/town

property was assessed at $2,700.81 per acre in 1922, but the assessed value of their city/town property in 1933 was $2,566.56 per acre—a tax relief of only 5 percent.

- Through the final years of the Great Depression, Black-owned city/town property carried a tax burden three to four times higher than that of Whites. Blacks paid property taxes to the Fulton County Government ranging from 395.43 to 496.14 percent higher than Whites between 1933 and 1937.

Table 8.3 Hidden Disparities in Ownership, Valuation, and Taxation of City/Town Property by Race in Fulton County, 1866–1937

Year	Total assessed value of city/town property	Assessed value of White-owned city/town property	Percentage of White-owned property	Value of Black-owned city/town property	Percentage of Black-owned property	Average assessed value of total city/town property per acre	Average assessed value of city/town property per acre for Whites	Average assessed value of city/town property per acre for Blacks	Tax burden for Black city/town property owners compared to White city/town property owners
1868	$6,433,009	$6,393,434	99.38%	$39,575	0.62%	$70.78	$70.40	$527.67	749.49%
1869	----------	----------	----------	$7,202	----------	----------	----------	$96.03	----------
1870	$8,792,562	$8,701,636	98.97%	$90,926	1.03%	$97.57	$96.83	$369.62	381.72%
1871	$10,139,805	$10,126,250	99.87%	$13,555	0.13%	$91.09	$91.19	$50.39	55.26%
1872	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1873	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1874	$11,306,504	$11,081,239	98.01%	$225,265	1.99%	$108.66	$107.17	$345.50	322.40%
1875	$11,778,935	$11,538,885	97.96%	$240,050	2.04%	$113.32	$111.50	$525.27	471.09%
1876	$11,534,471	----------	----------	----------	----------	$110.70	----------	----------	----------
1877	$11,140,548	$10,913,756	97.96%	$226,792	2.04%	$108.74	$107.02	$477.46	446.13%
1878	$10,757,850	----------	----------	----------	----------	$100.81	----------	----------	----------
1879	$10,889,565	$10,686,175	98.13%	$203,390	1.87%	$105.04	$103.82	$271.55	261.54%
1880	$11,647,135	$11,416,189	98.02%	$230,946	1.98%	$112.70	$111.41	$261.84	235.02%
1881	$13,282,242	$12,989,107	97.79%	$293,135	2.21%	$123.37	$121.70	$315.54	259.27%
1882	$14,005,999	$13,679,724	97.67%	$326,275	2.33%	$141.57	$140.01	$265.91	189.93%
1883	$16,097,119	$15,734,684	97.75%	$362,435	2.25%	$164.09	$162.41	$298.55	183.82%
1884	$17,801,345	$17,369,510	97.57%	$431,835	2.43%	$187.58	$185.16	$395.45	213.57%
1885	$19,191,460	$18,751,915	97.71%	$439,545	2.29%	$202.39	$200.11	$392.80	196.29%
1886	$19,979,725	$19,489,160	97.54%	$490,565	2.46%	$199.26	$196.89	$381.17	193.59%
1887	$20,712,640	$20,219,060	97.62%	$493,580	2.38%	$219.22	$216.04	$551.49	255.27%
1888	$21,347,875	$20,801,225	97.44%	$546,650	2.56%	$222.20	$219.83	$377.52	171.73%
1889	$23,151,837	$22,451,177	96.97%	$700,660	3.03%	$228.95	$224.90	$541.47	240.76%
1890	$26,769,277	$25,923,716	96.84%	$845,561	3.16%	$264.84	$259.94	$625.88	240.77%
1891	$30,254,584	$29,222,519	96.59%	$1,032,065	3.41%	$324.61	$317.80	$826.31	260.01%
1892	$34,769,427	$33,587,857	96.60%	$1,181,570	3.40%	$346.99	$339.51	$927.45	273.17%
1893	$36,506,685	$35,256,210	96.57%	$1,250,475	3.43%	$372.96	$365.08	$951.66	260.67%
1894	$34,114,221	$33,025,801	96.81%	$1,088,420	3.19%	$355.84	$349.03	$872.83	250.08%
1895	$33,019,050	$32,004,000	96.93%	$1,015,050	3.07%	$341.28	$334.85	$865.35	258.43%
1896	$32,846,716	----------	----------	----------	----------	$333.38	----------	----------	----------
1897	$32,221,598	$31,346,450	97.28%	$875,148	2.72%	$350.05	$345.15	$712.08	206.31%
1898	$34,338,606	$33,380,721	97.21%	$957,885	2.79%	$365.80	$360.32	$778.77	216.13%
1899	$32,927,561	$32,100,092	97.49%	$827,469	2.51%	$342.02	$337.42	$725.21	214.93%

1900	$32,621,690	$31,833,815	97.58%	$787,875	2.42%	$341.46	$336.87	$759.76	225.54%
1901	$33,101,240	$32,320,205	97.64%	$781,035	2.36%	$389.73	$385.40	$729.26	189.22%
1902	$33,583,384	$32,800,259	97.67%	$783,125	2.33%	$360.06	$355.71	$738.10	207.50%
1903	$35,666,246	$34,823,406	97.64%	$842,840	2.36%	$387.52	$383.16	$731.00	190.78%
1904	$36,483,124	$35,611,534	97.61%	$871,590	2.39%	$419.56	$415.91	$653.86	157.21%
1905	$39,427,015	$38,508,055	97.67%	$918,960	2.33%	$444.56	$441.32	$642.18	145.51%
1906	$42,029,870	$41,121,265	97.84%	$908,605	2.16%	$465.60	$461.57	$769.35	166.68%
1907	$45,909,715	$44,908,045	97.82%	$1,001,670	2.18%	$520.11	$517.82	$649.17	125.37%
1908	$47,454,995	$46,426,705	97.83%	$1,028,290	2.17%	$544.77	$542.48	$673.41	124.14%
1909	$50,824,260	$49,707,110	97.80%	$1,117,150	2.20%	$572.27	$569.42	$736.42	129.33%
1910	$57,339,720	$55,929,960	97.54%	$1,409,760	2.46%	$693.57	$689.82	$884.42	128.21%
1911	$63,153,705	$61,691,630	97.68%	$1,462,075	2.32%	$790.06	$782.60	$1,321.95	168.92%
1912	$71,980,265	$70,475,980	97.91%	$1,504,285	2.09%	$907.57	$901.24	$1,352.77	150.10%
1913	$81,023,490	$79,377,115	97.97%	$1,646,375	2.03%	$1,044.87	$1,043.64	$1,107.92	106.16%
1914	$87,379,720	$85,479,000	97.82%	$1,900,720	2.18%	$1,101.90	$1,097.29	$1,358.63	123.82%
1915	$88,542,065	$86,762,175	97.99%	$1,779,890	2.01%	$1,108.11	$1,102.55	$1,468.56	133.20%
1916	$87,956,210	$86,150,975	97.95%	$1,805,235	2.05%	$1,241.21	$1,237.00	$1,482.13	119.82%
1917	$91,082,135	$89,205,235	97.94%	$1,876,900	2.06%	$1,174.80	$1,176.69	$1,091.22	92.74%
1918	$92,090,225	$90,211,245	97.96%	$1,878,980	2.04%	$1,232.40	$1,228.75	$1,437.63	117.00%
1919	$94,656,220	$92,585,785	97.81%	$2,070,435	2.19%	$1,254.97	$1,250.21	$1,512.37	120.97%
1920	$101,689,100	$98,985,205	97.34%	$2,703,895	2.66%	$1,332.79	$1,321.00	$1,979.43	149.84%
1921	$119,446,505	$115,988,915	97.11%	$3,457,590	2.89%	$1,623.07	$1,611.76	$2,122.52	131.69%
1922	$122,161,465	$118,474,860	96.98%	$3,686,605	3.02%	$1,734.31	$1,715.21	$2,700.81	157.46%
1923	----------	----------	----------	$4,130,560	----------	----------	----------	$2,884.47	----------
1924	----------	----------	----------	$4,501,555	----------	----------	----------	$3,505.88	----------
1925	----------	----------	----------	$5,037,895	----------	----------	----------	$4,205.25	----------
1926	----------	----------	----------	$5,510,260	----------	----------	----------	$4,550.17	----------
1927	----------	----------	----------	$5,510,260	----------	----------	----------	$4,550.17	----------
1928	----------	----------	----------	$6,032,335	----------	----------	----------	$5,554.64	----------
1929	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1930	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1931	----------	----------	----------	$6,646,965	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1932	----------	----------	----------	$6,127,310	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1933	$156,871,300	$151,289,035	96.44%	$5,582,265	3.56%	$634.28	$617.14	$2,566.56	415.88%
1934	$148,830,610	$143,696,380	96.55%	$5,134,230	3.45%	$481.73	$468.46	$2,324.23	496.14%
1935	$154,981,000	$149,821,290	96.67%	$5,159,710	3.33%	$584.59	$570.05	$2,254.13	395.43%
1936	$153,039,350	$147,716,975	96.52%	$5,322,375	3.48%	$592.26	$576.74	$2,336.42	405.11%
1937	$156,403,800	$151,059,115	96.58%	$5,344,685	3.42%	$575.62	$560.49	$2,429.40	433.44%

Table 8.4 Hidden Disparities in Valuation and Taxation of City/Town Property by Race in Fulton County, 1866–1937

Year	Average assessed value of White-owned city/town property per acre	Average assessed value of total city/town property per acre	Average assessed value of Black–owned city/town property per acre	Percentage value of assessed White-owned city/town property per acre compared to total assessed city/town property per acre	Percentage value of assessed Black-owned city/town property per acre compared to total assessed city/town property per acre	Tax burden for Black city/town property owners compared to White city/town property owners
1866	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1867	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1868	$70.40	$70.78	$527.67	99.47%	745.50%	749.49%
1869	----------	----------	$96.03	----------	----------	----------
1870	$96.83	$97.57	$369.62	99.24%	378.81%	381.72%
1871	$91.19	$91.09	$50.39	100.11%	55.32%	55.26%
1872	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1873	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1874	$107.17	$108.66	$345.50	98.63%	317.97%	322.40%
1875	$111.50	$113.32	$525.27	98.39%	463.53%	471.09%
1876	----------	$110.70	----------	----------	----------	----------
1877	$107.02	$108.74	$477.46	98.42%	439.08%	446.13%
1878	----------	$100.81	----------	----------	----------	----------
1879	$103.82	$105.04	$271.55	98.85%	258.53%	261.54%
1880	$111.41	$112.70	$261.84	98.86%	232.34%	235.02%
1881	$121.70	$123.37	$315.54	98.64%	255.76%	259.27%
1882	$140.01	$141.57	$265.91	98.90%	187.83%	189.93%
1883	$162.41	$164.09	$298.55	98.97%	181.94%	183.82%
1884	$185.16	$187.58	$395.45	98.71%	210.81%	213.57%
1885	$200.11	$202.39	$392.80	98.88%	194.08%	196.29%
1886	$196.89	$199.26	$381.17	98.81%	191.29%	193.59%
1887	$216.04	$219.22	$551.49	98.55%	251.57%	255.27%
1888	$219.83	$222.20	$377.52	98.93%	169.90%	171.73%
1889	$224.90	$228.95	$541.47	98.23%	236.50%	240.76%
1890	$259.94	$264.84	$625.88	98.15%	236.33%	240.77%
1891	$317.80	$324.61	$826.31	97.90%	254.55%	260.01%
1892	$339.51	$346.99	$927.45	97.85%	267.28%	273.17%
1893	$365.08	$372.96	$951.66	97.89%	255.16%	260.67%
1894	$349.03	$355.84	$872.83	98.09%	245.29%	250.08%
1895	$334.85	$341.28	$865.35	98.12%	253.56%	258.43%
1896	----------	$333.38	----------	----------	----------	----------
1897	$345.15	$350.05	$712.08	98.60%	203.42%	206.31%
1898	$360.32	$365.80	$778.77	98.50%	212.89%	216.13%

1899	$337.42	$342.02	$725.21	98.66%	212.04%	214.93%
1900	$336.87	$341.46	$759.76	98.66%	222.51%	225.54%
1901	$385.40	$389.73	$729.26	98.89%	187.12%	189.22%
1902	$355.71	$360.06	$738.10	98.79%	204.99%	207.50%
1903	$383.16	$387.52	$731.00	98.88%	188.64%	190.78%
1904	$415.91	$419.56	$653.86	99.13%	155.84%	157.21%
1905	$441.32	$444.56	$642.18	99.27%	144.45%	145.51%
1906	$461.57	$465.60	$769.35	99.14%	165.24%	166.68%
1907	$517.82	$520.11	$649.17	99.56%	124.81%	125.37%
1908	$542.48	$544.77	$673.41	99.58%	123.61%	124.14%
1909	$569.42	$572.27	$736.42	99.50%	128.68%	129.33%
1910	$689.82	$693.57	$884.42	99.46%	127.52%	128.21%
1911	$782.60	$790.06	$1,321.95	99.06%	167.32%	168.92%
1912	$901.24	$907.57	$1,352.77	99.30%	149.05%	150.10%
1913	$1,043.64	$1,044.87	$1,107.92	99.88%	106.03%	106.16%
1914	$1,097.29	$1,101.90	$1,358.63	99.58%	123.30%	123.82%
1915	$1,102.55	$1,108.11	$1,468.56	99.50%	132.53%	133.20%
1916	$1,237.00	$1,241.21	$1,482.13	99.66%	119.41%	119.82%
1917	$1,176.69	$1,174.80	$1,091.22	100.16%	92.89%	92.74%
1918	$1,228.75	$1,232.40	$1,437.63	99.70%	116.65%	117.00%
1919	$1,250.21	$1,254.97	$1,512.37	99.62%	120.51%	120.97%
1920	$1,321.00	$1,332.79	$1,979.43	99.12%	148.52%	149.84%
1921	$1,611.76	$1,623.07	$2,122.52	99.30%	130.77%	131.69%
1922	$1,715.21	$1,734.31	$2,700.81	98.90%	155.73%	157.46%
1923	----------	----------	$2,884.47	----------	----------	----------
1924	----------	----------	$3,505.88	----------	----------	----------
1925	----------	----------	$4,205.25	----------	----------	----------
1926	----------	----------	$4,550.17	----------	----------	----------
1927	----------	----------	$4,550.17	----------	----------	----------
1928	----------	----------	$5,554.64	----------	----------	----------
1929	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1930	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1931	----------	----------	$7,418.49	----------	----------	----------
1932	----------	----------	$1,742.20	----------	----------	----------
1933	$617.14	$634.28	$2,566.56	97.30%	404.64%	415.88%
1934	$468.46	$481.73	$2,324.23	97.25%	482.48%	496.14%
1935	$570.05	$584.59	$2,254.13	97.51%	385.59%	395.43%
1936	$576.74	$592.26	$2,336.42	97.38%	394.49%	405.11%
1937	$560.49	$575.62	$2,429.40	97.37%	422.05%	433.44%

Application of the Dual Lens Hidden Disparity Theorem in Land Ownership, Valuations, and Tax Burden Theorem

The following sections offer step-by-step formulas that expose and measure hidden disparities in land ownership, valuations, and taxation by race. Application of these formulas is not limited to Fulton County alone. The theorem was designed to expose and universally measure hidden disparities between advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Table 8.1: Hidden Disparities in Ownership, Valuation, and Taxation of Land by Race in Fulton County, 1868–1937

Table 8.1 reveals the hidden dominance of White ownership and the inequities in valuations and taxation.

Descriptions of the Formulas

1. Acres of White-Owned Land

Formula:

$$\text{Acres of White-Owned Land} = \text{Total Acres of Land} - \text{Acres of Black-Owned Land}$$

Reveals the hidden dominance of White landownership

2. Percentage of White-Owned Land

Formula:

$$\text{Percentage of White-Owned Land} = \frac{\text{Acres of White-Owned Land}}{\text{Total Acres of Land}} \times 100$$

Calculates the proportion of land owned by White residents

3. Percentage of Black-Owned Land

Formula:

$$\text{Percentage of Black-Owned Land} = \frac{\text{Acres of Black-Owned Land}}{\text{Total Acres of Land}} \times 100$$

Shows the minimal share of land owned by Black residents

4. Value of White-Owned Land

Formula:

$$\text{Value of White-Owned Land} = \text{Total Assessed Value of Land} - \text{Value of Black-Owned Land}$$

Exposes the disproportionate valuation of White-owned land

5. Assessed Value of White-Owned Land per Acre

Formula:

$$\text{Assessed Value of White-Owned Land per Acre} = \frac{\text{Value of White-Owned Land}}{\text{Acres of White-Owned Land}}$$

Calculates the average per-acre valuation of White-owned land

6. Assessed Value of Black-Owned Land per Acre

Formula:

$$\text{Assessed Value of Black-Owned Land per Acre} = \frac{\text{Value of Black-Owned Land}}{\text{Acres of Black-Owned Land}}$$

Calculates the average per-acre valuation of Black-owned land

7. Tax Burden for Black Landowners Compared to White Landowners

Formula:

$$\text{Tax Burden} = \frac{\text{Assessed Value of Black-Owned Land per Acre}}{\text{Assessed Value of White-Owned Land per Acre}} \times 100$$

Exposes systemic inequities in taxation

Table 8.2: Hidden Disparities in Valuation and Taxation of Land by Race in Fulton County, 1868–1937

Table 8.2 highlights the inequities in assessed land valuations and the resulting tax burden on Black landowners.

Descriptions of the Formulas

1. Assessed Value of White-Owned Land per Acre

Formula:

$$\text{Assessed Value of White-Owned Land per Acre} = \frac{\text{Value of White-Owned Land}}{\text{Acres of White-Owned Land}}$$

Determines the average valuation for White-owned land

2. Assessed Value of Black-Owned Land per Acre

Formula:

$$\text{Assessed Value of Black-Owned Land per Acre} = \frac{\text{Value of Black-Owned Land}}{\text{Acres of Black-Owned Land}}$$

Determines the average valuation for Black-owned land

3. Total Assessed Value of Land per Acre

Formula:

$$\text{Total Assessed Value of Land per Acre} = \frac{\text{Total Assessed Value of Land}}{\text{Total Acres of Land}}$$

Establishes the overall average valuation for land

4. Percentage Value of White-Owned Land Compared to Total

Formula:

$$\text{Percentage} = \frac{\text{Assessed Value of White-Owned Land per Acre}}{\text{Total Assessed Value of Land per Acre}} \times 100$$

Compares White-owned land valuation to total valuation

5. Percentage Value of Black-Owned Land Compared to Total

Formula:

$$\text{Percentage} = \frac{\text{Assessed Value of Black-Owned Land per Acre}}{\text{Total Assessed Value of Land per Acre}} \times 100$$

Reveals the overvaluation of Black-owned land

6. Tax Burden for Black Landowners Compared to White Landowners

Formula:

$$\text{Tax Burden} = \frac{\text{Assessed Value of Black-Owned Land per Acre}}{\text{Assessed Value of White-Owned Land per Acre}} \times 100$$

Quantifies the disproportionate tax burden for Black landowners

Table 8.3: Hidden Disparities in Ownership, Valuation, and Taxation of City/Town Property by Race in Fulton County, 1866–1937

Table 8.3 focuses on racial disparities in city/town property, revealing systemic inequities in ownership and taxation.

Descriptions of the Formulas

1. Acres of White-Owned Land for City/Town Property

Formula:

$$\text{Acres of White-Owned Land} = \text{Total Acres} - \text{Acres of Black-Owned Land}$$

Exposes the dominance of White-owned city/town property

2. Percentage of White-Owned City/Town Property

Formula:

$$\text{Percentage} = \frac{\text{Assessed Value of White-Owned Property}}{\text{Total Assessed Value of Property}} \times 100$$

Calculates White property ownership dominance

3. Percentage of Black-Owned City/Town Property

Formula:

$$\text{Percentage} = \frac{\text{Assessed Value of Black-Owned Property}}{\text{Total Assessed Value of Property}} \times 100$$

Calculates Black property ownership

4. Value of White-Owned City/Town Property

Formula:

$$\text{Value} = \text{Total Assessed Value} - \text{Value of Black-Owned Property}$$

Reveals the value of White-owned property

5. Average Assessed Value of White-Owned City/Town Property per Acre

Formula:

$$\text{Value per Acre} = \frac{\text{Value of White-Owned Property}}{\text{Acres of White-Owned Property}}$$

Calculates the average valuation of White-owned property

6. Average Assessed Value of Black-Owned City/Town Property per Acre

Formula:

$$\text{Value per Acre} = \frac{\text{Value of Black-Owned Property}}{\text{Acres of Black-Owned Property}}$$

Highlights the overvaluation of Black-owned property

7. Tax Burden for Black City/Town Property Owners Compared to White Owners

Formula:

$$\text{Tax Burden} = \frac{\text{Average Assessed Value of Black-Owned Property}}{\text{Average Assessed Value of White-Owned Property}} \times 100$$

Quantifies the heavier tax burden on Black property owners

Table 8.4: Hidden Disparities in Valuation and Taxation of City/Town Property by Race in Fulton County, 1866–1937

Table 8.4 examines the inequities in valuation and taxation by race.

Descriptions of the Formulas

1. Average Assessed Value of White-Owned City/town property per Acre

Formula:

$$\text{Value per Acre} = \frac{\text{Value of White-Owned Property}}{\text{Acres of White-Owned Property}}$$

Calculates the average valuation per acre for White-owned city/town property

2. Average Assessed Value of Black-Owned City/Town Property per Acre

Formula:

$$\text{Value per Acre} = \frac{\text{Value of Black-Owned Property}}{\text{Acres of Black-Owned Property}}$$

Calculates the average valuation per acre for Black-owned city/town property

3. Average Assessed Value of Total City/Town Property per Acre

Formula:

$$\text{Value per Acre} = \frac{\text{Total Assessed Value of Property}}{\text{Total Acres}}$$

Calculates the average valuation per acre for all city/town properties

4. Percentage Value of White-Owned Property Compared to Total

Formula:

$$\text{Percentage} = \frac{\text{Average Value of White-Owned Property}}{\text{Average Total Value}} \times 100$$

Highlights the dominance of White-owned property valuations relative to the total

5. Percentage Value of Black-Owned Property Compared to Total

Formula:

$$\text{Percentage} = \frac{\text{Average Value of Black-Owned Property}}{\text{Average Total Value}} \times 100$$

Reveals the overvaluation of Black-owned city/town property compared to the total

6. Tax Burden for Black City/Town Property Owners Compared to White Owners

Formula:

$$\text{Tax Burden} = \frac{\text{Average Value of Black-Owned Property}}{\text{Average Value of White-Owned Property}} \times 100$$

Quantifies the heavier tax burden placed on Black city/town property owners

Black Fulton County Residents Shouldering the Highest Tax Burden in Georgia

According to the *Report of the Comptroller-General of the State of Georgia*, Black residents of Fulton County possessed the highest assessed value of land per acre and city/town property in Georgia from 1868 to 1937. Ironically, county tax assessors' practice of tabulating, recording, and calculating data by race has made it possible for this study not only to critically examine valuations of land and city/town property of Fulton County residents, but also to determine who, within Georgia, carried the highest tax burden between Reconstruction and the close of the Great Depression.

After observing more than seventy years of recorded data published by the Comptroller General of Georgia, our researchers have found that Fulton County residents possessed the highest assessed land and city/town property values in Georgia following Reconstruction. It was essential to learn who within Fulton County shouldered the highest tax burden of all the state's residents.

Based on the calculations in Tables 8.1 through 8.4, the data overwhelmingly and compellingly show that Black Fulton County residents suffered the most significant economic impact of taxation. Tables 8.5.1 to 8.5.4 examine two years representing stark economic periods—1906 and 1933—that demonstrate the degree to which the valuation of Black land and city/town property was highly inflated, which caused Black Fulton County proprietors to carry a disproportionately high tax burden compared to other Georgia taxpayers.

Acreage, Value, and Percentage of Land and City/Town property Ownership by Race, Georgia vs. Fulton County, 1906

Summary Statement

In 1906, at the height of racial tensions marked by the three-day Atlanta Race Riot, Black residents of Fulton County experienced extreme economic disparities in rates of land and city/town property ownership and valuation. Still, they carried a higher tax burden than their White counterparts in Fulton County and residents of the rest of Georgia.

Proof: Land Ownership, Valuation, and Tax Burden Disparities, Fulton County vs. Georgia

- In 1906, Black landowners in Fulton County owned 1,181 of 90,271 total acres, which were dominated mainly by Whites.
- Land values for this racial group were assessed at an average of $160.54 per acre, compared to $53.33 per acre for Whites. However, the average statewide valuation of land was $4.35 per acre.
- This land value inflation resulted in tax burdens for Blacks in Fulton County that were thirty-seven times higher than the average landowner in Georgia.

- While the annual Comptroller General's Report celebrated the growth of Black land ownership across the state, Blacks residing in Fulton County possessed a mere 0.0032 percent of all acres owned by Georgians while carrying the highest tax burden of all groups in the state.

Proof: City/Town Property Ownership, Valuation, and Tax Burden Disparities, Fulton County vs. Georgia

- Similarly, Whites in Fulton County and across Georgia owned more than 96 percent of city/town property.
- Across the state, the average city/town property was assessed at $4.22 per acre, with White-owned property assessed at $0.001 higher than the average residential and commercial owners in Georgia.
- City/property ownership for Blacks in Fulton County was minuscule. Nevertheless, their residential and commercial properties carried a tax burden that was an alarming 18,184.16 percent, or 181 times higher than the average Georgian.

When racial violence erupted in Atlanta in 1906, mainly Black homes and businesses in downtown Atlanta were attacked. To secure their city/town property, Black land- and homeowners sacrificed personal savings and missed opportunities to acquire additional wealth, send children to college, or provide for their families' basic needs to ensure taxes were paid to Fulton County and avoid defaulting on tax bills. The figures in Tables 8.5.1 and 8.5.2 demonstrate that Black land and homeowners in Fulton County carried the highest land tax burden in Georgia—higher than all Whites and other Blacks statewide.

Table 8.5.1: Hidden Disparities in Ownership, Valuation, and Taxation of Land by Race in Georgia and Fulton County in 1906

Georgia landowners	Total assessed value of land in Georgia	Total acres of land in Georgia	Average assessed value of land per acre in Georgia	Tax burden of land-owners in Georgia	Total acres of land owned in Georgia
Black	$7,149,925	1,420,888	$ 5.03 per acre	115.63%	3.88%
White	$152,305,115	35,176,740	$ 4.33 per acre	99.54%	96.12%
All	$159,455,040	36,597,628	$ 4.35 per acre	100.00%	100.00%
Fulton County landowners	Total assessed value of land in Fulton County	Total acres of land in Fulton County	Average value of land per acre in Fulton County	Tax burden of land-owners in Fulton County compared to all landowners in Georgia	Total acres of land owned in Fulton County compared to total acres of land in Georgia
Black	**$189,650**	1,181	**$ 160.54 per acre**	**3,690.57%**	0.0032%
White	$4,750,945	89,090	$ 53.33 per acre	1,226.21%	0.2434%
All	$4,940,945	90,271	$ 54.73 per acre	1,258.16%	0.2465%

Table 8.5.2: Hidden Disparities in Ownership, Valuation, and Taxation of City/Town Property by Race in Georgia and Fulton County in 1906

Georgia city/town property owners	Total assessed value of city/town in Georgia	Total acres of land in Georgia	Average assessed value of city/town per acre in Georgia	Tax burden of city/town property owners in Georgia	Total acres of land owned in Georgia
Black	$5,950,036	1,420,888	$ 4.188 per acre	99.03%	3.88%
White	$148,825,600	35,176,740	$ 4.230 per acre	100.02%	96.12%
All	$154,775,636	36,597,628	$ 4.229 per acre	100.00%	100.00%
Fulton County city/town property owners	Total assessed value of city/town property in Fulton County	Total acres of land in Fulton County	Average assessed value of city/town property per acre in Fulton County	**Tax burden** of city/town property owners in Fulton County compared to all city/town property owners in Georgia	Total acres of land owned in Fulton County compared to total acres of land in Georgia
Black	**$**908,605	1,181	$ 769.35 per acre	18,184.16%	0.0032%
White	$41,121,265	89,090	$ 461.57 per acre	10,914.90%	0.2434%
All	$42,029,870	90,271	$465.60 per acre	11,007.09%	0.2465%.

Acreage, Value, and Percentage of Land and City/Town Property Ownership by Race, Georgia vs. Fulton County, 1933

Summary Statement

In 1933, Fulton County and the rest of the nation experienced the worst economic recession in American history. While county residents were grappling with how to sustain their wealth and quality of life, racial tension escalated alongside competition for employment. Three years earlier, a new White-led terrorist organization, the American Fascist Association and Order of Black Shirts, was birthed in Atlanta and quickly stretched across the nation, pressuring and intimidating White business owners to fire Black workers and replace them with Whites.[15] As 29.4 percent of the total workforce in the U.S. experienced unemployment and wages were reduced by 42.5 percent between 1929 and 1933, Black land and city/town property owners in Fulton County faced higher tax burdens with their land, homes, and commercial properties assessed at alarmingly different rates. Although their ownership of land was infinitesimal, the valuation and tax burdens for Blacks were astronomical compared to those of White proprietors in Fulton County and Georgia averages.[16]

Proof: Land Ownership, Valuation, and Tax Burden Disparities, Fulton County vs. Georgia

- In 1933, Blacks in Fulton County owned 2,175 acres. In contrast, White landowners in Fulton County possessed 245,147 acres (110 times more land than Black landowners).
- Black-owned land in Fulton County was assessed at $123.07 per acre. White-owned land was valued at $80.05 per acre.
- The tax burden of White landowners was 0.47 percent less than the average landowner in Fulton County—meaning they received a slight tax break. To make up the difference, the valuation of Black-owned land was inflated. Consequently, the tax burden for Black landowners in Fulton County was 153.73 percent.
- Across Georgia, Black landowners held 1,328,563 acres, accounting for 3.76 percent of the state's total land.
- Black-owned land in Georgia was assessed at $7.27 per acre, while White-owned land statewide was valued at $6.50 per acre (12 percent less than the average Black landowner).
- In contrast, Fulton County Black landowners faced a tax burden 1,885 percent, or 18 times, higher than the average Georgian but owned 0.0062 percent of the state's total land area.

Proof: Land Ownership, Valuation, and Tax Burden Disparities, Fulton County vs. Georgia

- As with land, Whites dominated residential and commercial property ownership in Fulton County in 1933.

- In Fulton County, the average assessed value of Blacks' homes and businesses per acre was $2,566.56, compared to $617.14 for Whites.
- Across Georgia, Black-owned city/town property was assessed at $15.61 per acre, compared to $11.31 per acre for White-owned property (a 38 percent difference).
- The statewide tax burden for Black city/town property owners was 136 percent, compared to 98.60 percent for White owners**.**
- The extreme overvaluation of Black-owned city/town property in Fulton County led Black home and commercial property owners in Fulton County to carry an astonishing 22,377 percent tax burden compared to the average Georgian.
- Surprisingly, this tax burden disparity was not the highest recorded in Georgia's history.

These figures confirm that Fulton County Government imposed severe financial exploitation on Black residents by burdening them with a degree of taxation far beyond that faced by White property owners in Fulton County or elsewhere in Georgia.

Table 8.5.3: Hidden Disparities in Ownership, Valuation, and Taxation of Land by Race in Georgia and Fulton County in 1933

Georgia landowners	Total assessed value of land in Georgia	Total acres of land in Georgia	Average assessed value of land per acre in Georgia	Tax burden of landowners in Georgia	Total acres of land owned in Georgia
Black	$9,665,617	1,328,563	$7.27 per acre	111.33%	3.76%
White	$220,884,438	33,965,862	$6.50 per acre	99.54%	96.24%
All	$230,550,055	35,294,425	$6.53 per acre	100.00%	100.00%
Fulton County landowners	**Total assessed value of land in Fulton County**	**Total acres of land in Fulton County**	**Average value of land per acre in Fulton County**	**Tax burden of landowners in Fulton County compared to all landowners in Georgia**	**Total acres of land owned in Fulton County compared to total acres of land in Georgia**
Black	**$267,670**	**2,175**	**$123.07 per acre**	**1,885%**	**0.0062%**
White	$19,624,615	245,147	$80.05 per acre	1226%	0.69%
All	$19,892,285	247,322	$80.43 per acre	1,231%	0.70%

Table 8.5.4: Hidden Disparities in Ownership, Valuation, and Taxation of City/Town Property by Race in Georgia and Fulton County in 1933

Georgia city/ town property owners	Total assessed value of city/town in Georgia	Total acres of land in Georgia	Average assessed value of city/town per acre in Georgia	Tax burden of city/ town property owners in Georgia	Total acres of land owned in Georgia
Black	$20,733,008	1,328,562	$15.61 per acre	136.00%	3.76%
White	$384,122,166	33,965,863	$11.31 per acre	98.60%	96.24%
All	$404,855,668	35,294,425	$11.47 per acre	100.00%	100.00%
Fulton County city/town property owners	Total assessed value of city/town property in Fulton County	Total acres of land in Fulton County	Average assessed value of city/town property per acre in Fulton County	**Tax burden** of city/town property owners in Fulton County compared to all city/town property owners in Georgia	Total acres of land owned in Fulton County compared to total acres of land in Georgia
Black	**$5,582,265**	**2,175**	**$2,566.56 per acre**	**22,377%**	**0.0062%**
White	$151,289,035	245,147	$617.14 per acre	5,380%	0.69%
All	$156,871,300	247,322	$634.28 per acre	5,523%	0.70%

Application of the Dual Lens Hidden Disparities by Race Theorem by Year

To learn the application of the Dual Lens Hidden Disparities Theorem, apply the variables to the step-by-step formulas provided in the following selection. The formulas can be used to compare multiple years and property types by changing the variables.

Symbol	Definition
LT	Total acres of land in Georgia.
LB	Acres of land owned by Black proprietors in Georgia.
LW	Acres of land owned by White proprietors in Georgia.
LFT	Total acres of land in Fulton County.
LFB	Acres of land owned by Black proprietors in Fulton County.
LFW	Acres of land owned by White proprietors in Fulton County.
$L^{FB,G}$	Comparison of acres of land owned by Black landowners in Fulton County to all acres of land in Georgia.
$L^{FW,G}$	Comparison of acres of land owned by White landowners in Fulton County to all acres of land in Georgia.
$L^{F,G}$	Comparison of acres of land owned by all landowners in Fulton County to all acres of land in Georgia.
VL	Total assessed value of land in Georgia.
VLB	Total assessed value of Black-owned land in Georgia.
VLW	Total assessed value of White-owned land in Georgia.
$VLFT$	Total assessed value of land in Fulton County.
$VLFB$	Total assessed value of Black-owned land in Fulton County.
$VLFW$	Total assessed value of White-owned land in Fulton County.
ALB	Average assessed value of Black-owned land per acre in Georgia.
ALW	Average assessed value of White-owned land per acre in Georgia.
AL	Average assessed value of all land per acre in Georgia.
$ALFB$	Average assessed value of Black-owned land per acre in Fulton County.
$ALFW$	Average assessed value of White-owned land per acre in Fulton County.
$ALFT$	Average assessed value of all land per acre in Fulton County.

Figure 8.2: Land (L) variables for Georgia and Fulton County (F)

Symbol	Definition
L_T	Total acres of land in Georgia for city and town property.
L_B	Acres of land owned by Black proprietors in Georgia for city and town property.
L_W	Acres of land owned by White proprietors in Georgia for city and town property.
L_{FT}	Total acres of land in Fulton County for city and town property.
L_{FB}	Acres of land owned by Black proprietors in Fulton County for city and town property.
L_{FW}	Acres of land owned by White proprietors in Fulton County for city and town property.
V_C	Total assessed value of city or town property in Georgia.
V_{CB}	Total assessed value of Black-owned city or town property in Georgia.
V_{CW}	Total assessed value of White-owned city or town property in Georgia.
V_{CFT}	Total assessed value of city or town property in Fulton County.
V_{CFB}	Total assessed value of Black-owned city or town property in Fulton County.
V_{CFW}	Total assessed value of White-owned city or town property in Fulton County.
A_{CB}	Average assessed value of Black-owned city or town property per acre in Georgia.
A_{CW}	Average assessed value of White-owned city or town property per acre in Georgia.
A_C	Average assessed value of all city or town property per acre in Georgia.
A_{CFB}	Average assessed value of Black-owned city or town property per acre in Fulton County.
A_{CFW}	Average assessed value of White-owned city or town property per acre in Fulton County.
A_{CFT}	Average assessed value of all city or town property per acre in Fulton County.

Figure 8.3: City/town (C) property variables for Georgia and Fulton County (F)

Variable	Definition
TB_{LFB}	Tax burden of Black landowners in Fulton County (land ownership).
TB_{LFW}	Tax burden of White landowners in Fulton County (land ownership).
TB_{LF}	Tax burden of all landowners in Fulton County (land ownership).
TB_{G}	Tax burden of all landowners in Georgia (land ownership).
TB_{CFB}	Tax burden of Black city or town property owners in Fulton County.
TB_{CFW}	Tax burden of White city or town property owners in Fulton County.
TB_{CF}	Tax burden of all city or town property owners in Fulton County.
TB_{C}	Tax burden of all city or town property owners in Georgia.
$TB_{LFB,G}$	Comparison of tax burden of Black landowners in Fulton County to all landowners in Georgia (land).
$TB_{LFW,G}$	Comparison of tax burden of White landowners in Fulton County to all landowners in Georgia (land).
$TB_{LF,G}$	Comparison of tax burden of all landowners in Fulton County to all landowners in Georgia (land).
$TB_{CFB,G}$	Comparison of tax burden of Black city or town property owners in Fulton County to all in Georgia.
$TB_{CFW,G}$	Comparison of tax burden of White city or town property owners in Fulton County to all in Georgia.
$TB_{CF,G}$	Comparison of tax burden of all city or town property owners in Fulton County to all in Georgia.

Figure 8.4: Tax burden variables for Georgia and Fulton County (F)

Step-by-Step Formulas

Land: Ownership, Valuation, and Tax Burden by Race in Georgia and Fulton County (Year)

Step 1: Total Land Owned by Race

- **In Georgia**:

$$L_W = L_T - L_B$$

- **In Fulton County**:

$$L_{FW} = L_{FT} - L_{FB}$$

Step 2: Total Assessed Value of Land by Race

- **In Georgia**:

$$V_{LW} = V_L - V_{LB}$$

- **In Fulton County**:

$$V_{LFW} = V_{LFT} - V_{LFB}$$

Step 3: Average Assessed Value of Land per Acre by Race

- **In Georgia**:

$$ALB = \frac{V_{LB}}{L_B}, \quad ALW = \frac{V_{LW}}{L_W}, \quad AL = \frac{V_L}{L_T}$$

- **In Fulton County**:

$$ALFB = \frac{V_{LFB}}{L_{FB}}, \quad ALFW = \frac{V_{LFW}}{L_{FW}}, \quad ALFT = \frac{V_{LFT}}{L_{FT}}$$

Step 4: Tax Burden of Landowners

- **In Georgia**:

$$TB_{LB} = \left(\frac{ALB}{AL}\right) \times 100, \quad TB_{LW} = \left(\frac{ALW}{AL}\right) \times 100$$

- **In Fulton County**:

$$TB_{LFB} = \left(\frac{ALFB}{ALFT}\right) \times 100, \quad TB_{LFW} = \left(\frac{ALFW}{ALFT}\right) \times 100$$

- **Comparison of Tax Burden for Black Landowners in Fulton County to All Landowners in Georgia:**

$$TB_{LFB,G} = \frac{TB_{LFB}}{TB_G} \times 100$$

- **Comparison of Tax Burden for White Landowners in Fulton County to All Landowners in Georgia:**

$$TB_{LFW,G} = \frac{TB_{LFW}}{TB_G} \times 100$$

- **Comparison of Tax Burden for All Landowners in Fulton County to All Landowners in Georgia:**

$$TB_{LF,G} = \frac{TB_{LF}}{TB_G} \times 100$$

Step 5: Land Ownership

- **In Georgia:**

$$L_B = \frac{L_B}{L_T} \times 100, \quad L_W = \frac{L_W}{L_T} \times 100$$

- **In Fulton County:**

$$L_{FB} = \frac{L_{FB}}{L_{FT}} \times 100, \quad L_{FW} = \frac{L_{FW}}{L_{FT}} \times 100$$

- **Comparison of Acres of Land Owned by Blacks in Fulton County to Acres of Land Owned in Georgia:**

$$L_{FB,G} = \frac{L_{FB}}{L_T} \times 100$$

- **Comparison of Acres of Land Owned by Whites in Fulton County to Acres of Land Owned in Georgia:**

$$L_{FW,G} = \frac{L_{FW}}{L_T} \times 100$$

- **Comparison of Acres of Land Owned by All Landowners in Fulton County to Acres of Land Owned in Georgia:**

$$L_{F,G} = \frac{L_F}{L_T} \times 100$$

City/Town Property Ownership, Valuation, and Tax Burden by Race in Georgia and Fulton County (Year)

Step 1: Total Land Owned by Race

- **In Georgia**:

$$L_W = L_T - L_B$$

- **In Fulton County**:

$$L_{FW} = L_{FT} - L_{FB}$$

Step 2: Total Assessed Value of City or Town Property by Race

- **In Georgia**:

$$V_{CW} = V_C - V_{CB}$$

- **In Fulton County**:

$$V_{CFW} = V_{CFT} - V_{CFB}$$

Step 3: Average Assessed Value of City or Town Property per Acre by Race

- **In Georgia**:

$$ACB = \frac{V_{CB}}{L_B}, \quad ACW = \frac{V_{CW}}{L_W}, \quad AC = \frac{V_C}{L_T}$$

- **In Fulton County**:

$$ACFB = \frac{V_{CFB}}{L_{FB}}, \quad ACFW = \frac{V_{CFW}}{L_{FW}}, \quad ACFT = \frac{V_{CFT}}{L_{FT}}$$

Step 4: Tax Burden of City or Town Property Owners

- **In Georgia**:

$$TB_{CB} = \left(\frac{ACB}{AC}\right) \times 100, \quad TB_{CW} = \left(\frac{ACW}{AC}\right) \times 100$$

- **In Fulton County**:

$$TB_{CFB} = \left(\frac{ACFB}{ACFT}\right) \times 100, \quad TB_{CFW} = \left(\frac{ACFW}{ACFT}\right) \times 100$$

- **Comparison of Tax Burden for Black City or Town Property Owners in Fulton County to All City or Town Property Owners in Georgia:**

$$TB_{CFB,G} = \frac{TB_{CFB}}{TB_{C,G}} \times 100$$

- **Comparison of Tax Burden for White City or Town Property Owners in Fulton County to All City or Town Property Owners in Georgia:**

$$TB_{CFW,G} = \frac{TB_{CFW}}{TB_{C,G}} \times 100$$

- **Comparison of Tax Burden for All City or Town Property Owners in Fulton County to All City or Town Property Owners in Georgia:**

$$TB_{CF,G} = \frac{TB_{CF}}{TB_{C,G}} \times 100$$

Step 5: Land Ownership

- **In Georgia:**

$$L_B = \frac{L_B}{L_T} \times 100, \quad L_W = \frac{L_W}{L_T} \times 100$$

- **In Fulton County:**

$$L_{FB} = \frac{L_{FB}}{L_{FT}} \times 100, \quad L_{FW} = \frac{L_{FW}}{L_{FT}} \times 100$$

- **Comparison of Acres of Land Owned by Blacks in Fulton County to Acres of Land Owned in Georgia:**

$$L_{FB,G} = \frac{L_{FB}}{L_T} \times 100$$

- **Comparison of Acres of Land Owned by Whites in Fulton County to Acres of Land Owned in Georgia:**

$$L_{FW,G} = \frac{L_{FW}}{L_T} \times 100$$

- **Comparison of Acres of Land Owned by All Landowners in Fulton County to Acres of Land Owned in Georgia:**

$$L_{F,G} = \frac{L_F}{L_T} \times 100$$

Factors Contributing to Tax Inequities, 1865–1937

The valuation of Black land, homes, and commercial properties was grossly unfair. Blacks carried significantly higher tax burdens than Whites. In contrast, Whites profited from policies that reduced their tax obligations and sustained their economic dominance. Systemic disparities, along with financial and political consequences, contributed significantly to tax inequities along racial lines in Fulton County, Georgia, during Reconstruction, the Nadir, and Jim Crow.

Systemic Disparities

Obstacles faced by Black land and homeowners from 1865 to 1937 significantly heightened their tax burden. The Fulton County Board of Commissioners greatly hindered Blacks' ability to contest unfair assessments, as they had no political representation and little to no legal recourse.

Economic Consequences

Inequitable tax obligations negatively affected Black land and homeowners and impeded their ability to maintain existing or new property. Contrastingly, White owners benefited from favorable tax assessments, allowing them to accumulate wealth, reinvest in their holdings, and enhance their economic leverage, thereby perpetuating their dominance in the region. This illustrates the systemic barriers encountered by Black communities, particularly the inequitable practices employed by the Fulton County Board of Assessors, which further obstructed wealth generation for these populations.

Political Consequences

Beginning in 1877, as a precondition to voting, the Fulton County Government required all voters to pay all taxes one year in advance.[17] In 1908, Georgia lawmakers further disenfranchised voters by punishing propertyless owners posing fewer than forty acres of land or $500 in property value.[18] Less than 2.17 percent of Blacks would have met this prerequisite to vote in Georgia. After 1931, this precondition was no longer a criterion to participate in elections. However, literacy and "grandfather clause" requirements adopted by Georgia legislators continued to disenfranchise voters.[19]

Conclusion

The Dual Lens Hidden Disparities Theorem provides a data-driven, historically rich, and methodologically strong approach to exposing systemic property valuation and taxation inequities. By analyzing primary tax records from 1865 to 1937, this study uncovered how Black land and city/town property owners in Fulton County, Georgia, were unfairly burdened with higher taxes under the illusion of fairness. The data makes it clear: Black-owned land and city/town properties were consistently overvalued, creating long-term economic disadvantages that went unchecked for decades. Until 1937, Black landowners on average faced a tax burden of 209.25 percent (twice as much as Whites) while owning 0.81 percent of all improved land. When examining city/town property, we found that Black residents, on average, owned 2 percent of residential and commercial property and carried a staggering tax burden of 256.88 percent (2.5 times more than Whites) demonstrating that the system was designed not just to extract Black wealth but also to suppress their economic mobility. Inflated assessments were not incidental but a deliberate attempt to keep Blacks economically vulnerable as a *renters class*, despite their resilience in securing and maintaining real estate.

Beyond its historical significance, this study highlights how systemic disparities impact economic mobility and generational wealth accumulation. The Dual Lens Hidden Disparities Theorem is more than just a historical case study. It offers a framework applicable to modern issues from tax reform and housing discrimination to disparities in education funding and global wealth inequality. This study proves that racial bias in land and city/town property assessments were not just an anomaly but a systemic practice. It necessitates that the Fulton County Board of Commissioners create fair policy reform, grant economic recompense, and eradicate practices that contribute to disproportionate property ownership, valuation, and tax burdens among its residents.

The key takeaways from this study go beyond property taxes. First, it exposes hidden inequalities by using quantitative data to show how racial disparities were embedded in what seemed like fair tax policies. Second, it proves the broader applicability of the theorem by demonstrating that similar frameworks can be used to analyze disparities in income, education, healthcare, and resource allocation. Third, it calls for policy change, urging lawmakers to adopt fair property assessments, equitable taxation systems, and economic justice initiatives. It breaks the myth of fairness by proving that equal tax rates do not mean equal taxation. True fairness depends on how values are assessed and applied. Finally, the Dual Lens Hidden Disparities Theorem gives researchers, policymakers, and advocates the

tools to measure and address disparities across different socioeconomic systems.

At its core, this study provides a blueprint for future research and policy reforms that can confront the lasting effects of economic discrimination. Transforming systemic inequality from an abstract idea into a concrete one via measurable, data-backed evidence equips governments, community stakeholders, and scholars with the knowledge to take real action. Economic justice begins with exposing the inequities hiding in plain sight, and this study serves as a critical step toward that goal.

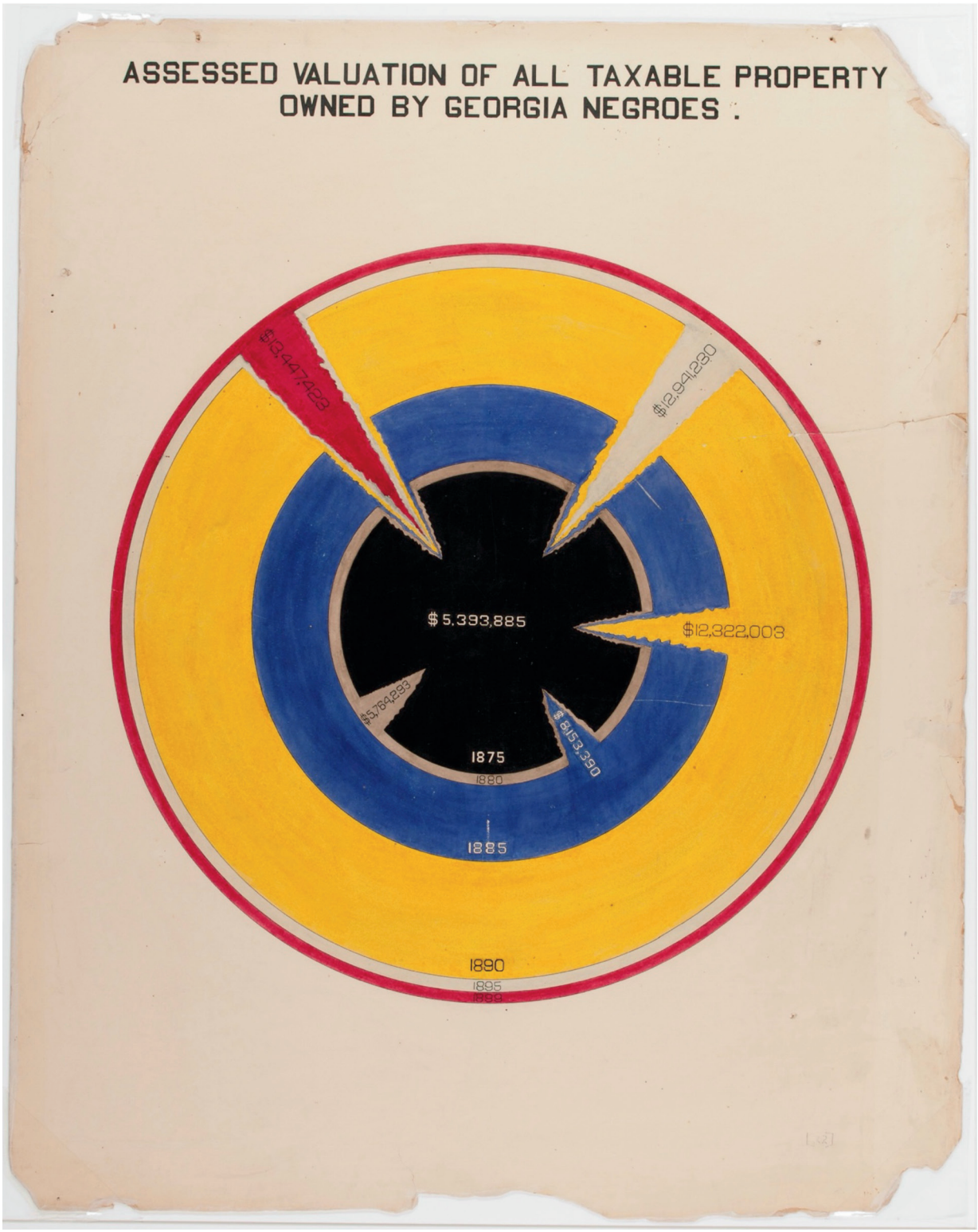


Figure 8.5 Assessed valuation of all taxable property owned by Blacks in Georgia. Credit: W. E. B. Du Bois, [The Georgia Negro] Assessed Valuation of All Taxable Property Owned by Georgia Negroes, ca. 1900. Photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, DC, https://www.loc.gov/ item/2013650442/

ASSESSED VALUATION OF ALL TAXABLE PROPERTY OWNED BY BLACKS IN FULTON COUNTY, GEORGIA.

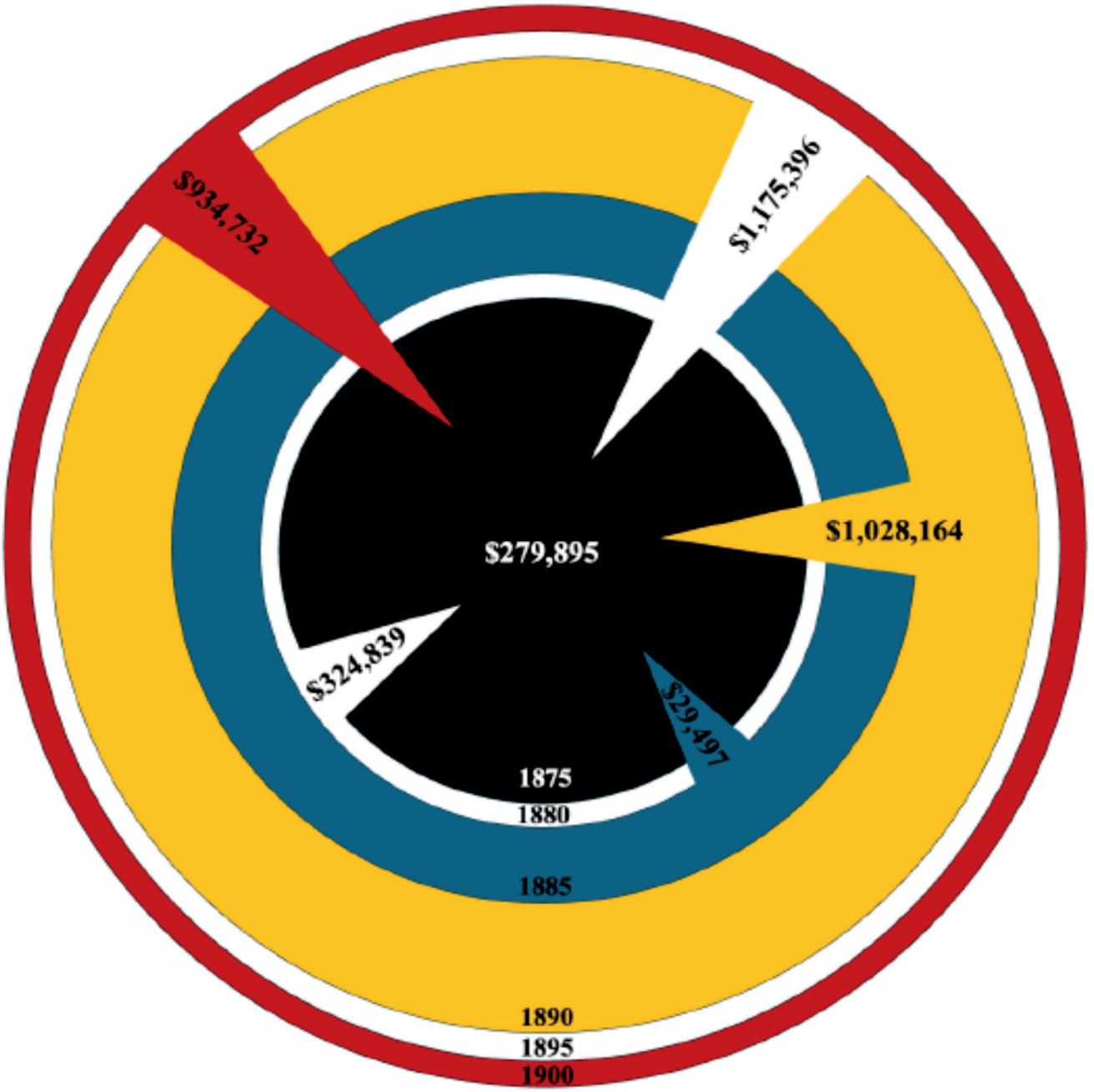


Figure 8.6 Assessed valuation of all taxable property owned by Blacks in Fulton County, Georgia.



Figure 8.7 Acres of land owned by Blacks in Georgia. Credit: W. E. B. Du Bois, [The Georgia Negro] Acres of Land Owned by Negroes in Georgia, ca. 1900. Photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, DC, https://www.loc.gov/item/2013650438/.

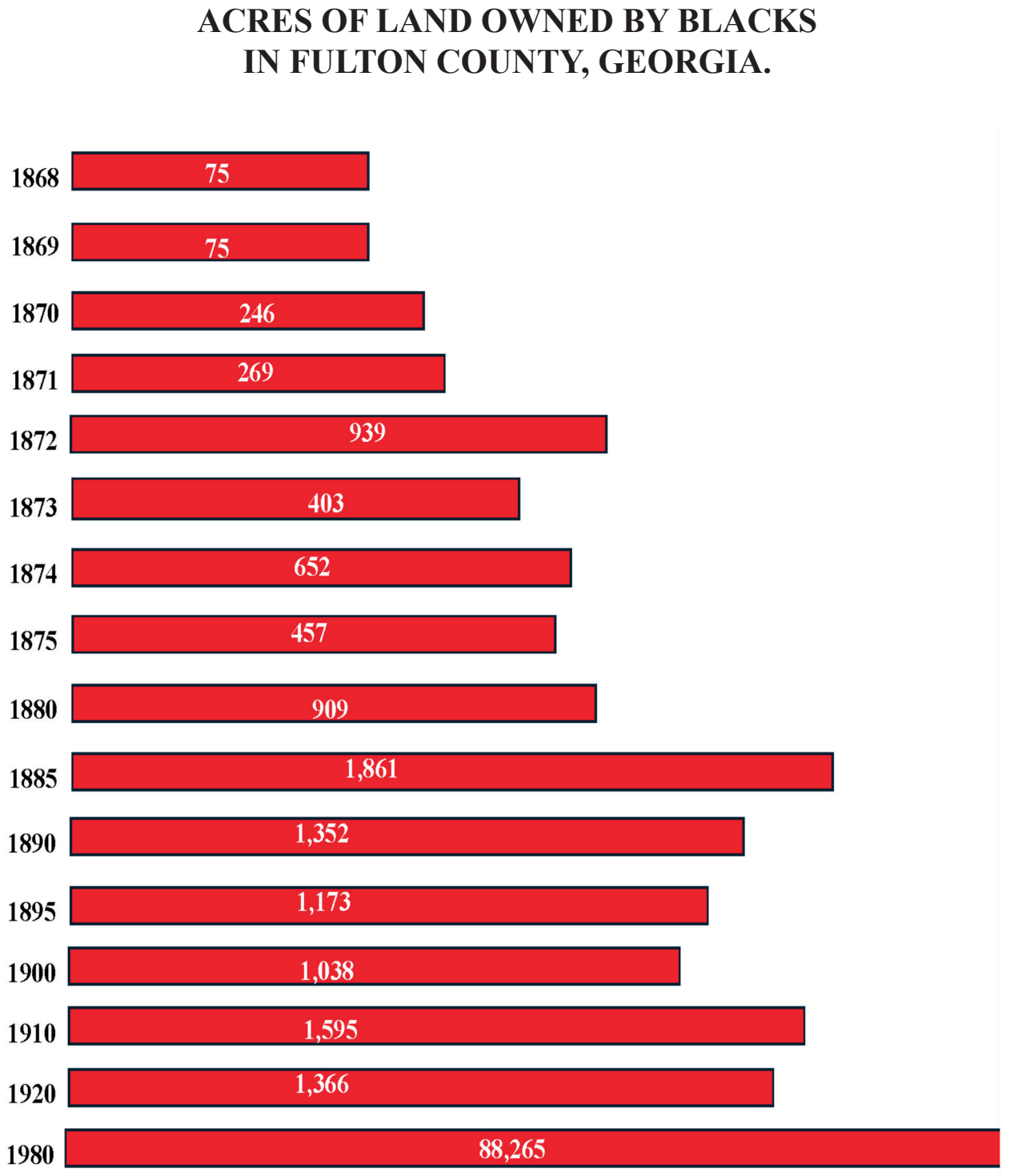


Figure 8.8 Acres of land owned by Blacks in Fulton County, Georgia.

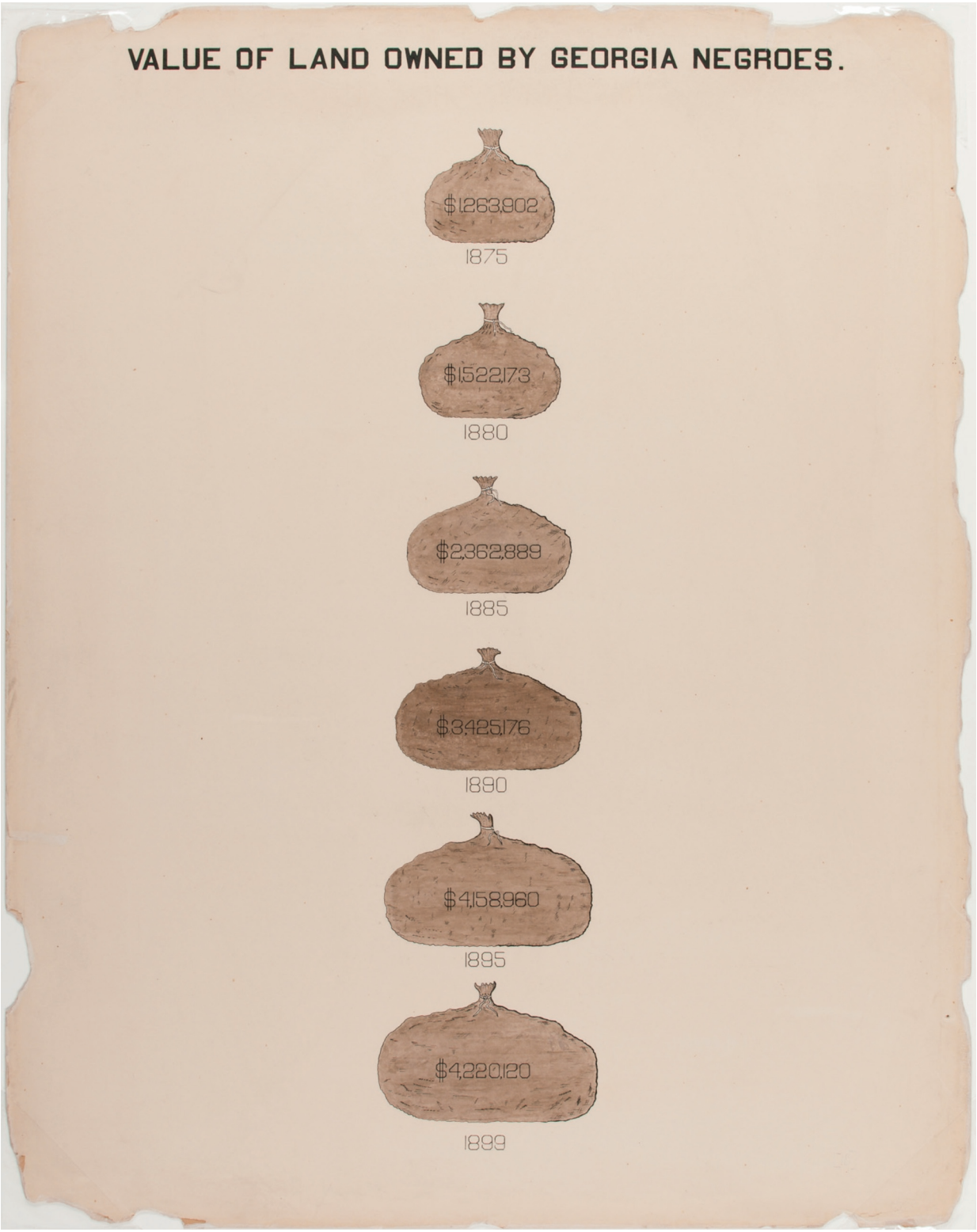


Figure 8.9 Value of land owned by Blacks in Georgia. Credit: W. E. B. Du Bois, [The Georgia Negro] Value of Land Owned by Negroes in Georgia, ca. 1900. Photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, DC, https://www.loc.gov/item/2013650437/.



Figure 8.10 Value of Land Owned by Blacks in Fulton County, Georgia. The charts track the assessed value of Black-owned land in Fulton County from 1868 to 1937, showing gains during Reconstruction and shifts over time.

VALUE OF LAND OWNED BY BLACKS IN FULTON COUNTY, GEORGIA.



Figure 8.11 Value of Land Owned by Blacks in Fulton County, Georgia. The charts track the assessed value of Black-owned land in Fulton County from 1868 to 1937, showing gains during Reconstruction and shifts over time.

VALUE OF LAND OWNED BY BLACKS IN FULTON COUNTY, GEORGIA.



1910 - $127,415



1920 - $214,590



1931 - $308,110



1937- $295,025

Figure 8.12 Value of Land Owned by Blacks in Fulton County, Georgia. The charts track the assessed value of Black-owned land in Fulton County from 1868 to 1937, showing gains during Reconstruction and shifts over time.

Endnotes

1 Michael Makovi, "Is There Discrimination in Property Taxation? Evidence From Atlanta, Georgia, 2010–2016," *Journal of Housing Economics 56* (1970), https://ideas.repec.org/a/eee/jhouse/v56y2022ics1051137722000018.html; and Stephannie Stokes, "Investigation: Fulton's Property Tax Collection Ensures Black Families' Homes and Wealth," WABE, December 21, 2023, accessed October 9, 2025, https://www.wabe.org/investigation-fultons-property-tax-collection-ensnares-black-families-homes-and-wealth/.

2 A significant portion of Fulton County Government records are archived at the Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center. However, older and various types of other government documents are located at offsite repositories owned by Fulton County Government.

3 Data scientists responsible for extracting data from original historical records for the purpose of recreating new tabular datasets under the instruction of Dr. Karcheik Sims-Alvarado are Luther King and Abyssinia Mulatu.

4 *Report of the Comptroller-General of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, GA, Stein Printing Company, 1868–1937); *Georgia, U.S., Property Tax Digests, 1793–1892* [database online] (Lehi, UT, Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011); and *Georgia Tax Digests [1890], 140 volumes* (Morrow, GA, Georgia Archives).

5 *Georgia, U.S., Property Tax Digests, 1793–1892*; and *Georgia Tax Digests [1890*].

6 "Filing Property Tax in Georgia," Georgia Department of Revenue, accessed October 9, 2025, https://dor.georgia.gov/local-government-services/filing-property-tax-georgia.

7 "Tax Commissioner: Property Taxes," Fulton County Government, accessed October 9, 2025, https://www.fultoncountyga.gov/inside-fulton-county/fulton-county-departments/tax-commissioner/property-taxes. To learn the appraisal methodology for determining property valuation by Fulton County Board of Assessors, see "2022 Georgia Code: Title 48—Revenue and Taxation: Chapter 5—Ad Valorem Taxation of Property: Article 5—Uniform Property Tax Administration and Equalization: Part 2—County Boards of Tax Assessors: § 48-5-290. Creation of County Board of Tax Assessors; Appointment and Number of Members; Commission; Noneligibility of Certain Individuals," Justia U.S. Law, accessed October 9, 2025, https://law.justia.com/codes/georgia/2022/title-48/chapter-5/article-5/part-2/section-48-5-290.

8 "Property Tax Valuation," Georgia Department of Revenue, accessed October 9, 2025, https://dor.georgia.gov/property-tax-valuation.

9 "2024 Code of Georgia: Title 44—Property (§§ 44-1-1–44-17-7): Chapter 1—General Provisions (§§ 44-1-1–44-1-18): Section 44-1-3—'Personality' Defined; Status of Certain Stocks," Justia U.S. Law, accessed October 9, 2025, https://law.justia.com/codes/georgia/title-44/chapter-1/section-44-1-3/.

10 "Property Tax Valuation"; and "Tax Burden," Cambridge Dictionary, accessed October 9, 2025, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/tax-burden.

11 As quoted in Victor Flynn, "Fulton County Property Tax: A Complete Guide." JVM Lending, May 13, 2024, https://www.jvmlending.com/blog/fulton-county-property-tax-a-complete-guide/#:~:text=The%20millage%20rate%2C%20or%20tax,%241%2C000%20of%20assessed%20property%20value: "A millage rate of one mill corresponds to a tax obligation of one dollar for every $1,000 of assessed property value. The typical county and municipal millage rate stands at 30 mills. Typically, real property tax is calculated at 40 percent of the property's fair market value. To illustrate, consider a house valued at $100,000. The assessed value of this property would be $40,000. In a county with a millage rate of 25 mills, the property tax for this house would amount to $1,000; this is calculated as $25 for every $1,000 of assessed value, or $25 times 40, resulting in $1,000."

12 As adopted in 1968, Georgia law requires that "Except as otherwise provided in this Code section, taxable tangible property shall be assessed at 40 percent of its fair market value and shall be taxed on a levy made by each respective tax jurisdiction according to 40 percent of the property's fair market value (O.C.G.A. 48-5-7)," as quoted in "2023 Code of Georgia: Title 48—Revenue and Taxation (§§ 48-1-1–48-18-1): Chapter 5—Ad Valorem Taxation of Property (§§ 48-5-1–48-5-607): Article 1—General Provisions (§§ 48-5-1–48-5-34): Section 48-5-7—Assessment of Tangible Property," Justia U.S. Law, accessed October 9, 2025, https://law.justia.com/codes/georgia/title-48/chapter-5/article-1/section-48-5-7/; and "Property Tax Valuation." For a brief history of property taxes in Georgia, see "A Brief History of the Property Tax in Georgia," *Policy Brief*, no. 182 (2008), accessed October 9, 2025, https://cslf.gsu.edu/files/2014/06/brief_history_of_the_

property_tax_in_georgia_brief.pdf.

13 "Tax Commissioner: Property Taxes."

14 "Great Depression Facts," Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, accessed October 9, 2025, https://www.fdrlibrary.org/great-depression-facts#:~:text=throughout%20the%201920s.-,At%20the%20height%20of%20the%20Depression%20in%201933%2C%2024.9%25%20of,%2C%2012%2C830%2C000%20people%2C%20were%20unemployed.

15 "Races: Blackshirts v. Blackmen," Time, September 8, 1930, https://time.com/archive/6745811/races-blackshirts-v-blackmen/.

16 "Great Depression Facts."

17 *GA Constitution*, Article II Section I Par. II.

18 *Georgia Law 1931*, Vol I Part I Title IV p. 102.

19 *Georgia Law 1931*, Vol I Part I Title IV p. 102.

Part Four:

Social, Political, and Economic Control

Chapter Nine

Bagley Park: Stolen Wealth, Inheritance, and Opportunities

John Wright, Olivia Reneau, and Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD

My mother was Willie Mae Bagley, and she was the daughter of William Bagley. William Bagley grew up in Forsyth County. He married Ida Julian, and they owned 60 acres of land . . . 60 acres, that's a lot of land for a Black man to have in that time.
Having to leave and being forced out of Forsyth County was not something they talked about. And it's an unbelievable story for people to be uprooted, their land taken, everything taken and they survived, and they persevered, and they came to what is now the heart of Buckhead, to Macedonia Park which became known as Bagley Park after my grandfather, and they thrived here. Until they were run out again.[1]

—Elon Butts Osby

Bagley Park, also called Macedonia Park, was a Black residential area in Buckhead before it was incorporated into the City of Atlanta. Residents held a wide range of jobs. Some served as maids, housekeepers, laundresses, yardmen, or chauffeurs for wealthy White residents of Buckhead. Others worked as brick masons, in-home nurses, shoe shiners, garbage collectors, fertilizer plant staff, and cotton mill workers. Some worked as gardeners or caddies for the local golf clubs, pin boys at the local bowling alley, truck drivers for the ice company.[2,3] Some ran neighborhood restaurants or shops.

Macedonia Park was established in 1921 by real estate developer and Atlanta City Councilman John S. Owens and civil engineer O. F. Kauffman.[4] It was developed on land on the south side of Pharr Road and ran along both sides of Bagley Avenue, a gravel road that ran west off Old Decatur Road, then turned south, with houses on the west side backing on a stream (see Figure 9.1). Former slaves began settling in the area after the Civil War, building the Mount Olive Methodist Episcopal Church around 1870.[5] Many of the early residents of Macedonia Park moved there from an earlier Black community along Old Decatur Road.[6,7] The Black communities of Macedonia Park and Old Decatur Road came to be collectively known as *Bagley Park* in honor of William Bagley, who moved to the area in 1912, when racial violence drove virtually all Blacks out of Forsyth County.[8]

The greater Bagley Park community rested on land between two White residential communities: Garden Hills and Peachtree Highlands, another Kauffman development. Both communities were developed long after the first former slaves settled in the area. Garden Hills was developed between Peachtree Road and the stream that separated it from Macedonia/Bagley Park. Garden Hills was developed between 1925 and 1941, after Macedonia Park was established.[9] The first home in the Peachtree Heights community was built in 1921, the same year Macedonia Park was established. Development of the Peachtree Heights community continued into the 1950s.[10]

The Bagley Park community is often thought of as being limited to the area along Bagley Avenue. However, the area, which was later condemned by the county, also included Black homes and businesses along Old Decatur Road (see Figure 3). Both areas were eventually cleared of Black residents and included the park that became known as Bagley Park, later Frankie Allen Park and recently renamed Bagley Park. At different times, the Bagley Avenue community supported three grocery stores, four restaurants, two soft drink shops, a blacksmith, a barbershop, and a beauty parlor.[11] The community along Old Decatur Road at different times supported a grocery store and eight restaurants. Also located on Old Decatur Road were the American Free Aid Hall, the American Free

Aid Lodge, and the American Workmen Lodge.[12] Both communities were served by three churches: Mount Olive Methodist Episcopal Church, Macedonia Baptist Church, and White Lily Baptist Church.

Table 9.1 Macedonia/Bagley Park Community Assets (Old Decatur Road and Bagley Avenue), 1912–1950

Businesses, Organizations, and Sacred Sites	Quantity
Grocery Stores	4
Restaurants	12
Soft Drink Shops	2
Blacksmith Shop	1
Barbershop	1
Beauty Parlor	1
Civic Organizations	3
Churches	3
Cemetery	1

The Macedonia/Bagley Park community was the subject of a sustained campaign of complaints from White residents of the Garden Hills community. That campaign began in 1937, when the Garden Hills Women's Club appeared at a Fulton County Board of Commissioners meeting, requesting that "something being done about a negro section known as Macedonia Park." The commission, without presentation of any evidence, agreed to endorse a bill to address the "Negro section."[13]

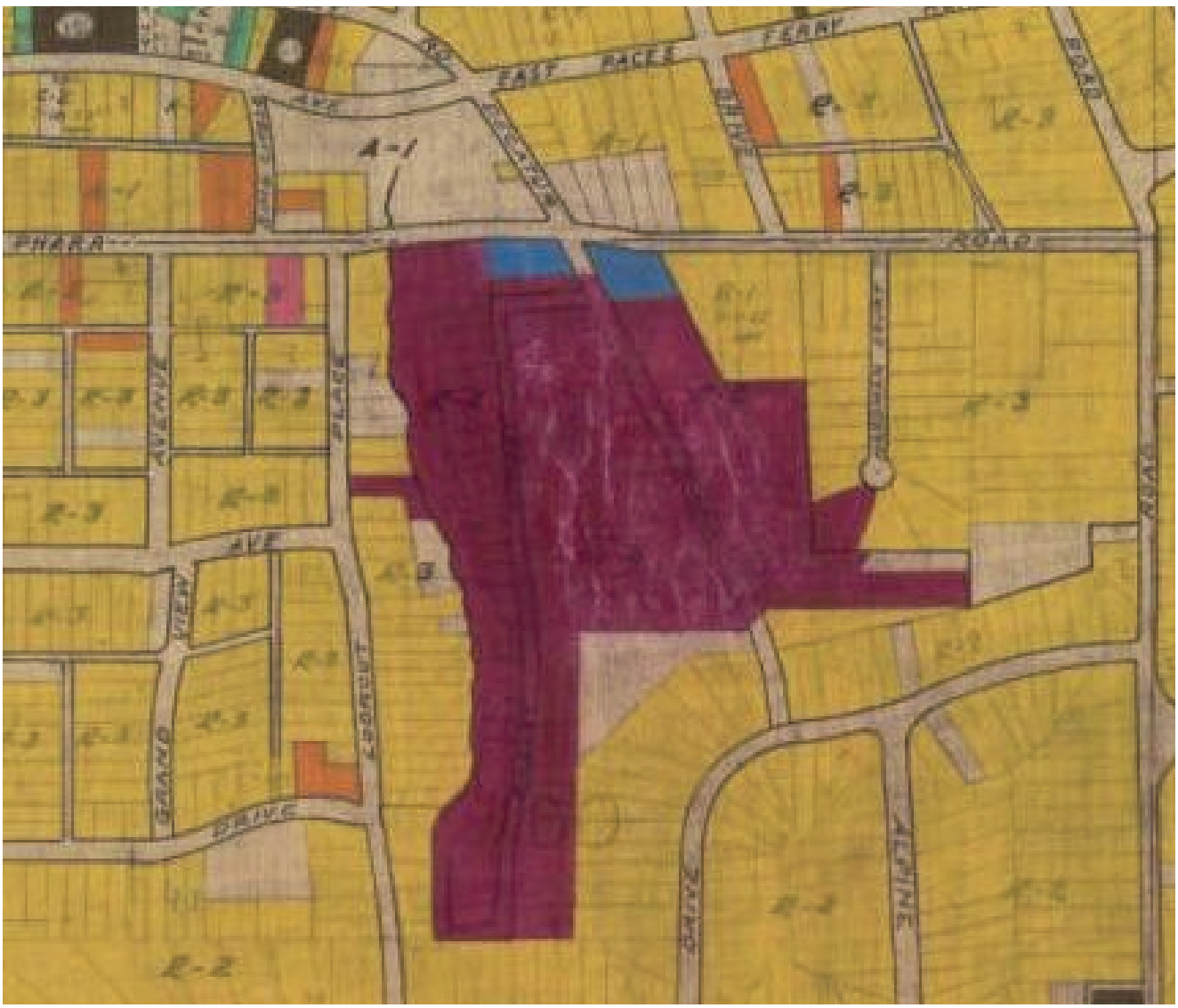


Figure 9.1 Bagley Park Community.[14] The area in red represents Macedonia/Bagley Park, 1939.

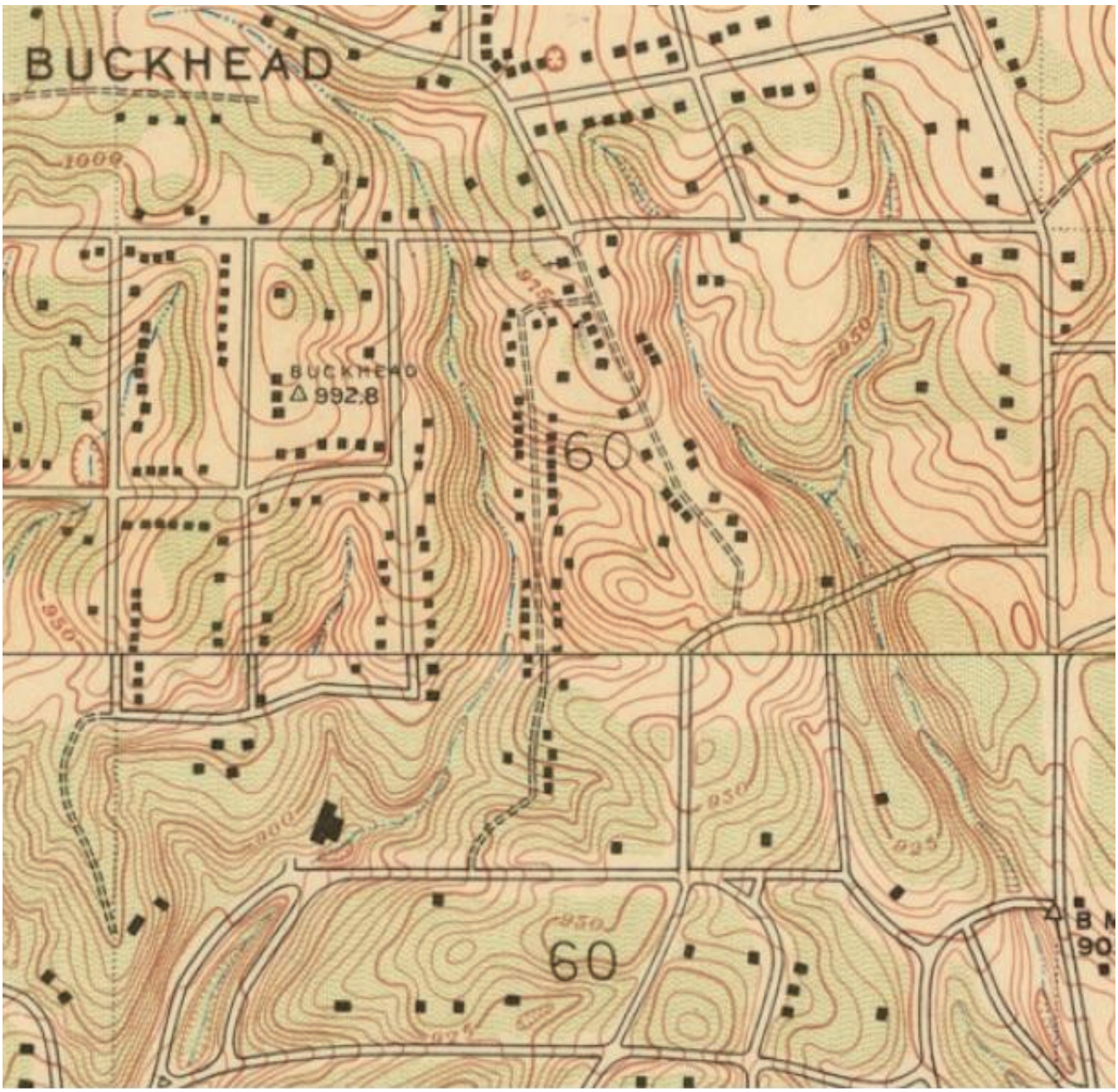


Figure 9.2 Dashed lines indicating unpaved roads in Bagley Park.[15] Note that the surrounding blocks in the Buckhead district possessed paved streets.

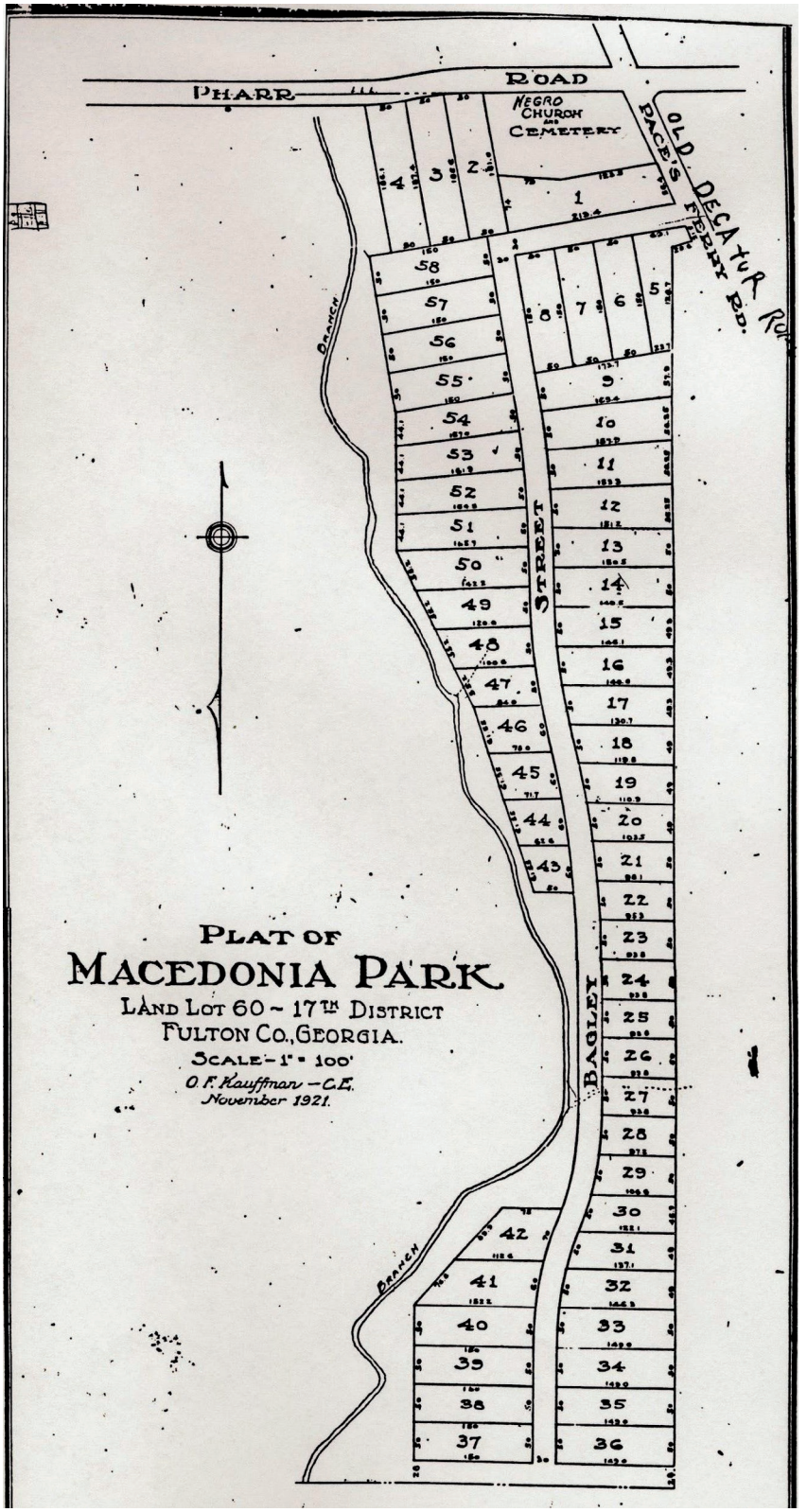


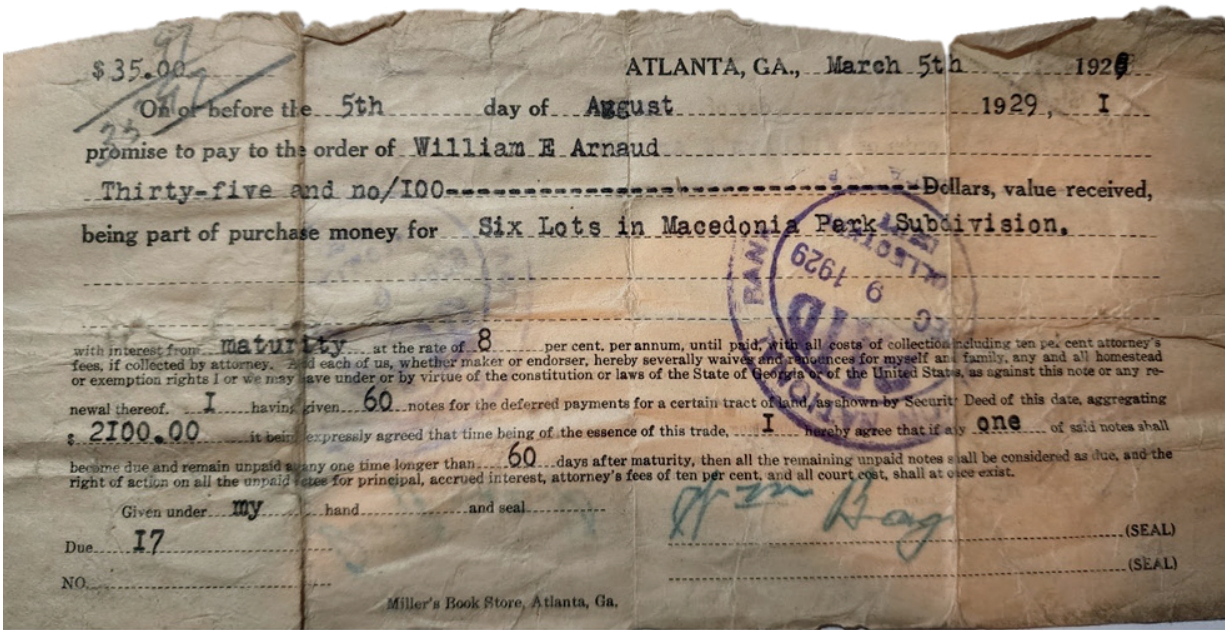
Figure 9.3 Plat map of Macedonia Park. Additional land lots were to the right of Old Decatur Road. *Credit:* 1921 Map Collection, VIS.290.002.027, Kenan Research Center at Atlanta History Center.

William Bagley and the Acquisition of Land in Macedonia Park



Figure 9.4 Six years after the three-day Atlanta race riot of 1906, William A. Bagley (left) and more than1,100 Blacks were forced out of Forsyth County following the lynching of three Black men accused of sexually assaulting two White women.

William A. Bagley lost sixty acres of land after fleeing Forsyth County. He and his wife, Ida, resettled in Buckhead and purchased eight or more lots in Macedonia Park between 1912 and 1938. Bagley died in 1939 and was buried in the Mount Olive Methodist Episcopal Church Cemetery at Bagley Park. After they were forced by Fulton County Commissioners to leave Macedonia Park, the Bagley family's wealth was reduced to a single-family home on the westside of Atlanta.



$35.00 ATLANTA, GA., March 5th 1929

On or before the 5th day of August 1929, I

promise to pay to the order of William E Arnaud

Thirty-five and no/100 Dollars, value received,

being part of purchase money for Six Lots in Macedonia Park Subdivision,

with interest from maturity at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum, until paid, with all costs of collection including ten per cent attorney's fees, if collected by attorney. And each of us, whether maker or endorser, hereby severally waives and renounces for myself and family, any and all homestead or exemption rights I or we may have under or by virtue of the constitution or laws of the State of Georgia or of the United States, as against this note or any renewal thereof. I having given 60 notes for the deferred payments for a certain tract of land, as shown by Security Deed of this date, aggregating $ 2100.00 it being expressly agreed that time being of the essence of this trade, I hereby agree that if any one of said notes shall become due and remain unpaid at any one time longer than 60 days after maturity, then all the remaining unpaid notes shall be considered as due, and the right of action on all the unpaid notes for principal, accrued interest, attorney's fees of ten per cent, and all court cost, shall at once exist.

Given under my hand and seal

Due 17

NO.

Wm Bagley (SEAL)

(SEAL)

Miller's Book Store, Atlanta, Ga.

Figure 9.5 William Bagley purchased six lots in Macedonia Park on August 5, 1929, for $2,100. The amount of property opened by Mr. Bagley and his wife, Ida, grew to ten lots (Lots 4, 9, 10, and 53–59). *Credit:* See Fulton County Deed Books.



Figure 9.6 Standing before the well-maintained home of William A. Bagley is his grandson, William Howell Butts (right), alongside two unidentified boys.

The Campaign Against Macedonia/Bagley Park

Following the initial complaints in 1937, the campaign against Macedonia/Bagley Park was ongoing and sustained:

- **September 7, 1938:** The Garden Hills Civic League submitted a resolution to the Fulton County CR&R to condemn Macedonia Park and purchase land for slum clearance.[16] The Black communities of Macedonia Park were subject to dirt roads (Old Decatur Road and Bagley Avenue), while the surrounding White neighborhoods possessed paved streets (see Figure 9.2).
- **October 5, 1938**: A Garden Hills resident submitted a proposal to the CR&R to build a road through Bagley Park to "weed out" the neighborhood.[17]
- **July 3, 1940:** A delegation from Buckhead appeared before the Board of Health with a complaint about wells and the general sanitary conditions in Bagley Park. The Board of Health suggested "if advisable to see if city water and sewerage might be available."[18] This was the only time the option of providing city water and sewerage to the neighborhood was mentioned by any individual, organization, or agency of county government, even though such services had been available to all the surrounding White communities since the 1930s.
- **August 5, 1942:** A delegation from the Garden Hills Women's Club appeared at a CR&R meeting with a petition to condemn Macedonia Park due to sanitary conditions.[19]
- **October 7, 1943:** The CR&R passed a resolution introduced by Commissioner Clarence Duncan, a resident of Garden Hills, to ask County Attorney Harold Sheets, the former Exalted Cyclops of the East Point Klan, to "take whatever steps are necessary" to end a serious health menace in Bagley Park.[20],[21]
- **August 30, 1944:** A delegation from the Garden Hills Civic Club appeared at a CR&R meeting requesting that funds be made available for the condemnation of Bagley Park for the purpose of building a park. Following the request, a resolution that authorized establishment of a $50,000 fund to acquire all of the property in Bagley Park was submitted by Commissioner Duncan, seconded by Ellis Barrett, a member of the Klan, and passed by the commission.[22],[23]
- **September 7, 1944:** A resolution was passed by the CR&R to acquire by purchase or condemnation all Bagley Park properties for construction of a park.[24]
- **September 27, 1944:** A letter from the Garden Hills Civic Club was submitted to the CR&R expressing appreciation for the September 7 resolution.[25]
- **January 3, 1945:** A appropriation of $50,000 was approved by the CR&R to acquire eighty tracts of land in Bagley Park.[26]
- **February 7, 1945:** Garden Hills women submitted a request to the CR&R for a "Girl Scout Hut" to be built in Bagley Park.[27]

- **March 7, 1945:** A Garden Hills resident filed a noise complaint against Bagley Park with the CR&R.[28]
- **August 3, 1947:** A letter from a Garden Hills resident was submitted to the CR&R regarding the development of "the infested eyesore" of Bagley Park.[29]
- **November 9, 1948:** The CR&R voted to provide an additional $50,000 for acquisition of sixteen remaining Bagley Park properties.[30]
- **November 19, 1948:** The CR&R voted to allocate $25,000 in proceeds from the sale of the Second Ponce de Leon Baptist Church on West Paces Ferry Road to use for the "development" of Bagley Park.[31]

The residents of Garden Hills were not the only people to campaign against Macedonia/Bagley Park. A January 30, 1948, article in the *Atlanta Constitution* noted that the North Fulton Civic Club urged the "elimination of the Bagley Park negro residential area."[32] On June 5, 1947, an organizational meeting of the Piedmont Civic Club was held at the Garden Hills clubhouse. The first item discussed was the clearing of the Bagley Park community and its development as a park. The second item addressed was a proposal to build housing for Black families in the area, which was unanimously opposed.[33] Additionally, on March 22, 1948, the Piedmont Civic Club met at the Garden Hills clubhouse to discuss the situation in Bagley Park.[34]

On Friday nights and Saturday afternoons in the 1930s and 1940s, the Ku Klux Klan would hold parades to clear Blacks from the Buckhead business district. In full robes, they paraded from their sheet factory on Roswell Road, through the business district, and back. On occasion, their "parades" included a loop through Bagley Park.[35]

Several Fulton County government officials who had direct influence over decisions relating to Bagley Park are known to have been members of the Klan. Paul S. Etheridge, who served as a commissioner and chairman of the CR&R, also served as the Klan Imperial Kloncil, or attorney, drawing salaries from both Fulton County and Klan.[36] Ellis Barnett, who served as a commissioner and vice chairman of the CR&R, was a member of Klavern #1,[37] known as the Nathan Bedford Forest Klan and often referred to as the "Mother Klan of the Nation."[38] Additionally, E. Harold Sheets, who served as Fulton County Deputy Solicitor, Deputy County Attorney, and County Attorney, was the Exalted Cyclops of the East Point Klan. Sheets took a leave of absence from the Fulton Solicitor General's Office to defend members of the East Point Klan arrested in the 1940 flogging cases.[39]

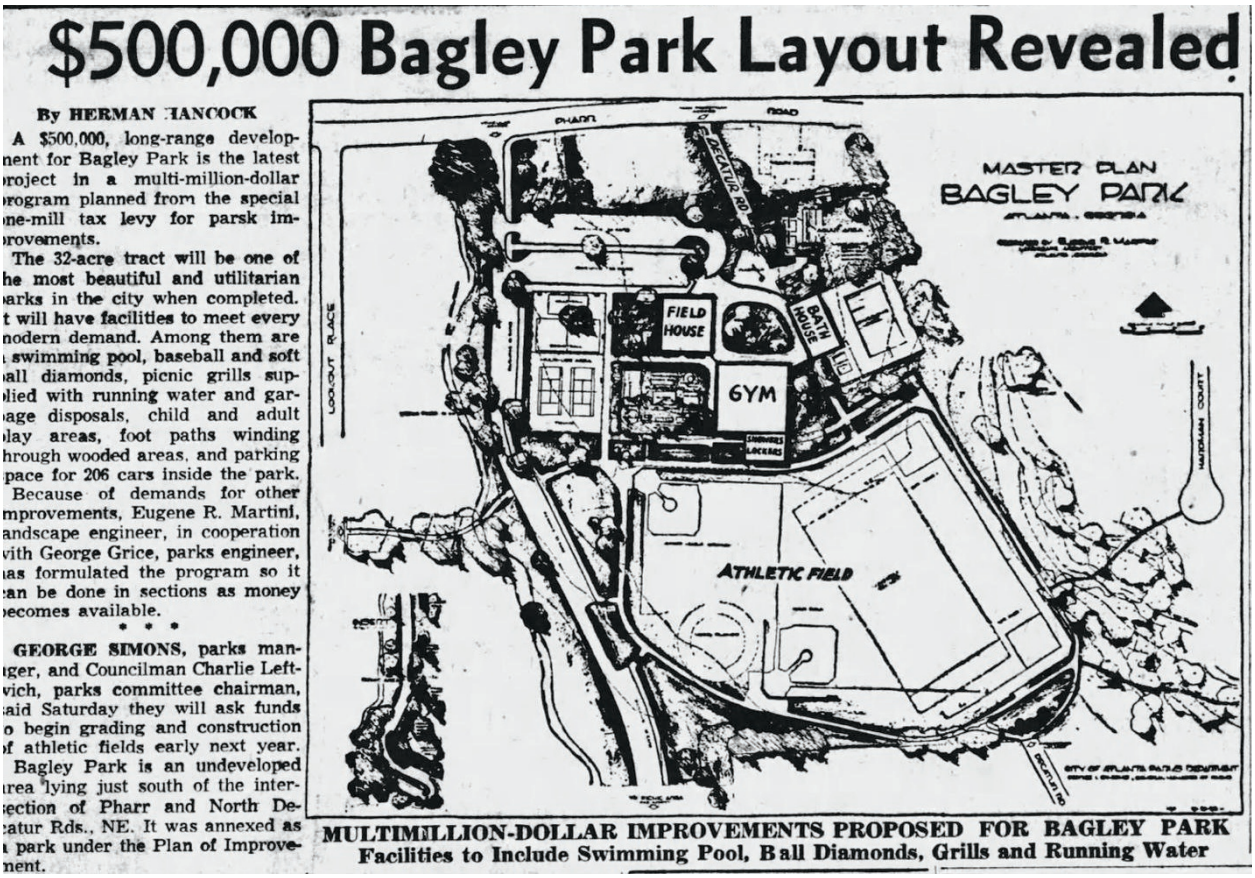
Some of Bagley Park's homeowners tried to resist or delay the condemnation of their homes. They cited the current shortage of housing for Blacks and rapidly rising real estate prices in the area in requesting at least a delay in being forced from their homes. They termed Fulton County's approach as essentially a "land grab."[40]

As Black families were evicted from Bagley Park, many relocated to the Johnsontown neighborhood located northeast of Bagley Park, near the current site of Lenox Mall. At the December 1, 1948, meeting of the CR&R, residents of Lenox and Roxboro Roads appeared to complain about Blacks moving from

Bagley Park to Johnsontown.[41]

Despite the claims that all the housing in Bagley Park was dilapidated and substandard, the county made efforts to sell some of the homes after they were taken from their Black owners. A real estate advertisement in the November 1, 1947, edition of the *Atlanta Constitution* offered houses in Bagley Park for sale. The ad boasted houses of three, four, five, and six rooms "in very good condition."[42]

In October 1949, Fulton County Manager A. E. Fuller, Commissioner Jack Towns, and Parks and Recreation Chairman Tubby Walton agreed on a plan to develop Bagley Park. The plan included landscaping, a baseball diamond, volleyball and tennis courts, and a skating rink.[43] By November 1953, the county's long-range development plan called for an investment of $500,000 to develop the Bagley Park, with the expanded plan including a swimming pool and running water (see Figure 9.4).[44] Bagley Park would finally get the infrastructure denied to the Black residents who had been forced out of their homes.



$500,000 Bagley Park Layout Revealed

By HERMAN HANCOCK

A $500,000, long-range development for Bagley Park is the latest project in a multi-million-dollar program planned from the special one-mill tax levy for parsk improvements.

The 32-acre tract will be one of the most beautiful and utilitarian parks in the city when completed. It will have facilities to meet every modern demand. Among them are a swimming pool, baseball and soft ball diamonds, picnic grills supplied with running water and garbage disposals, child and adult play areas, foot paths winding through wooded areas, and parking space for 206 cars inside the park.

Because of demands for other improvements, Eugene R. Martini, landscape engineer, in cooperation with George Grice, parks engineer, has formulated the program so it can be done in sections as money becomes available.

* * *

GEORGE SIMONS, parks manager, and Councilman Charlie Leftwich, parks committee chairman, said Saturday they will ask funds to begin grading and construction of athletic fields early next year.

Bagley Park is an undeveloped area lying just south of the intersection of Pharr and North Decatur Rds., NE. It was annexed as a park under the Plan of Improvement.

MULTIMILLION-DOLLAR IMPROVEMENTS PROPOSED FOR BAGLEY PARK
Facilities to Include Swimming Pool, Ball Diamonds, Grills and Running Water

Figure 9.7 "$500,000 Bagley Park layout Revealed." *Credit: Atlanta Journal,* November 8, 1953.[45]

Bagley Avenue and Old Decatur Road were never paved and never connected to the municipal water or sewer systems during the years they were occupied by Black residents. After all the Black residents had been evicted and the park called Bagley Park was constructed, Bagley Avenue was renamed Bagley Street. The road that still runs through the park was shifted to the west and paved. The stretch of Old

Decatur Road that ran through what became the park was plowed under and no longer exists, except a small remnant south of the park and a short northern stretch that runs from Pharr Road to East Paces Ferry Road. The relocated Bagley Street is one of two remaining vestiges of the Bagley Park neighborhood, and the other is the cemetery of the Mount Olive Methodist Episcopal Church.

Mount Olive Cemetery

The genealogical research website Findagrave.com documents thirty burials in the Mount Olive Cemetery using death certificates or death notices from newspapers. Documented burials in the cemetery date from 1918 to 1950. An analysis of the people buried in the cemetery is revealing. Several of the documented burials were former slaves. For example, Lulu Williams's obituary listed no age or birth date, but referred to her as "old" and "aged." She had been enslaved by an early Fulton County settler named John Bates and was a member of the Ex-Slave Association. The Mount Olive Methodist Episcopal Church and cemetery date from at least 1870, and there are certainly more former slaves and slave descendants among the seventy or so suspected but undocumented burials there. William A. Bagley was buried at the site in June 1939. Ida and John Bagley are buried there, as well. Several of those buried in the cemetery were children, the youngest being John McClarity Jr., age three weeks. The last documented burial in the Mount Olive Cemetery was Martha C. Davis in September 1950, after the last residents had been evicted from Bagley Park.[46]

Mount Olive Methodist Episcopal Church

In 1952, the Mount Olive Methodist Episcopal Church was sold to the Garden Hills Women's Club, who had the church torn down and replaced with a Garden Hills clubhouse.[47] In 2005, an archaeological survey of the cemetery was conducted. Using ground-penetrating radar (GPR), the survey was able to locate forty-five grave sites of the one hundred-plus believed burials in the cemetery.[48] By the time the survey was conducted, the cemetery had survived decades of vandalism. In 2006, it was sold to a local developer on the steps of the Fulton County Courthouse under an improper tax lien that has been called the result of a 1999 clerical error. The developer filed an application with the City of Atlanta Urban Design Commission to remove the cemetery in 2006. On September 10, 2009, a lawsuit was filed by Elon Butts Osby, the granddaughter of William A. Bagley, and the Buckhead Heritage Society, seeking to prevent the removal of the cemetery and have it permanently protected.[49]

On March 8, 2010, the Atlanta City Council's Community Development Committee voted to oppose the issuance of a permit to remove the graves from Mount Olive Cemetery. On March 15 that year, the Atlanta City Council endorsed the committee's recommendation and voted against issuing a cemetery disturbance permit to the developer.[50]

Wright Mitchell, the President of the Buckhead Heritage Society, summed up the Mount Olive Cemetery issue quite effectively when he noted,

> I think the real story is Fulton County's role in this fiasco. They are to blame for this mess because they 1) never should have taxed the property, as cemeteries are tax exempt; 2)

never should have placed a tax lien on the property and sold it at auction; and 3) should have purchased the property back from the developer when they realized their error.[51]

However, the developer filed a lawsuit against the city over denial of the permit. In October 2010, the Fulton County Superior Court ruled that Mt. Olive is a public cemetery. Therefore, the cemetery's removal is prohibited by Georgia law. According to the court's final order, the developer is barred from disturbing the cemetery and is "prohibited from taking further actions to obtain a permit from the city of Atlanta government that would sanction the disturbance and/or relocation of the Mt. Olive Cemetery."[52]

The Buckhead Heritage Society assumed responsibility for caring for the cemetery, conducting clean-ups and maintaining the remaining tombstones. Unfortunately, the depredation of the cemetery did not stop. In March 2015, vandals knocked over and smashed most of the remaining tombstones.[53]

Seized Land, Wealth, and Opportunities

Over the past eighty years, the value of this land, now owned by the City of Atlanta and one or two private entities, has increased dramatically. Approximately $125,000 was spent in the 1940s to seize the collective body of properties shown in the Fulton County Board of Assessors' parcel maps below (Figures 8 and 9). By 2025, the assessed value of the land exceeds $65,000,000, which, based on Georgia's assessment rate of 40 percent, reflects a fair market value (see Figures 8–10).[54]

One parcel in particular, Parcel ID 170060-LL0028 (see Figure 9.8), contains a portion of the original fifty-eight Bagley Park lots (see Figure 9.3) and alone has an assessed value of $59,865,900 in 2025. Averaged across the fifty-eight original lots, each lot now carries an assessed value of approximately $1,032,170.

For the Bagley family, who originally owned ten lots, including one fronting Pharr Road and others where the Garden Hills clubhouse tennis courts now stand, this represents an immense loss. Had they retained ownership, their family would hold equity worth tens of millions of dollars today. The forced displacement from their homes and community in Buckhead thus reflects not only a profound historical injustice, but also a significant loss of generational wealth.

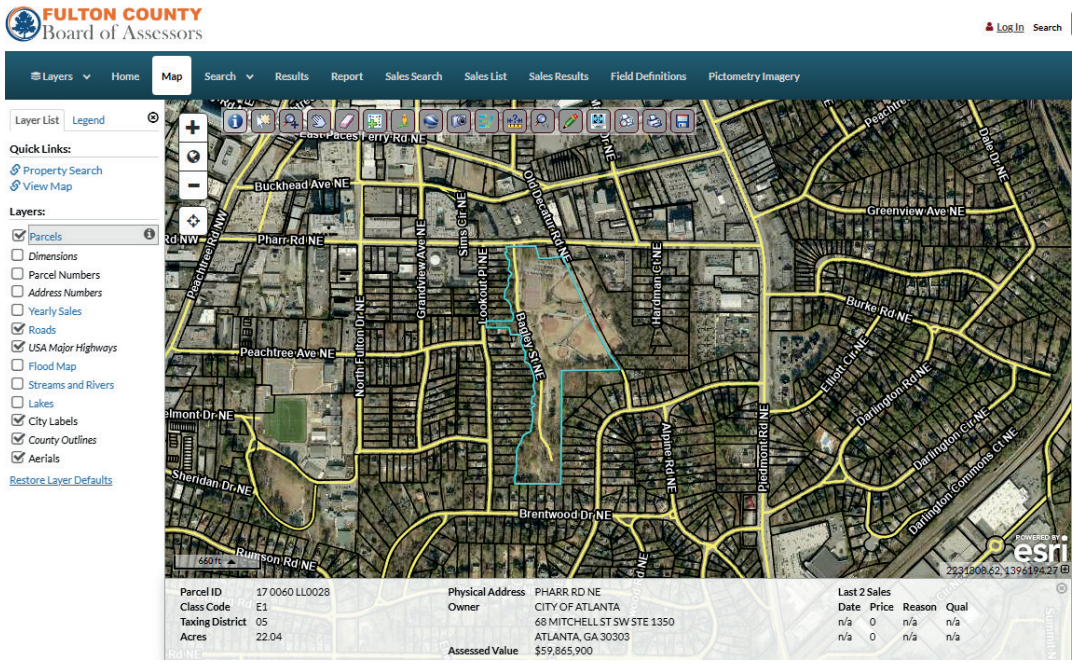


Figure 9.8 Parcel ID 170060-LL0028 and its assessed value of land in 2025, $59,865,900.

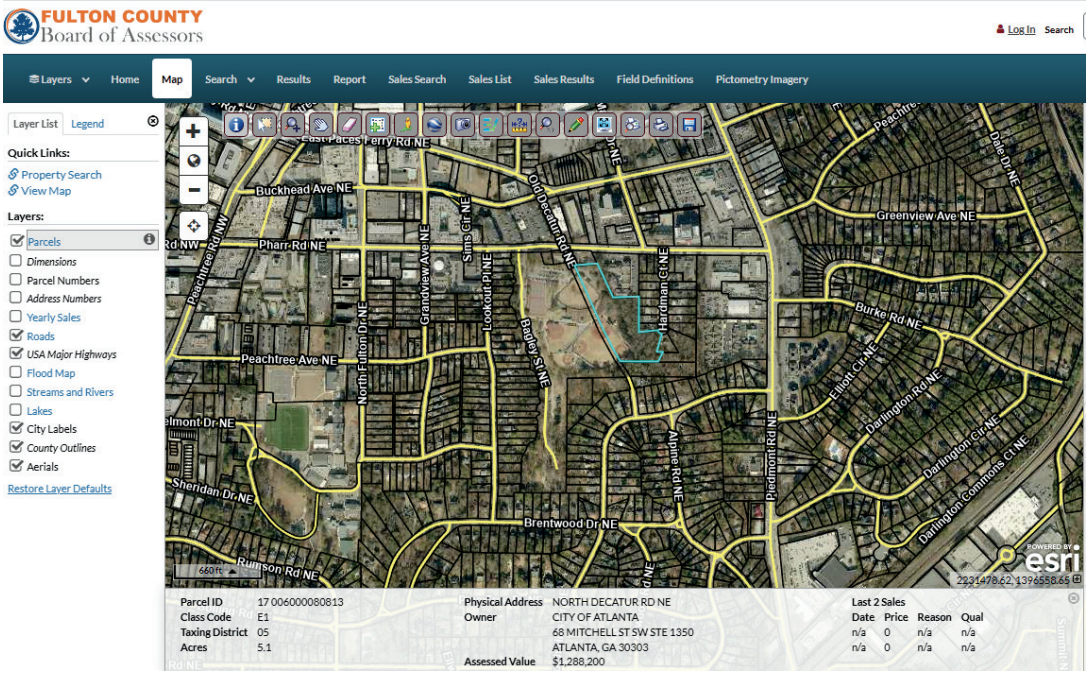
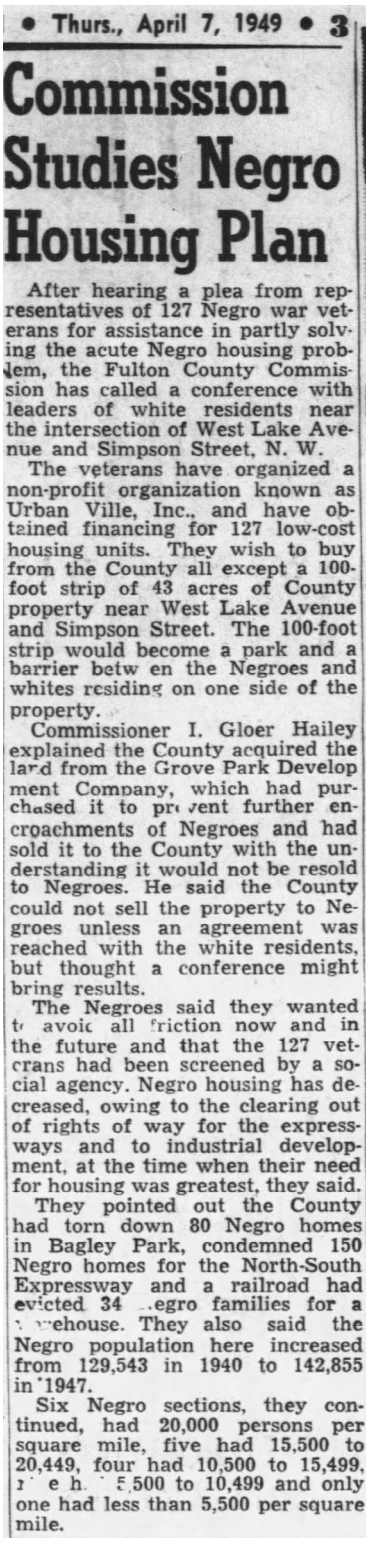


Figure 9.9 Parcel ID 17006000080813 has an assessed value of land in 2025 at $1,288,200 and Parcel ID 17006000080649 (pictured above the lot outlined in green) has an assessed value of land in 2025 at $2,326,500.

The Denial of Black Homeownership by Fulton County Commissioners



• Thurs., April 7, 1949 • 3

Commission Studies Negro Housing Plan

After hearing a plea from representatives of 127 Negro war veterans for assistance in partly solving the acute Negro housing problem, the Fulton County Commission has called a conference with leaders of white residents near the intersection of West Lake Avenue and Simpson Street, N. W.

The veterans have organized a non-profit organization known as Urban Ville, Inc., and have obtained financing for 127 low-cost housing units. They wish to buy from the County all except a 100-foot strip of 43 acres of County property near West Lake Avenue and Simpson Street. The 100-foot strip would become a park and a barrier betw en the Negroes and whites residing on one side of the property.

Commissioner I. Gloer Hailey explained the County acquired the land from the Grove Park Development Company, which had purchased it to prevent further encroachments of Negroes and had sold it to the County with the understanding it would not be resold to Negroes. He said the County could not sell the property to Negroes unless an agreement was reached with the white residents, but thought a conference might bring results.

The Negroes said they wanted to avoid all friction now and in the future and that the 127 veterans had been screened by a social agency. Negro housing has decreased, owing to the clearing out of rights of way for the expressways and to industrial development, at the time when their need for housing was greatest, they said.

They pointed out the County had torn down 80 Negro homes in Bagley Park, condemned 150 Negro homes for the North-South Expressway and a railroad had evicted 34 Negro families for a warehouse. They also said the Negro population here increased from 129,543 in 1940 to 142,855 in 1947.

Six Negro sections, they continued, had 20,000 persons per square mile, five had 15,500 to 20,449, four had 10,500 to 15,499, three had 5,500 to 10,499 and only one had less than 5,500 per square mile.

Figure 9.10 "Commission Studies Negro Housing Plan." *Credit: Atlanta Constitution*, April 7, 1949, p. 3.

At a time when there was a widely acknowledged shortage of housing for Blacks in Atlanta, other Black Fulton County residents beyond Buckhead found difficulty securing home ownership. Many experienced displacement and were subjected to overcrowded and substandard housing. Black residents of Fulton County made multiple pleas to the Board of Commissioners to sell county-owned land to make homeownership possible for them. The county refused.

In April 1949, 127 Black veterans went before the Fulton County Board of Commissioners to ask that their nonprofit, the Urban Ville, be allowed to purchase nearly forty-three acres of county-owned land near the intersection of West Lake Avenue and Simpson Street with financing they had obtained to build 127 housing unit for Blacks. The plans included a 100-foot strip of park land serving as racial buffer between White and Black residents, keeping them in compliance with Jim Crow laws and customs that stemmed from a fear of miscegenation.

In response, the Board of Commissioners convened a meeting with White residents of the area. Commissioner I. Gloer Hailey expressed to other commissioners that Fulton County had purchased the forty-three acre-site "from Grove Park Development Company, who had purchased it to prevent the further encroachment of Negroes and had sold it to the county with the understanding it would not be sold to Negroes." He continued that the property would be sold to Blacks if the veterans' request was agreed upon by the White residents of the area.

The veterans explained the factors that contributed to the housing crisis for Blacks, pointing to the county's history of expelling and demolishing of the nearly eighty Black-owned homes in Bagley Park, condemning 150 Black-owned homes for the north-south expressway and a railroad, and evicting twenty-four Black families for a warehouse. The veterans expressed that the Black population had grown from 129,543 persons in 1940 to 142,855 in 1947. They also noted that Black sections of Fulton County were overpopulated: six had 20,000 persons per square mile; five had between 15,500 and 20,499; four had between 10,500 and 15,499; three had between 5,500 and 10,499; and only one had fewer than 5,500 per square mile.

Their request was denied.

Conclusion

Analysis of Fulton County CR&R meeting minutes, property records, and newspaper coverage demonstrates an explicit racial animus toward the Black residents of Bagley Park. CR&R policies relating to Bagley Park may be at best termed as *calculated neglect*. The term can also be used to describe the CR&R's divergence from the precedent established with White residents around sewage, water, and constituent services, compared to the neglect and harassment of the Bagley Park community. For example, the CR&R issued a directive that residents of Bagley Park install backyard privies and outhouses that were clearly visible to the residents of Garden Hills on the other side of the stream. The view of and smell from the privies most certainly increased Garden Hills residents' resentment and animosity. It should be noted again that the Fulton County Board of Health recommended that the Fulton County Board of Commissioners provide city water and sewage to the residents of Bagley Park, especially

considering the decades of higher property taxes that Black residents of Fulton County paid compared to their White counterparts. Unfortunately, they, too, were ignored. To put it plainly, the spiral of White complaints and ineffective responses to the directives and decisions made by the Fulton County CR&R left the residents of Bagley Park powerless to stop the ultimate decision to condemn their entire community for a park that Blacks would be denied access to.

On February 26, 1949, Ralph McGill wrote an editorial, "Some suggestions about Negro housing," which discussed the Blacks' growing difficulty in finding housing. The problem, he wrote, was exacerbated by the clearing of Black housing areas, including Bagley Park. The irony is that the housing built along Bagley Avenue was originally set aside specifically to provide an area where Blacks could buy and build homes.[55]

Endnotes

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[26] Fulton County Board of Commissioners for Roads and Revenue, Minutes, January 3, 1945.

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[55] *Atlanta Constitution*, February 26, 1949, p. 4.

Chapter Ten

Inking the Color-Line: Marriage Records That Policed Love and Personal Freedom—Tangible Evidence of Segregation in Fulton County

Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD

"The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line. . . And thus in the Land of the Color-line I saw, as it fell across my baby, the shadow of the Veil."

—W. E. B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk

In the Fulton County Probate Court's Records Division lies tangible evidence of personal freedom denied: the right to form relationships, to love, to marry, and to build families. The marriage books, composed of bound volumes, stamped "Marriage Record White" and "Marriage Record Colored," catalog the county's marriages and reveal how local recordkeeping both mirrored and enforced a system that blocked interracial unions, policed the "amalgamation of the races," and kept certain rights, privileges, and resources exclusive to White families for more than a century.[1]

Writing the Color-Line in Law, Inking the Color-Line

Georgia wrote race into marriage law, and Fulton County inked the color-line in daily practice. From the enactment of Irwin's Code in 1861 to the 1933 Georgia Code, the state established a series of statutes that criminalized marriage, cohabitation, or intimacy between Whites and those classified as Black, Mulatto, or Colored. These legal frameworks entrenched racial barriers, declaring interracial relationships illegal and perpetuating a system of inequality.[2]

After the Reconstruction era, the 1877 Georgia Constitution and subsequent laws further established a racial hierarchy. These laws not only criminalized interracial relationships—including fornication, adultery, and cohabitation—but expanded the state's definitions of race, integrating them into family law and the administration of vital statistics. Georgia was no longer a society of free Whites and enslaved Blacks; lawmakers sought to strengthen racial distinctions to control access to financial resources, opportunities, and civil liberties and to determine who had access to "Whiteness."

Fearing Blacks' entry into the White world, lawmakers became preoccupied with the idea of miscegenation (sexual relations or marriage between people classified as different "races"). They developed a system to manage social status and procedural regulations and monitor racial identity. They determined who could marry whom, established the process for issuing marriage licenses, and regulated how racial identities were recorded and surveilled. Together, these elements reinforced White racial domination in everyday life.[3]

By the early twentieth century, Georgia's codified structure made miscegenation a felony and declared

interracial marriages void. Penalties were attached to every actor involved in such unions: The couple who dared to marry faced a felony (typically one to two years on the chain gang); the ordinary or clerk who issued the license faced a misdemeanor; the minister who performed the ceremony faced a misdemeanor; and false statements about race invited perjury charges.[4]



Figure 10.1 Fulton County Court of Ordinary marriage ledgers, segregated by race.
Credit: Courtesy of Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, Ph.D.

The state required the Board of Health to record the race of married couples. From 1875 to 1876, marriage returns included a "color" column. In 1924, Georgia formalized the sworn marriage application, requiring applicants to answer a series of identity questions under oath, explicitly including the options "White" or "Colored." This intrusive process was a clear indication of the state's efforts to categorize and control its citizens based on race.[5]

Then, in 1927, legislators introduced a racial registration system (later codified as Chapter 53-3) to prevent marriages between White individuals and people of color. This statute ordered the Board of Health to create detailed forms for mandatory registration of the racial composition of parents and their ancestors. It included penalties and provisions for state investigations of questionable birth records. Although the law was never funded and ultimately deemed ineffective, it remained in place until a statutory cleanup in 1979 repealed both this registration system and related miscegenation laws.[6]

Inscribing the Color-Line at Birth: Vital Records

Birth registrations were initially handled at the county level, making local registrars the frontline for recording race on official birth certificates.[7] In Fulton County, the local registrar, known as the Fulton County Board of Health (Office of Vital Records), received birth data from hospitals, midwives, or parents; recorded the details, including race; and forwarded the certificates to the State Office of Vital Records.[8] In 1927, the General Assembly transformed this administrative role into an enforcement mechanism. The State Board of Health was ordered to oversee mandatory registration concerning racial composition, and the attorney general was explicitly authorized to investigate any birth certificates recording the legitimate birth of a child to parents "one [of] whom is White and one whom is colored." This legislation also threatened imprisonment for "false registration," creating a constant threat of state scrutiny for interracial families.[9]

The Board of Health played a crucial role in enforcing racial distinctions through its meticulous recordkeeping practices. By classifying race at birth, the board established a permanent system that institutionalized race as an *inherited caste*, dictating individuals' life trajectories from their earliest moments.[10] This classification restricted the freedoms of Black individuals while granting privileges to White individuals from birth.[11] The board's classification created barriers affecting where Black individuals could live, learn, and work. These records served as instruments of oppression, ensuring that Black families remained marginalized and segregated.[12] The implications were severe, as racial identification determined access to fundamental rights, including voting, dining, hospitalization, and even burial.[13]

Race became a fundamental aspect of a caste system, tracing a line of oppression that Black individuals could not escape from birth to death. Far from mere recordkeeping, this practice functioned as a fear tactic aimed at suppressing miscegenation and punishing all parties involved. White offenders faced penalties for violating established customs, while Black offenders encountered repercussions for daring to cross racial boundaries. The threat of investigation, punishment, and social shame deterred many from recording their unions, denying couples and their children a clear path to dignity, civic standing, and recognized property and inheritance rights. In the eyes of officials, biracial children represented a

potential blurring of the color-line and a challenge to the myth of racial superiority. Rooted in eugenics, the registration scheme aimed to fix racial status in law, monitor households, and discipline those who defied its segregationist creed.[14]

Beyond formal statutes, Whites upheld an unwritten social covenant of racial purity, enforced through communal ostracism and the loss of "White" privileges.[15] This extralegal social covenant operated as a shared agreement among Whites to maintain a race free of African blood. These norms, although not codified in law, held immense power as communities punished those who defied them. Individuals who crossed the color-line faced the risk of banishment or expulsion from social and civic circles, including religious congregations, workplaces, and neighborhoods.[16]

Licensing the Color-Line: Probate Enforcement of State Law

At the Fulton County Probate's Office, clerks ensured that marriage licenses were issued only to couples of the same race and that recordings of those marriages were listed on paper only among those of the same race. Ledgers were segregated into "White" and "Colored" series. Clerks also made certain that interracial couples were denied a license to marry, and when their union was refused, couples were vulnerable to prosecution for "illegal cohabitation" or "illicit intercourse." Atlanta supplied early examples.

In July 1870, Atlanta police arrested Eveline Winn (White) and Nelson Goldsmith (Black) for "living together as man and wife." The city court imposed unequal fines: $10 plus costs for Goldsmith and $5 plus costs for Winn. They were both warned that failure to pay would mean "several months" on the chain gang. Even when officials labeled the offense "cohabitation" rather than "miscegenation," the message was the same: Interracial couples could be seized, fined, and jailed.[17]

Two years later, enforcement tightened its grip. On March 26, 1872, a Justice's Court arrested William Henry (Black) and Fannie Sockwell (White) "on the charge of miscegenation" after they had lived together for two years as husband and wife.[18] Publicly shamed when their names were placed in the *Weekly Constitution*, they told the justice they had been "regularly married" by a minister on a license issued by the Fulton County Ordinary. Once the "deception" was discovered, the minister tore up the license. In the Fulton County Superior Court, prosecutors shifted to the crime of fornication, and the sentences made the penalty unmistakable: Henry was jailed for twelve months on the chain gang; Sockwell was jailed for six months; and the marriage was nullified. Here, the county's paperwork converted social taboo into incarceration and forced labor.[19]

The Goldsmith–Winn and Henry–Sockwell cases illustrate how, in 1870s Atlanta, Fulton County officials and courts criminalized interracial relationships. Punishment for violating anti-miscegenation laws was severe for couples involved in relationships of any sort. Fines quickly escalated, leading to severe penalties that included imprisonment or forced labor on chain gangs. Moreover, even when couples managed to obtain a marriage license, their unions were annulled, resulting in further punishment. The county's systematic approach to licensing, charging, and sentencing makes the experience of imprisonment starkly evident in the historical records.

The Conquest Machine: How Ideology, Paperwork, and Force Make Race & Caste

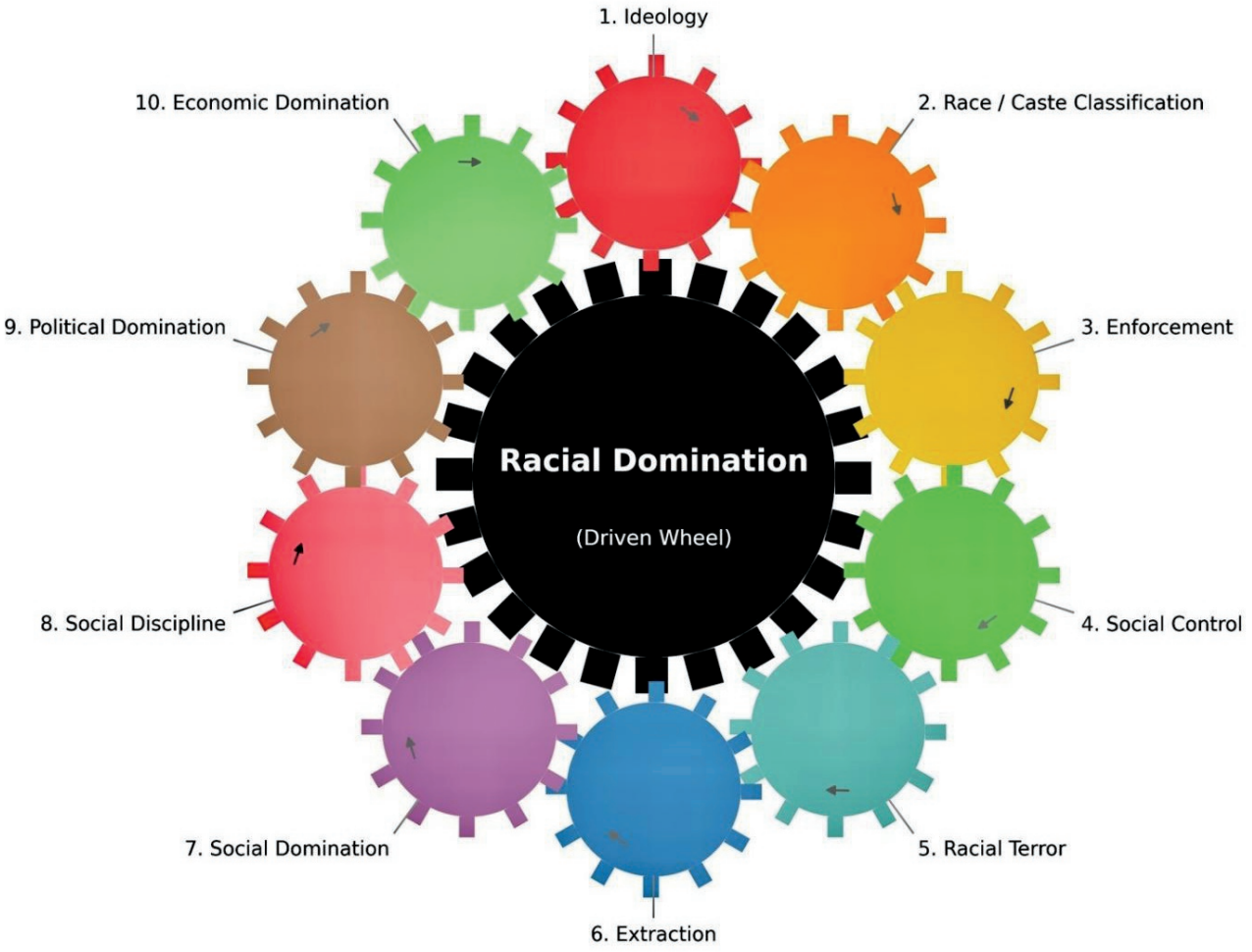


Figure 10.2 "The Conquest Machine," conceptualized by Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD, illustrating how interconnected ideological, legal, social, and economic mechanisms operate collectively to sustain racial domination.

The Conquest Machine, illustrated in Figure 10.2, creates a lie and sells fear of racial inferiority and domination (ideology) to recruit the many (social domination), codifies that lie in law (political domination), and converts it into unequal wealth (economic domination)—with classification, enforcement, social control, racial terror, and extraction doing the day-to-day work—so that a minority of architects and beneficiaries become the profiteers of racism while the majority of Whites are taught to police the color-line. Ultimately, belief in the ideology of White supremacy is the fuel that keeps the machine running on autopilot. Rejecting that belief starves the machine and renders it inoperable.

Applying the Machine to Interracial Marriage (Anti-Miscegenation Ideology)

Ideology (White supremacy, anti-miscegenation, racial purity, and protection of White womanhood) → **Classification** (including race on marriage licenses and birth certificates) → **Enforcement** (license

denials, clerks' refusals, prosecutions) → **Social control** (ostracism, surveillance, etiquette) → **Racial terror** (lynching and other forms of violence) → **Extraction** (fines, court costs, chain-gang sentences) → **Social domination** (community gatekeeping, access to rights, resources, opportunities, and spaces for Whites only) → **Social discipline** (couples conceal or avoid licenses, self-policing to avoid harm) → **Political domination** (investigations, sheriffs, laws, courts) → **Economic domination** (denial of marriage and property rights, architects and profiteers of caste maintain access and control of financial resources while encouraging masses to police the color-line).

Policing Intimacy to Protect White Womanhood

Fears around interracial intimacy were never about morals. These obsessions about race mixing upheld a racial order centered on the presumed "protection" of White womanhood. At the turn of the twentieth century, government officials, newspapers, and even motion pictures cast Black men as threats to White women. Ida B. Wells spent a significant portion of her journalism career debunking those claims. Carried from newspapers to courtrooms, the "Black male threat" script licensed punishment against interracial couples ranging from fines and jail to forced labor and lynching. In Atlanta during the 1906 gubernatorial election cycle, sensational stories about alleged assaults on White women by Black men ignited the three-day Atlanta Race Riot, carried out by White mobs attacking Blacks in the downtown district. The violence shamed couples, warned against intimacy across race, and affirmed White supremacy and the segregation it demanded. After the election, the same logic produced new tools of exclusion, including an amendment to the Georgia Constitution disenfranchising Black men.

If anti-miscegenation laws were not enough to suppress interracial relationships, racial terror drove the point home. Across the United States, lynching functioned as a public ritual of White supremacy that claimed to defend White women's virtue, which needed to be protected by White men. On rumors or manufactured charges, hundreds of Black men and boys were accused of sexual offences toward White women and girls and publicly hanged, burned, shot, and mutilated by vigilantes.[20] By contrast, sexual advances made by White men and boys toward Black women and girls were rarely, if ever, investigated, punished, or taken up in the same manner by Black community members. The Atlanta Race Riot and the noose worked together to police intimacy, enforce separation, and render love dangerous and disgraceful, rather than a private choice.[21]

Crossing the Color-Line

The ideology of White supremacy was styled as public order and became part of the routine bureaucracy in which marriage licenses were denied, ceremonies refused, and households criminalized. In lockstep, the Fulton County Probate Office and its recordkeeping were arranged to forbid residents from crossing the color-line.[22]

The Supreme Court's decision in *Loving v. Virginia* (1967) officially ended the ban on interracial marriages, but Georgia's opposition to interracial marriages did not end in 1967. State and local compliance remained slow. Despite opposition from clerks, two interracial couples successfully applied for mar-

riage licenses from the Fulton County Probate Office in 1970 and 1971. One hundred years after the Goldsmith–Winn and Henry–Sockwell cases, Joseph Carpenter and Sallie Mitchell were the first interracial couple to receive a marriage license from Fulton County.[23] They married in Decatur, Georgia, on April 4, 1970, the second anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination.[24] Upon being issued the license, a clerk said, "You know that y'all ain't supposed to get married, don't you?"[25]

The following year, Betty Byrom and John Sanford had to bring in the U.S. Justice Department to be granted a marriage license. The couple was married on May 8, 1971, at Danforth Chapel on the campus of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. The license the couple received from Gwinnett County arrived nearly three weeks after their ceremony was performed.[26] It was not until 1979 that the General Assembly removed the race-based marriage provisions and penalties from the legal code. The gap between the Supreme Court ruling and everyday practice is evident in the paperwork from Fulton County.[27]

Conclusion: Paperwork as Proof

The marriage volumes of the Fulton County Probate Office serve as evidence that anti-miscegenation laws had real implications for daily life. These records illustrate how paper, ink, and procedural practices governed relationships and personal freedoms in both public (licensing, records) and private (home life) contexts. By prohibiting interracial marriages and denying certain unions official documentation, Fulton County officials effectively stripped couples—and their children—of essential legal rights associated with marriage, including dignity, legitimacy, property, inheritance, insurance, and civic status.

The result, intended and achieved, preserved White dominance and enforced a segregated order built on the myth of "racial purity." Ledger-bound evidence in the Probate Office, located in Fulton County's own archives, demonstrates how Jim Crow laws were translated into local practice. The documentary residue—the books, forms, and court notes—is devastatingly eloquent: It reveals a government so committed to the segregation of the races that even papers containing the words *White* and *Colored* had to be segregated. It reveals not just procedures, but the denial of personal freedoms—the freedom to love, to marry, to create a family, and to provide protection and security for a household. The segregated marriage books inventory the labor of ordinary officials enlisted to guard a racial order, and they expose, in their very structure, the fiction of racial superiority that Fulton County helped maintain.

Endnotes

1 For more information on the 1927 act codified as Chapter 53-3, described in 1974 as a "dead letter," and its 1979 repeal, along with related provisions, see "Documenting Marriages in Georgia: Colonial Period through the 20th Century," Georgia Archives, pp. 11–12, accessed November 7, 2025, https://www.georgiaarchives.org/assets/documents/research/Documenting_Marriages_in_Georgia_4-19-2018.pdf.

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3 For more on post-Reconstruction legislative developments that defined race and were administered through family law and vital statistics, see "Documenting Marriages in Georgia," pp. 10–12.

4 "Brief of NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. as Amicus Curiae," lists Georgia's §53-106 (prohibiting miscegenation) and §53-9903 (proscribing it as a felony, punishable by 1 to 2 years in prison). See also "Documenting Marriages in Georgia, pp. 8–12, on county licensing practices and misdemeanor liability for officials/ministerial acts; O.C.G.A. § 19-3-47 (false statements in connection with a marriage license) (as published on Justia Law); O.C.G.A. § 31-10-31 (vital records—offenses and penalties, including willful falsification) (as published on Justia Law).

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9 See "Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia 1927 [Volume 1]," Digital Library of Georgia, accessed November 7, 2025, https://dlg.usg.edu/record/dlg_zlgl_152534539#text, pp. 272–79, which enacted "Registration of Individuals as to Race," or mandatory registration "as to racial composition," Attorney General investigation of any certificate showing birth to parents "one of whom is White and one of whom is colored," and penalties for "false registration." This was codified as Code of 1933, Chapter 53-3 (see § 53-314, "Birth—White and Colored Parent"). For a concise summary with quoted phrasing and the repeal note, see "Documenting Marriages in Georgia," p. 11.

10 See Ga. Code Ann. § 31-10-6, describing duties of local registrars to collect, review, and submit vital records; Georgia Department of Public Health, "Rules of the Department of Public Health 511-1-3-.38, Transmittal of Certificates and Reports," requiring local registrars to transmit certificates to the State Office of Vital Records; Georgia DPH, "Birth Records," noting statewide registration begins in January 1919.

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[22] "Documenting Marriages in Georgia," pp. 2–3, 8–10.

[23] Bo Emerson, "Even When Interracial Marriage Was Against Georgia Law, Mixed-Race Couples Married." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, April 2, 2021, accessed November 7, 2025, https://www.ajc.com/life/even-when-interracial-marriage-was-against-georgia-law-mixed-race-couples-married/OMEGBSG3QNHOHLWK3YSHWSUZTA/.

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[25] Emerson, "Even When Interracial Marriage Was Against Georgia Law, Mixed-Race Couples Married."

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Chapter Eleven

The Arrest and Conviction of Angelo Herndon by Fulton County Authorities, 1933: A Nineteen-Year-Old Organizer of One Thousand Black and White Unemployed Workers

Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD

"You may succeed in killing one, two, even a score of working-class organizers. But you cannot kill the working class."

Angelo Herndon, Fulton County Superior Court, January 16, 1933

ABSTRACT

On July 11, 1932, Angelo Herndon, a nineteen-year-old labor leader, was arrested and convicted of insurrection after organizing a peaceful demonstration of nearly one thousand Black and White unemployed workers before the Fulton County Courthouse steps, demanding relief for starving families. Herndon led the biracial body of workers into the courthouse, where they waited to hear from members of the Fulton County Board of Commissioners. After waiting thirty minutes, Commissioner Walter Stewart employed the old tactic of divide and conquer. He invited only Whites into his office and excluded Herndon and Black demonstrators. The next day, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners approved issuing $6,000 of relief aid to those who were out of work. The victory, unfortunately, was short-lived.[1]

Fulton County officials wanted to destroy, once and for all, the growing, organized efforts of working-class Blacks and Whites advocating for fair wages and humane labor practices in Atlanta, Georgia. To suppress these efforts, state and local governments resorted to the courts to punish and make examples of those individuals disrupting the social order that allowed Whites to feel superior to all, no matter how impoverished they were.

In 1916, prosecutors cited an 1863 insurrection statute, initially to punish William Pollard, a White organizer of the Atlanta's streetcar workers' strike.[2] In 1930, Fulton County Solicitor General (the position now called District Attorney) John A. Boykin resuscitated the 1863 law following the arrest of the "Atlanta Six": two White women, two white men, and two Black men. The six labor organizers were charged with insurrection and faced the death penalty for organizing Black and White workers. If found guilty, they were to die in the electric chair at the Fulton County jail, which stopped hanging prisoners in 1924.[3] Meanwhile, the Order of Black Shirts and the American Fascist Association, with a membership of 21,000 in 1930, were allowed to parade in Atlanta, threaten employers, and "run all the Negroes out of their jobs and give them to white people," according to *Time*.[4]

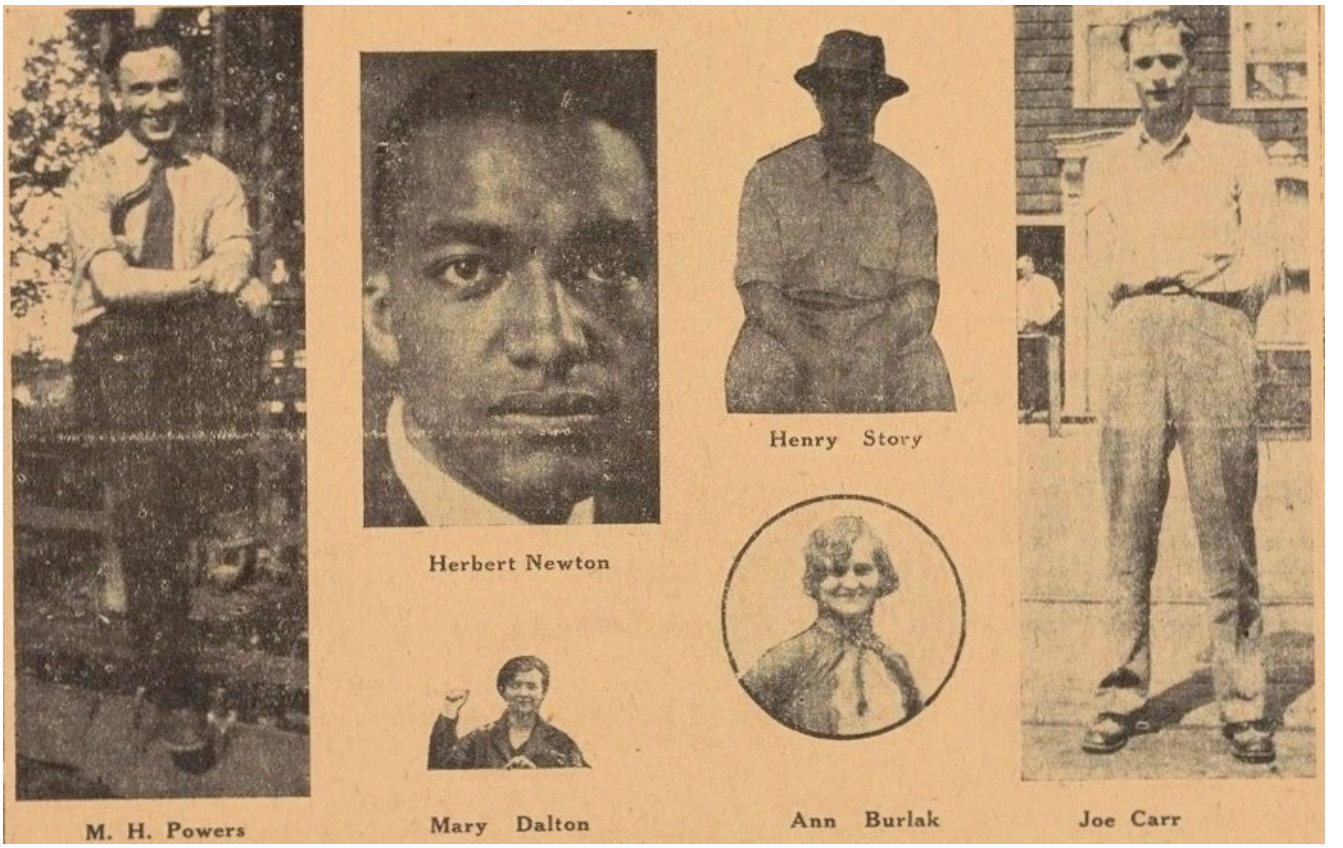


Figure 11.1: News article about the Atlanta Six. Credit: "Workers Must Save Six Organizers from Atlanta Electric Chair," Southern Worker, October 25, 1930. https://www. marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/southernworker/v1n10-oct-25-1930-sw.pdf

Herndon was unaware that he was under surveillance. Less than two weeks after the July 1932 Fulton County Courthouse demonstration, he was retrieving his mail from a post office in downtown Atlanta when he was surrounded and arrested by police. According to Herndon, Fulton County Assistant Solicitor John Hudson referenced an 1861 slave statute to charge him with insurrection and distributing insurrection literature, which could be found at the public library.[5]

The statute read,

> If any person be in any manner instrumental in bringing, introducing or circulating within the state any printed or written paper, pamphlet, or circular for the purpose of exciting insurrection, revolt, conspiracy or resistance on the part of slaves, Negroes or free persons of color in this state he shall be guilty of high misdemeanor which is punishable by death.[6]

Herndon was seventeen years old when he joined the Communist Party. He left his home state of Ohio at the age of fourteen to work in the coal mines of Kentucky, as other "miners' kids" did. Barely pocketing $10 a week after lodging, insurance, and mining materials were deducted from earnings, in 1930, he resettled in Birmingham, Alabama, only to be paid less ($2.78 a day) and exploited more than before. He worked for rubber, coal mine, steel mill, concrete, and railroad companies, and it was there that he was introduced to communism. Impressed by the party's commitment to interracial unity, he worked for the local Unemployment Council and the International Labor Defense (ILD), which sought justice for the Atlanta Six and the nine Scottsboro defendants wrongfully accused of raping two White women on a train in Alabama. [7]

Herndon was assigned to work for the Unemployment Council of Atlanta. While in the city, he was to distribute leaflets and assist Black and White unemployed workers in receiving unemployment relief and insurance. According to Herndon, more than 25,000 out-of-work laborers were denied relief by the municipal government, Relief Agencies of the City of Atlanta, and Fulton County Board of Commissioners.[8] Meanwhile, the Order of Black Shirts and American Fascist Association with a member of 21,000 in 1920 were allowed to parade Atlanta to "run all the Negroes out of their jobs and give them to white people."[9]

Herndon's arrest caught nationwide media attention and advocacy. As with the Atlanta Six and the Scottsboro men, Herndon accepted legal representation from the ILD, which hired two young Black attorneys, Benjamin J. Davis Jr. and John H. Geer, to represent him. His trial became one of the most publicized cases of 1933, and Herndon was found guilty by an all-White jury. The prosecuting attorney pushed for death by electrocution, but the jury showed mercy, reducing Herndon's sentence to eighteen to twenty years of hard labor on a chain gang.[10]

Herndon's case was appealed multiple times, and after a four-year legal battle, the US Supreme Court overturned his conviction, ruling the Georgia insurrection statute was unconstitutional and violated the First Amendment.[11] Herndon's legal victory enforced citizens' rights to free speech and assembly and to engage in peaceful protest.

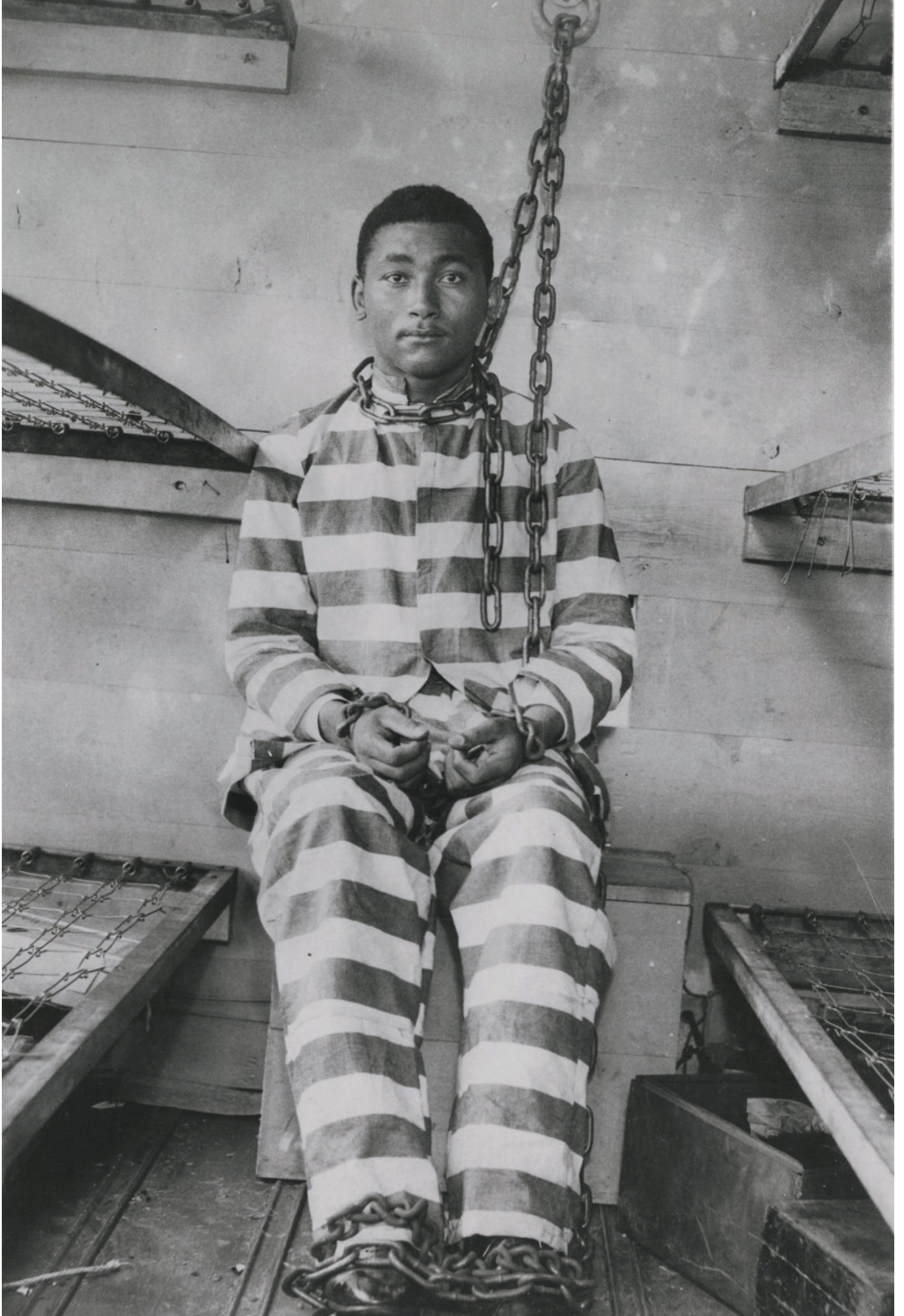
However, a victory was also won for disruptors of the interracial labor movement in Atlanta, which was dismantled by the Fulton County Courts. Prosecutors' pursuit of labor organizers, along with intimidation and violent acts committed by terrorist groups against Black and White workers, gave industrialists protection to exploit the laboring class.

The Atlanta Six never went to trial, and charges were dropped in 1939. The ILD disbanded in 1949 by merging with the Civil Rights Congress. Labeled as subversive organization by the US Attorney General, it became defunct by the mid-1950s.

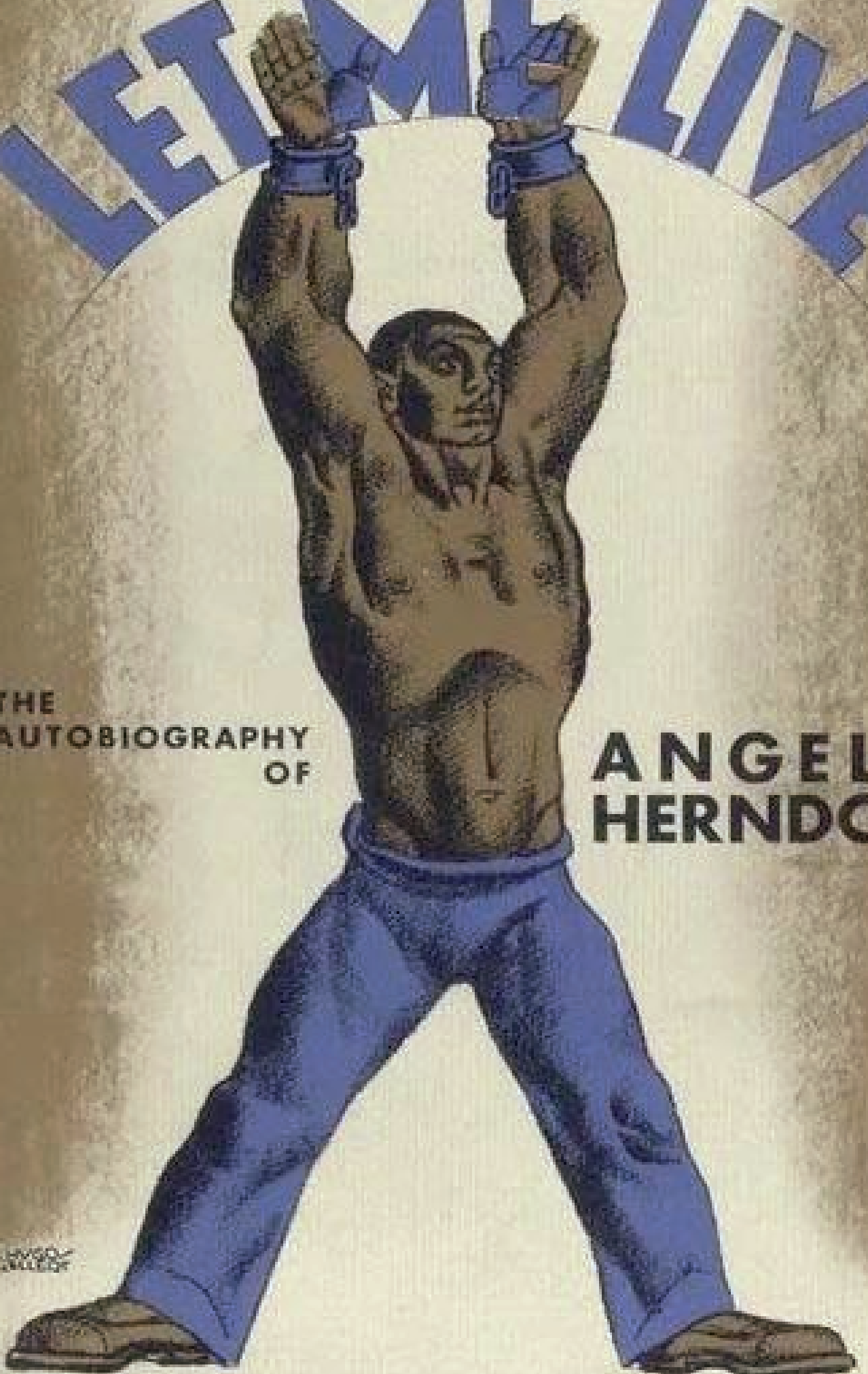
Note: The following is an excerpt from Angelo Herndon's autobiography, *Let Me Live*, which he wrote while detained in the Fulton County jail and the Georgia State Penitentiary in Reidsville. It contains his testimony given before jurors in a packed Fulton County courtroom. Herndon's life as a labor organizer and writer continued for another decade before he left the Communist Party. He worked as a salesman later in life and died in 1997.[12]

Figure 11.2: Nineteen-year-old Angelo Herndon photographed in Fulton Towers or the Georgia Penitentiary in Reidsville, Georgia. *Credit:* Courtesy of the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Library.

Figure 11.3: Jacket cover of *Let Me Live: The Autobiography of Angelo Herndon*, by Angelo Herndon. *Credit:* Random House, 1937.



LET ME LIVE



THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF

ANGELO HERNDON

Angelo Herndon's Speech to the Jury[13]

Angelo Herndon

Gentlemen of the Jury: I would like to explain in detail the nature of my case and the reason why I was locked up. I recall back about the middle of June 1932, when the Relief Agencies of the City of Atlanta, the County Commission and the city government as a whole, were cutting both Negro and white workers off relief. We all know that there were citizens who suffered from unemployment. There were hundreds and thousands of Negroes and whites who were each day looking for work, but in those days there was no work to be found.

The Unemployment Council, which has connection with the Unemployed Committees of the United States, after 23,000 families had been dropped from the relief rolls, started to organize the Negro and white workers of Atlanta on the same basis, because we know that their interests are the same. The Unemployment Council understood that in order to get relief, both races would have to organize together and forget about the question whether those born with a white skin are "superior" and those born with a black skin are "inferior." They both were starving, and the capitalist class would continue to use this weapon to keep them further divided. The policy of the Unemployment Council is to organize Negroes and whites together on the basis of fighting for unemployment relief and unemployment insurance at the expense of the state. The Unemployment Council of Atlanta issued those leaflets after the relief had been cut off, which meant starvation for thousands of people here in Atlanta. The leaflets called upon the Negro and white workers to attend a meeting at the courthouse building on a Thursday morning. I forget the exact date. This action was initiated as the result of statements handed out to the local press by County Commissioners who said that there was nobody in the City of Atlanta starving, and if there were, those in need should come to the offices of the Commissioners and the matter would be looked into. That statement was made by Commissioner Hendrix.

The Unemployment Council pointed out in its circulars that there were thousands of unemployed workers in the City of Atlanta who faced hunger and starvation. Therefore, they were called upon to demonstrate in this courthouse building, about the middle part of June. When the Committee came down to the courthouse, it so happened that Commissioner Hendrix was not present that morning. There were unemployed white women with their babies almost naked and without shoes to go on their feet, and there were also Negro women with their little babies actually starving for the need of proper nourishment, which had been denied them by the County of Fulton and State of Georgia and City of Atlanta as well.

Well, the Negro and white workers came down to the Commissioners' office to show that there was starvation in the City of Atlanta and that they were in actual need of food and proper nourishment for their kids, which they never did receive. I think Commissioner Stewart was in the office at that time. The white workers were taken into his room and the Negroes had the door shut in their faces. This was done with the hope of creating racial animosity in order that they would be able to block the fight that the Negro and white workers were carrying on—a determined fight to get relief. The white workers were told: well, the county hasn't any money, and of course, you realize the depression and all that but

we haven't got the money." We knew that the county did have money, but were using it for their own interest, and not for the interest of the Negro workers or white workers, either way. They talked to the white workers some considerable time, but when the white workers came out, they had just about as much results as the Negroes did—only a lot of hot air blown over them by the Commissioners, which didn't put any shoes on their little babies' feet and no milk in their stomachs to give them proper nourishment. No one disputed the fact they did keep the Negroes on the outside, but the white workers were in the same condition that their Negro brothers were in. In spite of the fact that the County Commissioners had published statements to the effect that there was no money in the county treasury to provide unemployment relief for the Negro and white workers, still the next day after the demonstration the County Commissioners voted $6,000 for relief, mainly because it was shown that for the first time in the history of Atlanta and the State of Georgia, Negro and white workers did join together and did go to the Commissioners and demand unemployment insurance. Have not they worked in the City of Atlanta, in different industries, different shops and other industrial concerns located in Atlanta for all their years, doing this work, building up the city where it is at the present time? And now, when they were in actual need of food to hold their bodies together, and when they came before the state and county officials to demand something to hold their bodies together, they were denied it. The policy of the Unemployment Council is to organize these workers and demand those filings that are denied them. They have worked as slaves, and are entitled to a decent living standard. And, of course, the workers will get it if you ever organize them.

After the successful demonstration, the solicitor's office had two detectives stationed at the post office to arrest anyone who came to take mail out of box 339. On Monday, July 11,1932, I went to the post office to get mail from this box and was arrested by detectives, Mr. Watson and Mr. Chester. I had organized unemployed workers, Negro and white, of Atlanta, and forced the County Commissioners to lack in $6,000 for unemployment relief. For this I was locked up in the station house and held eleven days without even any kind of charges booked against me. I was told at the station house that I was being held on "suspicion." Of course, they knew what the charges were going to be, but in order to hold me in jail and give me the dirtiest land of inhuman treatment that one could describe, they held me there eleven days without any charge whatsoever until my attorney filed a writ of habeas corpus demanding that they place charges against me or turn me loose. It was about the 22nd of July, and I still hadn't been indicted; there had been three sessions of the grand jury, and my case had been up before them each time, but still there was no indictment. This was a deliberate plot to hold me in jail. At the habeas corpus hearing, the judge ordered that if I wasn't indicted by the next day by 2:30, I should be released. Solicitor Hudson assured the judge that there would be an indictment, which, of course, there was. Ever since then I have been cooped up in Fulton County Tower, where I have spent close to six months—I think the exact time was five months and three weeks. But I want to describe some of the horrible experiences that I had in Fulton Tower. I was placed in a little cell there with a dead body and forced to live there with the dead body because I couldn't get out of the place. The man's name was William Wilson, who fought in the Spanish-American war for the American principles as we usually call it. He was there on a charge of alimony. His death came as a result of the rotten food given to all prisoners, and for the want of medical attention. The county physician simply refused to

give this man any land of attention whatsoever. After three days of illness, he died, and I was forced to live there with him until the undertaker came and got him. These are just some of the things that I experienced in jail. I was also sick myself. I could not eat the food they gave me as well as hundreds of other prisoners. For instance, they give you peas and beans for one dinner, and at times you probably get the same thing three times a week. You will find rocks in it, and when you crack down on it with your teeth, you don't know what it is, and you spit it out and there it is. They have turnip greens, and just as they are pulled up out of the ground and put in the pot, with sand rocks and everything else. But that's what you have to eat, otherwise you don't live. For breakfast they feed grits that look as if they were baked instead of boiled, a little streak of grease running through them, about two strips of greasy fatback. That is the main prison fare, and you eat it or else die from starvation. I was forced to go through all of this for five months without a trial. My lawyers demanded a trial time after time, but somehow the state would always find a reason to postpone it.

They knew that the workers of Atlanta were starving, and by arresting Angelo Herndon on a charge of attempting to incite insurrection the unity of Negro and white workers that was displayed in the demonstration that forced the County Commissioners to lack in with $6,000 would be crushed forever. They locked Angelo Herndon up on such charges. But I can say this quite clearly, if the State of Georgia and the City of Atlanta think that by locking up Angelo Herndon, the question of unemployment will be solved, I say you are deadly wrong. If you really want to do anything about the case, you must go out and indict the social system. I am sure that if you would do this, Angelo Herndon would not be on trial here today, but those who are really guilty of insurrection would be here in my stead. But this you will not do, for your role is to defend the system under which the toiling masses are robbed and oppressed. There are thousands of Negroes and white workers who, because of unemployment and hunger, are organizing. If the state wants to break up this organization, it cannot do it by arresting people and placing them on trial for insurrection, insurrection laws will not fill empty stomachs. Give the people bread. The officials knew then that the workers were in need of relief, and they know now that the workers are going to organize and get relief.

After being confined in jail for the long period of time that I have already mentioned, I was sick for several weeks. I asked for aid from the county physician and was refused that; the physician came and looked through the bars at me and said, "What's the matter with you?" I told him, "I'm sick, can't swallow water, my chest up here is tight and my stomach absolutely out of order, seems as if I am suffering with ulcers or something." He would answer; "Oh, there's nothing the matter with you, you're all right." I explained: "I know my condition. I know how I'm feeling." He said: 'You will be all right." Through friends I was able to get some medicine; otherwise I would have died.

On Christmas Eve I was released. My bail was once $3,000 but they raised it to $5,000 and from that up to $25,000, just in order to hold me in jail, but you can hold this Angelo Herndon and hundreds of others, but it will never stop these demonstrations on the part of Negro and white workers, who demand a decent place to live in and proper food for their kids to eat.

I want to say also that the policy of the Unemployment Council is to carry on a constant fight for the

rights of the Negro people. We realize that unless Negro and white workers are united together, they cannot get relief. The capitalist class teaches race hatred to Negro and white workers and keep it going all the time, tit for tat, the white worker running after the Negro worker and the Negro worker running after the white worker, and the capitalist becomes the exploiter and the robber of them both. We of the Unemployment Council are out to expose such things. If there were not any Negroes in the United States, somebody would have to be used as the scapegoat. There would still be a racial question, probably the Jews, or the Greeks, or somebody. It is in the interest of the capitalist to play one race against the other, so greater profits can be realized from the working people of all races. It so happens that the Negro's skin is black, therefore making it much easier for him to be singled out and used as the scapegoat.

I don't have to go so far into my case, no doubt some of you jurymen sitting over there in that box right now are unemployed and realize what it means to be without a job, when you tramp the streets day in and day out looking for work and can't find it. You know it is a very serious problem and the future looks so dim that you sometimes don't know what to do, you go nuts and want to commit suicide or something. But the Unemployment Council points out to the Negro and white workers that the solution is not in committing suicide, that the solution can only be found in the unity and organization of black and white workers. In organization the workers have strength. Now, why do I say this? I say it because it is to the interest of the capitalist class that the workers be kept down all of the time so they can make as much profit as they possibly can. So, on the other hand, it is to the interest of Negro and white workers to get as much for their work as they can—that is, if they happen to have any work. Unfortunately, at the present time there are millions of workers in the United States without work, and the capitalist class, the state government, city government and all other governments, have taken no steps to provide relief for those unemployed. And it seems that this question is left up to the Negro and white workers to solve, and they will solve it by organizing and demanding the right to live, a right that they are entitled to. They have built up this country, and are therefore entitled to some of the things that they have produced. Not only are they entitled to such things, but it is their right to demand them. When the State of Georgia and the City of Atlanta raised the question of inciting to insurrection and attempting to incite to insurrection, or attempting to overthrow the government, all I can say is, that no matter what you do with Angelo Herndon, no matter what you do with the Angelo Herndons in the future, this question of unemployment, the question of unity between Negro and white workers cannot be solved with hands that are stained with the blood of an innocent individual. You may send me to my death, as far as I know. I expect you to do that anyway, so that's beside the point. But no one can deny these facts. The present system under which we are living today is on the verge of collapse; it has developed to its highest point and now it is beginning to shake. For instance, you can take a balloon and blow so much air in it, and when you blow too much it bursts; so with the system we are living under—of course, I don't know if that is insurrection or not!

From "You Cannot Kill the Working Class"[14]

Angelo Herndon

We organized a number of block committees of the Unemployment Councils, and got rent and relief for a large number of families. We agitated endlessly for unemployment insurance.

In the middle of June, 1932, the state closed down all the relief stations. A drive was organized to send all the Jobless to the farms.

We gave out leaflets calling for a mass demonstration at the courthouse to demand that the relief be continued. About 1,000 workers came, 600 of them white. We told the commissioners we didn't intend to starve. We reminded them that $800,000 had been collected in the Community Chest drive. The commissioners said there wasn't a cent to be had.

But the very next day the commission voted $6,000 for relief to the jobless!

On the night of July 11, I went to the Post Office to get my mail. I felt myself grabbed from behind and turned to see a police officer.

I was placed in a cell, and was shown a large electric chair, and told to spill everything I knew about the movement. I refused to talk, and was held incommunicado for eleven days. Finally I smuggled out a letter through another prisoner, and the International Labor Defense got on the job.

Assistant Solicitor John Hudson rigged up the charge against me….

The trial was set for January 16, 1933. The state of Georgia displayed the literature that had been taken from my room, and read passages of it to the jury.

They questioned me in great detail. Did I believe that the bosses and government ought to pay insurance to unemployed workers? That Negroes should have complete equality with white people? Did I believe in the demand for the self-determination of the Black Belt—that the Negro people should be allowed to rule the Black Belt territory, kicking out the white landlords and government officials? Did I feel that the working-class could run the mills and mines and government? That it wasn't necessary to have bosses at all?

I told them I believed all of that—and more.

The courtroom was packed to suffocation. The I.L.D. attorneys, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., and John H. Geer, two young Negroes—and I myself—fought every step of the way. We were not really talking to that judge, nor to those prosecutors, whose questions we were answering. Over their heads we talked to the white and Negro workers who sat on the benches, watching, listening, learning. And beyond them we talked to the thousands and millions of workers all over the world to whom this case was a challenge.

We demanded that Negroes be placed on jury rolls. We demanded that the insulting terms, "nigger" and

"darky," be dropped in that court. We asserted the right of the workers to organize, to strike, to make their demands, to nominate candidates of their choice. We asserted the right of the Negro people to have complete equality in every field.

The state held that my membership in the Communist Party, my possession of Communist literature, was enough to send me to the electric chair. They said to the jury: "Stamp this damnable thing out now with a conviction that will automatically carry with it a penalty of electrocution."

And the hand-picked lily-white jury responded: "We, the jury, find the defendant guilty as charged, but recommend that mercy be shown and fix his sentence at from 18 to 20 years."

I had organized starving workers to demand bread, and I was sentenced to live out my years on the chain-gang for it. But I knew that the movement itself would not stop. I spoke to the court and said: "They can hold this Angelo Herndon and hundreds of others, but it will never stop these demonstrations on the part of Negro and white workers who demand a decent place to live in and proper food for their kids to eat."

I said: 'You may do what you will with Angelo Herndon. You may indict him. You may put him in jail. But there will come thousands of Angelo Herndons. If you really want to do anything about the case, you must go out and indict the social system. But this you will not do, for your role is to defend the system under which the toiling masses are robbed and oppressed.

"You may succeed in killing one, two, even a score of working-class organizers. But you cannot kill the working class.

Endnotes

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8 Herndon, *You Cannot Kill the Working Class,* p. n25.

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14 Herndon, *You Cannot Kill the Working Class*, p. n25.

Chapter Twelve

Fulton County Government as the Gatekeeper of Black Suffrage: The Foundations of County-Enforced Disenfranchisement, 1853–1965

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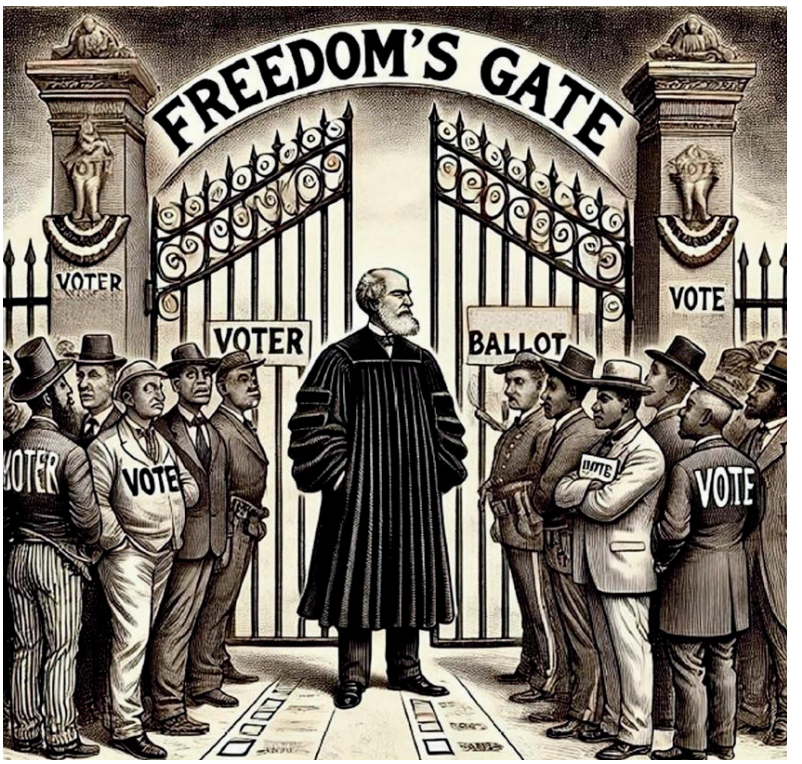


Figure 12.1 "Freedom's Gate." *Credit:* Image partially AI generated image and artistry of Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD, 2025.

Abstract

From their first step toward freedom during emancipation to the enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Black residents of Fulton County, Georgia, encountered formidable obstacles in securing full citizenship. Despite the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and subsequent federal legislation, county officials acted as gatekeepers of suffrage rights and erected barriers that systematically disenfranchised Blacks for over a century.

This study examines how the Fulton County Government—through tax collection, election administration,

court systems, and law enforcement—functioned as the primary point of contact for Black voters and had a direct impact on their disenfranchisement. Instead of imposing federal laws to protect Black voters, elected and appointed county officials chose to use poll taxes, literacy tests, property requirements, voter roll purges, intimidation tactics, White primaries, wrongful convictions, and mass incarceration to strip Blacks of their voting rights.

This study argues that Fulton County Government and county governments across the American South used their gatekeeping power to ensure the near-total exclusion of Black citizens from the electoral process until federal intervention in 1965.

Methodology

This study employed historical statutes, legislative records, property tax records, and secondary historical scholarship to empirically demonstrate the evolution of county-level disenfranchisement tactics from the Antebellum period through the Jim Crow era. Additionally, statistical data from tax digests provide quantitative evidence of the decline in Black voter participation over time, measuring the degree of harm to Black residents of Fulton County.[1]

Introduction

Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, Blacks in Fulton County, Georgia, have fought an unyielding battle to realize the "full and equal benefits of all laws," which include the right to vote.[2] Yet their path to the ballot box was obstructed at every step—not just by state legislators or federal policies, but by county governments, which functioned as the first and most potent gatekeepers of suffrage rights.

From poll taxes and property requirements to literacy tests, intimidation, reregistration mandates, and the White primary, Fulton County's local governing bodies—the courts, sheriff's office, returns to receivers, Board of Tax Assessors, and Board of Commissioners—were instrumental in suppressing the Black vote.[3] They were not passive enforcers of state laws; they actively constructed and administered policies that disproportionately excluded Black citizens from the electoral process.

This was not unique to Fulton County. Across the United States, county governments wielded significant power in controlling voter registration, enforcing election laws, and determining who had access to democracy. Until Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, local officials possessed and exploited the power to suppress Black political participation through bureaucratic, legal, and often violent means.[4]

Taxation Without Representation for Free Blacks, 1852–1865

The role of county government in disenfranchisement can be traced back to 1852, when Georgia implemented the poll tax as a general revenue measure for counties. This "head tax," as it came to be referred, was levied on White adult males between the ages of twenty-one and sixty and on free Black men and women between the ages of eighteen and fifty.[5] While not initially framed as an election tax, the poll

quickly became a tool for exclusion in the hands of Fulton County officials.

Under the administration of the Inferior Court, free Blacks were forced to pay an exorbitant $5 poll tax (equivalent to $206 in 2025), while White males paid only $0.25 (equivalent to $10 in 2025).[6] Failure to pay the hefty fee to the Inferior Courts resulted in free Black defaulters paying a $10 penalty (equivalent to $412 in 2025) or risking imprisonment, public whippings, forced labor, or even being sold into slavery.[7] Additionally, free Blacks were required to register annually with the Fulton County Justice of the Inferior Courts to receive a certificate from the clerk.[8] Failure to do so could result in an individual's arrest and conviction, fines, and being prohibited from leaving Georgia.[9] Even more egregious, free Blacks residing in Atlanta for more than ten days were required to pay a $200 registration fee (equivalent to $8,251 in 2025) to receive a residency certificate from the municipal clerk.[10]

County tax officials and law enforcement ensured strict compliance:

- Tax assessors compiled lists of taxable free Black residents and levied severe penalties on defaulters.[11]
- The sheriff arrested all defaulters and detained them for five days.[12]
- The marshal or his deputy posted advertisements to hire out jailed people.[13]
- The marshal gave thirty-nine lashes across the bare back of jailed people every morning if no one hired them out.[14]
- The courts upheld and enforced these discriminatory tax laws, refusing any legal challenge to their application.[15]

After the first year of Fulton County's annexation, free Black women—mostly washerwomen—made up more than 60 percent of tithable free Blacks and carried the burden of paying the hefty $5 poll tax.[16] White women, rich or poor, were exempted entirely from this levy.

As a disenfranchised body, thirty-four free Black men and women paid $507 (equivalent to $19,000 in 2025) of the total taxes collected on the poll, while 1,945 taxed White males collectively paid $486.25 (equivalent to more than $18,000 in 2025) to Fulton County Government.[17] Several free Black women left Fulton County and resettled in neighboring DeKalb County the following year. Unfortunately, they could not escape paying the poll tax there, either.[18]

Taxation without representation continued for the next decade, as free Black residents paid the poll tax not out of civic duty, but under duress, knowing the severe consequences of non-payment. For Black residents, the county government was not just an administrator of taxes—it was an enforcer of racial subjugation.



Figure 12.2 Illustration of a free Black washerwoman paying an annual poll tax of $5 to the Fulton County Tax Assessor's Office, compared to wealthy White males, who were only obligated to pay $0.25 during the decade preceding emancipation. Credit: Karcheik Sims-Alvarado. "Free Black Washerwoman Shouldering Heavy Poll Tax in Fulton County, Georgia." Image created by artist with use of AI Image Generator. Created April 6, 2025.

Reconstruction and Its Short-Lived Political Gains, 1865–1871

Following the Civil War, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments were intended to ensure Black political participation. For a brief period, Black voters in Fulton County and across Georgia leveraged their newfound rights to gain political representation.

In June 1867, agents of the Freedmen Bureau registered 1,687 Black males in Fulton County to vote for the first time in American history, almost matching the 1,887 White registrants.[19] From October 29 to November 2 that year, 93,456 freedmen and 95,214 Whites arrived at the polls to elect delegates for the upcoming state constitutional convention in Atlanta, the soon-to-be state capitol. A historic moment was achieved when 37 of the 165 elected delegates to attend the 1867–1868 Georgia Constitutional Convention were Black.[20]

During the drafting of the new Georgia Constitution, Black delegates, such as Tunis Campbell and future Fulton County resident Rev. Henry McNeal Turner, championed free education for all to be funded by the poll tax. Little could they forecast that its adoption "levied except for educational purposes and . . . . not [to] exceed One Dollar annually," plus the property tax, would give county authorities the power to collect taxes on behalf of the state "for ad valorem only" and lead to the disenfranchisement of thousands of Black voters.[21] In April 1868, just one month after the convention's closing, thirty-three Black men were elected to the Georgia General Assembly, but their victory was short-lived.[22]

Fifty-two Black men served as federal registers in Georgia.[23] The overwhelming voter mobilization campaign led statewide by Black men caught White Democrats by surprise. Seeing that Black registers' numbers and organizational strength posed a threat to Whites' ability to maintain political, economic, and social domination in Georgia, racial tension escalated. Nathan Bedford Forrest, the founder of the Ku Klux Klan, made multiple appearances in Atlanta to set up the organization earlier in 1868, instructing his followers on how to use terror to intimidate Blacks and Whites.[24] Throughout the year, Democrats gathered in mass numbers in Atlanta to oppose Reconstruction policies. And, as Black men voted for the first time in the American South, agents of the Freedmen's Bureau recorded 336 murders and assaults against freed people in Georgia.[25]

In September 1868, White legislators conspired and successfully voted for the expulsion of all Black legislators from the Georgia General Assembly, claiming their race and former enslavement made them incompetent as lawmakers.[26]

Political tension escalated further the following year, as racial intimidation and violence continued against Black and White Republican candidates and voters. Congress passed the Georgia Act of 1869 to employ the military and navy to protect state residents from the terrorist actions of the Ku Klux Klan and declared it illegal to prevent any elected person from holding state or federal office because of their race, color, or previous servitude.[27] Unfortunately, federal protection from the military could not match the rage of Democrats or their actions to regain political and social control in Georgia.

Organized efforts for the ousted Black legislators to regain their seats resulted in most of them being

jailed, ostracized, trounced, intimidated, or murdered.[28] Survivors and their allies turned their attention to Washington, appealing to Congress and President Ulysses S. Grant to address the shortcomings of the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and the Fourteenth Amendment in protecting Black male suffrage. Consequently, their advocacy led to the 1870 ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, which protected the rights of all voters, regardless of race.[29]

This voting rights victory created much excitement among Black Fulton County residents. In Atlanta, a surge in voter mobilization propelled William Finch and George Graham onto the Atlanta City Council in 1870. However, no freedman was elected to the Fulton County Board of Commissioners, regardless of the high number of Black men registered as voters.[30] At the same time, clandestine vigilante groups orchestrated plans to suppress Black political power statewide.

The backlash was swift and severe. Statewide, Black elected officials found difficulty in retaining their seats. Neither Finch nor Graham was reelected the following year. Steadfast efforts made by Democrats to reclaim and maintain political power led Black voter participation in Fulton County to plunge by 82 percent. In 1871, Governor Rufus Bullock, a Republican and supporter of Black suffrage, was also forced to flee Georgia and resign from his office to save his own life from the Ku Klux Klan.[31]

In Fulton County, the disenfranchisement of Black voters during the first five years of Reconstruction was swift:

- By 1871, Black voter registration in Fulton County fell from 1,687 to 310—a staggering 82 percent decline (Table 12.1).
- Black voters comprised 43 percent of the county electorate in 1868; however, by 1871, their representation had decreased to 11.57 percent of all eligible voters in Fulton County (Table 12.1).

The Role of County Institutions in the Jim Crow Era, 1872–1899

By 1872, Democrats' domination of Georgia had ended. To sustain political power, they required the suppression of the Black vote and the intimidation and ostracization of White allies who supported Black social uplift. State legislators continued to pass laws restricting Black enfranchisement for the next ninety-three years. However, it was county officials—commissioners, election supervisors, tax assessors, sheriffs, and local judges—who administered and enforced these laws to ensure their effectiveness.

Military occupation across the state also ended during this period. The loss of federal protection from the military and the lost promises of Reconstruction were quickly felt in Atlanta, where the Third Military District was headquartered. Gone were the Freedmen's Bureau hospitals, schools, and courts, as well as protection against labor exploitation and disenfranchisement.

Now, county officials could use their power to enforce legislation to limit suffrage. As a precondition to voting, poll, property, and all other taxes were to be paid one year in advance.[32] Taxes were levied not

only on land and residential or commercial property, but also on kitchen appliances, jewelry, farm animals, and even dogs, which all county residents were required to report.[33] Deviating from the statutes' original purposes, legislators weaponized the poll and property taxes with the intent to disenfranchise Blacks.

Despite facing various challenges, 837 Black men in Fulton County met the poll and property tax requirements in 1873, accounting for 25.10 percent of all poll taxpayers (Table 12.1). The number of freedmen eligible for registration had increased by more than 200 percent, growing from 310 individuals who could pay the poll tax in 1871 (Table 12.1).

If any chance remained for the promise of Reconstruction to be actualized, additional federal legislation was necessary. Radical Republicans passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which outlawed racial discrimination in juries, hotels, schools, inns, and all public accommodations. This civil rights victory generated great enthusiasm among all who fought to help Blacks secure and exercise their rights as full citizens. Although voter registration efforts among Blacks increased by a small margin, punitive poll and tax requirements remained in place.

Unfortunately, Black political progress diminished as the power of Radical Republicans waned. In 1877, Reconstruction ended with Democrats controlling the House of Representatives and accepting Republican Rutherford B. Hayes as president of the United States to resolve the disputed presidential election results of 1876. This compromise between the two political parties, known as the Wormley Agreement, was contingent upon Hayes agreeing to remove all federal troops from the South and end federal Reconstruction. Consequently, Democrats gained political control of the region.

Members of the Georgia General Assembly seized this moment to further undermine Blacks' social, political, and economic progress by calling for a referendum to hold a state constitutional convention, with the amended Constitution to be ratified by electors in December 1877.[34] Changes to the 1877 Constitution included a new voting requirement: proof of paying all poll taxes since 1868 ($1 annually).[35] Many Black men were not able to meet these requirements, and others might have refused to do so because of the absurdity of the state and counties exploiting their desire to exercise their rights as full citizens. Further, paying up to $9 in arrears (equivalent to $272 in 2025) did not guarantee that Black voters would be free from barriers on Election Day. Other constitutional changes included limiting the state's ability to tax its citizens and using tax money to pay for public debt, public education, and defense against insurrection and invasion. Even with Democrats in power, paying for prosthetic body limbs or appendages for ex-Confederate soldiers injured during the Civil War was discontinued.[36]

Changes to the 1877 Constitution and the failures of Reconstruction significantly reduced Black political participation during the year of the convention.[37] In Fulton County, Black taxpayers accounted for barely 13 percent of registered voters, a significant drop from the 43 percent of registered voters who were Black in 1867 (Table 12.1).

For the remainder of the nineteenth century, federal, state, and local officials worked in tandem to legalize racial segregation and strip Blacks of all voting rights. Despite the obstruction of their civil liberties

by the US Supreme Court's 1883 overturning of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, Black male taxpayers in Fulton County still pushed to pay their annual poll taxes to meet the requirements for voter registration. Their numbers gradually increased, peaking in 1891 with 21.55 percent of all county registrants (Table 12.1).

Internal political and ideological differences posed a significant threat to Black enfranchisement. One notable player was Booker T. Washington. In 1895, he delivered his famous "Atlanta Compromise" speech, which endorsed racial separatism and opposed voting rights. This speech was presented before a mass interracial audience at the International Cotton State Exposition in Piedmont Park.

During the year of the expo, as advocates pushed to increase voter registration, only 15.87 percent of Blacks paid the poll tax to Fulton County Government. The following year, the US Supreme Court's *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling allowed state and local governments to enact and enforce segregation laws. Black voter registration in Fulton County dropped to 11.42 percent in 1898 (Table 12.1). Jim Crow laws, customs, and traditions became fully entrenched, and efforts to suppress Black voters to the point of extinction continued restlessly.

The disenfranchisement of Black voters was not a mere accident. It was a shameful and deliberate act. In alignment with state legislators, Fulton County officials failed to uphold the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and used their bureaucratic powers to dismantle Black political influence:

- **The Board of Commissioners** implemented Georgia's new poll tax law, which was adopted in 1877.
- **Fulton County registrars, tax assessors, and tax receivers** ensured that poll taxes and property tax laws were strictly enforced against Black residents while quietly exempting poor Whites.
- **The courts** and **law enforcement** ignored or actively participated in intimidation tactics and acts of violence to discourage Black voting.

Table 12.1 Poll Taxpayers by Race in Fulton County and Revenue Collected by Fulton County Government, 1866–1937

Year	White poll tax-payers	% Whites	Black poll tax-payers	% Blacks	Total poll tax-payers	Poll tax rate	De-fault -ers	Revenue collected by Fulton County	Poll taxes paid by Whites	Poll taxes paid by Blacks	Percentage paid by Blacks
1866	1,644	87.21%	241	12.79%	1885	------	0	----------	1,644	$241	12.79%
1867	--------	----------	----------	----------	----------	------	------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1868	1,883	85.32%	324	14.68%	2207	------	0	----------	1,882	$324	14.68%
1869	2,094	81.51%	475	18.49%	2569	------	0	----------	2,092	$475	18.49%
1870	2,008	82.74%	419	17.26%	2427	------	0	----------	2,008	$419	17.26%
1871	2,369	88.43%	310	11.57%	2679	------	0	----------	2,369	$310	11.57%
1872	2,255	78.14%	631	21.86%	2886	------	0	----------	2,255	$631	21.68%
1873	2,498	74.90%	837	25.10%	3335	------	0	----------	2,498	$837	25.10%
1874	2,630	76.64%	895	23.36%	3832	------	307	----------	2,630	$895	23.36%
1875	3,264	76.47%	1,031	23.53%	4382	------	87	----------	3,264	$1,031	23.53%
1876	--------	----------	-------	----------	4383	------	------	----------	----------	----------	---------
1877	3478	82.51%	737	17.49%	4215	$0.86	------	$4,899.00	$2,992.40	$634.10	12.94%
1878	--------	----------	-------		4,103	------	------	----------	----------	----------	----------
1879	3,274	81.14%	761	18.86%	4,035	$0.92	0	$4,395.00	$3,005.82	$698.67	15.90%
1880	3,119	52.63%	849	14.33%	5,926	$1.00	1,958	$5,926.00	$3,119.00	$849.00	14.33%
1881	3,632	81.95%	800	18.05%	4,432	$1.00	0	$4,432.00	$3,632.00	$800.00	18.05%
1882	3,034	79.74%	771	20.26%	3,805	$1.00	0	$3,805.00	$3,034.00	$771.00	20.26%
1883	3,231	80.71%	772	19.29%	4003	$1.00	0	$4,003.00	$3,231.00	$772.00	19.29%
1884	3,340	81.21%	773	18.79%	4113	$1.00	0	$4,113.00	$3,340.00	$773.00	18.79%
1885	3,499	78.81%	941	21.19%	4,440	$1.00	0	$4,440.00	$3,499.00	$941.00	21.19%
1886	3,702	81.25%	1,035	18.75%	5,519	$0.88	782	$6,301.00	$3,242.55	$906.55	14.39%
1887	3,791	79.34%	996	20.66%	4,822	$0.99	35	$4,857.00	$3,763.68	$988.82	20.36%
1888	3,967	80.02%	999	19.98%	5,001	$0.99	35	$5,036.00	$3,939.43	$992.06	19.70%
1889	4,300	78.21%	1,209	21.79%	5,549	$0.99	40	$5,589.00	$4,269.23	$1,200.35	21.48%
1890	5,042	79.73%	1,292	20.27%	6,374	$0.99	40	$6,414.00	$5,010.56	$1,283.94	20.02%
1891	5,405	78.28%	1,507	21.72%	6,939	$1.00	27	$6,966.00	$5,384.05	$1,501.16	21.55%
1892	5,904	79.09%	1,561	20.91%	7,465	$1.00	0	$7,465.00	$5,904.00	$1,561.00	20.91%
1893	6,363	79.93%	1,598	20.07%	7,961	$1.00	0	$7,961.00	$6,363.00	$1,598.00	20.07%
1894	6,440	83.15%	1,305	16.85%	7,745	$1.00	0	$7,745.00	$6,440.00	$1,305.00	16.85%
1895	6,556	84.13%	1,237	15.87%	7,793	$1.00	0	$7,793.00	$6,556.00	$1,237.00	15.87%
1896	7,185	84.12%	1,356	15.88%	8,541	$1.00	0	$8,541.00	$7,185.00	$1,356.00	15.88%
1897	6,671	84.60%	1,207	15.27%	7,904	$1.00	16	$7,904.00	$6,671.00	$1,207.00	15.27%
1898	8,162	88.58%	1,192	11.42%	10,442	$1.00	1088	$10,442.00	$8,162.00	$1,192.00	11.42%
1899	7,259	84.75%	1,125	12.95%	8,686	$1.00	102	$8,686.00	$7,259.00	$1,125.00	12.95%
1900	7,818	86.92%	1,141	12.62%	9,043	$1.00	42	$9,043.00	$7,818.00	$1,141.00	12.62%

1901	8,175	86.06%	1,324	13.94%	9,499	$1.00	0	$9,499.00	$8,175.00	$1,324.00	13.94%
1902	8,269	87.02%	1,233	12.98%	9,502	$1.00	0	$9,502.00	$8,269.00	$1,233.00	12.98%
1903	8,781	87.34%	1,273	12.66%	10,054	$1.00	0	$10,054.00	$8,781.00	$1,273.00	12.66%
1904	9,261	87.29%	1,348	12.71%	10,609	$1.00	0	$10,609.00	$9,261.00	$1,348.00	12.71%
1905	9,802	87.26%	1,431	12.74%	11,233	$1.00	0	$11,233.00	$9,802.00	$1,431.00	12.74%
1906	10,281	87.23%	1,505	12.77%	11,786	$1.00	0	$11,786.00	$10,281.00	$1,505.00	12.77%
1907	11,229	88.02%	1,529	11.98%	12,758	$1.00	0	$12,758.00	$11,229.00	$1,529.00	11.98%
1908	12,159	88.26%	1,617	11.74%	13,776	$1.00	0	$13,776.00	$12,159.00	$1,617.00	11.74%
1909	11,719	87.90%	1,613	12.10%	13,332	$1.00	0	$13,332.00	$11,719.00	$1,613.00	12.10%
1910	12,135	87.74%	1,696	12.26%	13,831	$1.00	0	$13,831.00	$12,135.00	$1,696.00	12.26%
1911	12,371	87.77%	1,724	12.23%	14,095	$1.00	0	$14,095.00	$12,371.00	$1,724.00	12.23%
1912	12,249	88.33%	1,618	11.67%	13,867	$1.00	0	$13,867.00	$12,249.00	$1,618.00	11.67%
1913	12,283	88.69%	1,566	11.31%	13,849	$1.00	0	$13,849.00	$12,283.00	$1,566.00	11.31%
1914	13,421	89.37%	1,596	10.63%	15,017	$1.00	0	$15,017.00	$13,421.00	$1,596.00	10.63%
1915	12,956	89.55%	1,512	10.45%	14,468	$1.00	0	$14,468.00	$12,956.00	$1,512.00	10.45%
1916	12,867	89.37%	1,531	10.63%	14,398	$1.00	0	$14,398.00	$12,867.00	$1,531.00	10.63%
1917	13,377	90.15%	1,462	9.85%	14,839	$1.00	0	$14,839.00	$13,377.00	$1,462.00	9.85%
1918	13,989	89.51%	1,640	10.49%	15,629	$1.00	0	$15,629.00	$13,989.00	$1,640.00	10.49%
1919	15,637	86.48%	2,444	13.52%	18,081	$1.00	0	$18,081.00	$15,637.00	$2,444.00	13.52%
1920	17,302	85.75%	2,875	14.25%	20,177	$1.00	0	$20,177.00	$17,302.00	$2,875.00	14.25%
1921	19,080	86.13%	3,073	13.87%	22,153	$1.00	0	$22,153.00	$19,080.00	$3,073.00	13.87%
1922	26,935	86.37%	4,251	13.63%	31,186	$1.00	0	$31,186.00	$26,935.00	$4,251.00	13.63%
1923	22,668	88.13%	3,052	11.87%	25,720	$1.00	0	$25,720.00	$22,668.00	$3,052.00	11.87%
1924	23,597	88.67%	3,015	11.33%	26,612	$1.00	0	$26,612.00	$23,597.00	$3,015.00	11.33%
1925	25,044	88.82%	3,152	11.18%	28,196	$1.00	0	$28,196.00	$25,044.00	$3,152.00	11.18%
1926	25,538	89.15%	3,107	10.85%	28,645	$1.00	0	$28,645.00	$25,538.00	$3,107.00	10.85%
1927	25,250	89.04%	3,107	10.96%	28,358	$1.00	0	$28,358.00	$25,250.00	$3,107.00	10.96%
1928	26,597	90.13%	2,913	9.87%	29,510	$1.00	0	$29,510.00	$26,597.00	$2,913.00	9.87%
1929	--------	----------	----------	----------	32,174	$1.00	0	$32,174.00	----------	----------	----------
1930	29,345	90.71%	3,004	9.29%	32,349	$1.00	0	$32,349.00	$29,345.00	$3,004.00	9.29%
1931	--------	----------	----------	----------	34,590	$1.00	0	$34,590.00	----------	----------	----------
1932	34,882	92.33%	2,896	7.67%	37,778	$1.00	0	$37,778.00	$34,882.00	$2,896.00	7.67%
1933	32,208	90.73%	3,289	9.27%	35,497	$1.00	0	$35,497.00	$32,208.00	$3,289.00	9.27%
1934	33,329	92.67%	2,636	7.33%	35,965	$1.00	0	$35,965.00	$33,329.00	$2,636.00	7.33%
1935	34,163	92.57%	2,741	7.43%	36,904	$1.00	0	$36,904.00	$34,163.00	$2,741.00	7.43%
1936	36,259	92.85%	2,793	7.15%	39,052	$1.00	0	$39,052.00	$36,259.00	$2,793.00	7.15%
1937	40,483	93.21%	2,947	6.79%	43,430	$1.00	0	$43,430.00	$40,483.00	$2,947.00	6.79%

Fulton County Poll Taxpayers, 1900–1937

By 1900, Blacks comprised 46.7% of Georgia's population, and in 59 of Georgia's 159 counties, they constituted over half of registered voters.[38] To further limit their eligibility, county registrars were critical in preventing Black citizens from participating in the Democratic primary, which became known as the "White primary." Georgia was a one-party Democratic state, and the Democratic Party operated as a private "club." This strategy allowed them to sidestep the Fifteenth Amendment, effectively excluding Black citizens from having a significant role in Georgia's political landscape.[39] Over the next forty-five years, legislators continued to pass regressive laws aimed at suppressing the Black vote, which county officials enforced.

Plans to suppress the Black vote statewide became evident during the 1906 gubernatorial election between Hoke Smith, former publisher of the *Atlanta Journal*, and State Senator Clark Howell, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. The already-hostile political climate further heightened racial tension, as both candidates exploited the use of the press by playing on Whites' fears of miscegenation and Black political domination.

Two weeks preceding election day, the *Atlanta Journal* and *Atlanta Constitution* printed a series of sensationalized news articles falsely alleging sexual assaults on White women by Black men. Smith and Howell and their inflammatory rhetoric ignited a race riot in downtown Atlanta on September 22, 1906—the forty-fourth anniversary of President Abraham Lincoln's signing the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. For three consecutive days and nights, White mobs killed more than two dozen Blacks, injured even more, and caused substantial damage to commercial and residential properties throughout the city.[40]

In the immediate aftermath of the riot, law enforcement and Fulton County courts failed to seek justice for the deceased or work to ensure Black voters received protection at the polls, with an election scheduled for just nine days later. Even more egregious, neither gubernatorial candidate was ever held accountable for the premeditated scheme that led to the lynching of Black residents of Fulton County.

After winning the election and becoming governor, Hoke Smith outlined plans to fulfill his campaign promise of completely disenfranchising Black voters in his 1907 inaugural address. Rather than being overtly discriminatory, he asserted that suffrage would not be denied based on race or color. Instead, he defined six categories of qualifications, of which four would effectively reduce the number of Black voters.[41] In 1908, the Georgia legislature passed the Felder-Williams bill, which comprised of a

- literacy test,
- property requirement,
- grandfather clause, and
- "good character" clause.[42]

The bill, also known as the Disenfranchisement Act, included a series of exceptions that made it per-

missible for most Whites to vote:

1. having served in either the land or naval forces in the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, the Civil War, or war with Mexico, Indigenous peoples, or Spain;
2. being lawfully descended from those who served in the categories listed above;
3. owning forty acres of land or property in Georgia assessed for taxation at a value of at least $500;
4. being able to write or to understand and explain any paragraph of the US or Georgia Constitution when it was read to them by a registrar; and
5. being "persons of good character who understand the duties and obligations of citizenship."[43]

The Felder-Williams law enabled White voters who were poor and illiterate to bypass specific requirements, while it eliminated almost all Black voters. While the valuation of property owned by Black people in Fulton County far exceeded that of most Georgians, many did not meet the forty acres or $500 property valuation requirement to vote.[44] For the next four decades, the law effectively suppressed the Black vote. In 1915, the Grandfather Clause was removed. However, it continued to protect White voters by permanently recording registered individuals and allowing them to vote regardless of literacy.[45]

At the county level, the poll tax, White primary, and Felder-Williams laws

- Gave **Fulton County election officials** absolute discretion over who was deemed "qualified" to vote;
- allowed **local tax boards** to assess and deny Black property ownership claims, preventing them from meeting the property requirement;
- permitted **the sheriff** and **election officials** to intimidate and remove Black voters from polling places without consequence; and
- granted **the courts** power to disenfranchise Blacks by convicting them of crimes and stripping them of their constitutional rights.

The impact of county-controlled disenfranchisement in Fulton County was clear:

- In **1900**, Black eligibility to vote peaked at **13.94 percent** of poll taxpayers.
- By **1937**, that percentage fell to **6.97 percent** (Table 12.1).

During the Great Depression, economic turmoil sparked serious internal conflict among White voters in Georgia. As jobs vanished and resources became increasingly scarce, many began to view their neighbors not as allies but as competitors. Wealthier Whites, often insulated from immediate hardship, disregarded the struggles faced by poorer Whites, who were nervous about becoming disenfranchised.

In a bold attempt to quell growing tensions and the fears of poor Whites, the Georgia legislature took decisive action in 1931 by abolishing the 1868 law that required voters to pay all taxes six months

before election day. This move was not just a response to concerns over ballot access but a clear recognition of the fragile alliances among Whites. Faced with the urgent need to protect their interests, they were forced to confront the reality that their unity was at stake. By prioritizing their privileges, they risked deepening divisions within their ranks, jeopardizing any chance for a collective response to the mounting adversity they all faced.[46]

Across the state, county commissioners significantly reduced the tax burden for residents by lowering property valuations. However, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners did not show taxpayers the same degree of mercy. All residents received a slight tax break, but Blacks in Fulton County carried an astonishing tax burden of 22,377 percent in 1933 (Table 12.1). During the worst economic recession in American history, they also shouldered the highest tax burden in the state. Alarmingly, less than 7 percent of Black residents in Fulton County were qualified to vote (Table 12.1). Meanwhile, the Board of Commissioners, election officials, and local courts refused to intervene. Tax assessors aggressively pursued Black property owners to strip them of voter eligibility, and the sheriff's department maintained a climate of intimidation to deter any challenges to the system.

Another major blow to Blacks occurred in 1937, when Nolan Breedlove (plaintiff), a twenty-eight-year-old White resident of Fulton County, filed a lawsuit after the county tax collector, Earl Suttles (defendant), denied him the opportunity to register to vote for refusing to pay the poll. The annual $1 poll tax and arrears remained prerequisites for voting in state elections, excepting persons under twenty-one and over sixty and all women who chose not to register.[47] Breedlove challenged the Georgia statute under the Fourteenth (Equal Protection and Privileges and Immunity Clauses) and Nineteenth Amendments. However, the US Supreme Court, in *Breedlove v. Suttles*, upheld the constitutionality of the state's poll tax.[48] In response, the number of Black residents willing and able to pay the poll tax in Fulton County plummeted to 6.79 percent that year, marking the lowest number of Black registrants in their sixty years of voting (Table 12.1).

The Fight for Suffrage and County Retaliation, 1895–1965

Despite numerous obstacles, Black residents of Fulton County believed the right to vote was achievable. From 1895 to 1945, multiple voting rights organizations were established and led by dedicated groups of men and women who ushered in a new era of civil rights activism: the National Colored Women's Congress (1895), Niagara Movement (1905), and Atlanta branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP; 1917).

After fifty years of advocacy, a watershed moment in the long struggle for justice and equality was achieved. The US Supreme Court, in *Smith v. Allwright*, declared it unconstitutional to deny any citizen, regardless of race, from participating in the White primary. To test the *Smith* decision, nearly five thousand Blacks, compared to six thousand Whites, appeared at the Fulton County Courthouse to register to vote in the Georgia Democratic primary on July 4, 1944. On election day, many Black voters were turned away by poll officials, who claimed their names had been purged from voter rolls. Nevertheless, they registered again.



Figure 12.3 In 1944, Fulton County residents stood in line over a three-day period to register to vote and test the US Supreme Court's *Smith v. Allwright* decision, declaring the White primary unconstitutional. (Library of Congress).

The following year, Georgia abolished the annual $3 poll tax (equivalent to $49 in 2025). Although this should have been marked as a voting rights victory, Fulton County officials devised new methods of exclusion:

- **The Board of Registrars** purged Black voters from the rolls under the pretense of clerical errors.
- **Election officials and registrars** forced Black residents to reregister repeatedly, often with little notice.
- **Registrars** possessed the power to determine literacy and eligibility.
- **Polling stations** in Black neighborhoods were few and far between, ensuring long lines and delays, while White districts saw an expansion of voting sites.
- **Law enforcement officers'** presence created a hostile environment for Black voters at polling locations.
- **The courts** granted charters to the Ku Klux Klan, Women of the Ku Klux Klan, and the Columbians, who used racial violence to intimidate voters.

In 1946, thousands of Black Georgians became newly enfranchised when the US Supreme Court ruled in *King v. Chapman* that the Democratic Party of Georgia's use of the White primary was unconstitu-

tional.[49] The plaintiff, Primus King, asked for $5,000 in damages. Instead, he was awarded $100, plus 7 percent interest (equivalent to $1,873 in 2025).[50] With this legal barrier removed, Blacks in Fulton County became even more energized. Numerous civic organizations—such as the NAACP, Atlanta Negro Voters League, All-Citizens Registration Committee, Atlanta Urban League, and Negro League of Women Voters—increased the number of Black registered voters from 7,000 to 21,000 by 1948.[51] The following year, Blacks comprised 25 percent of registered voters in Atlanta.[52]

Black Fulton County residents understood the power of their numbers and their ability to increase turnout at the polls. To minimize their zeal and curtail their efforts, White supremacists turned again to employing terrorist threats. The Fulton County Superior Court dissolved the charter of the Ku Klux Klan in 1948, but Klan activity continued, as they were reissued a new charter under a different name.[53] Consequently, voter intimidation continued.

By 1957, there were 163,842 Black registered voters in Georgia, compared to 1,168,010 Whites. In 33 of the state's 159 counties, Blacks comprised more than half of the registered population. However, Fulton County possessed the largest Black population in the state, with less than 25 percent of those eligible to vote registered.[54]

In the City of Atlanta mayoral election held on May 9, 1957, Blacks accounted for 22.7 percent of all registrants, and 72.8 percent voted in the primary, compared to 54.9 percent of Whites. Of the 29,152, or 20.27 percent, of Black registered voters in Fulton County, there were 99,347 potential Black voters and 70,195 unregistered voters. It is likely that political apathy and the burden of taxation associated with being added to voter rolls were chief reasons more Blacks did not register.[55]

A pivotal shift occurred in 1963, when the US Supreme Court declared in *Gray v. Sanders* that Georgia's county unit system was unconstitutional. James O'Hear Sanders, a White resident of Fulton County, challenged the system for violating the principle of equal representation. Although Sanders acted out of concern for the political inequality faced by urban voters like himself, the Court's "one person, one vote" ruling had far-reaching consequences in the fight against Black disenfranchisement. The county unit system, which unfairly weighted votes from rural and predominantly White counties, minimized the electoral power of Fulton County, where the population was high and Black political participation was growing. The elimination of the county unit system helped to dismantle one of the structural barriers that had suppressed the voice of Black voters in state politics since the Georgia legislature adopted it on June 24, 1917.[56]

The rise in Black registrants in Fulton County and throughout the state was undeniably troubling for White legislators, especially given Blacks' impressive voter turnout on election day since 1946. Democrats anticipated higher Black voter turnout at polls across the South after Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957—the first civil rights act passed since 1875. The act offered some key provisional protection of voting rights, such as prosecuting individuals for conspiring to deny or abridge a citizen's right to vote.[57] To effectively suppress Blacks' momentum, the Georgia General Assembly enacted the Registration Law of 1958, imposing new eligibility requirements. Under Act No. 321 of the law, applicants were mandated to read a passage from the Georgia Constitution or correctly answer

twenty to thirty civics questions, creating another enfranchisement barrier.[58] The test was deliberately graded by White county registrars, who had complete discretion over who passed or failed. The result was predictable: Black voters were overwhelmingly denied registration, while White applicants were often granted exemptions or leniency. Additionally, Blacks rarely, if ever, served as jurors. According to *Georgia Code Ann. § 59-106*, all jurors had to be on the books of the tax receiver and considered as upright and intelligent citizens.[59]

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 marked the beginning of the dismantling of county-level barriers that had hindered Black voter participation, as federal oversight finally limited the unchecked power of local election officials.[60] The poll tax, however, was not abolished until the US Supreme Court ruled in the 1966 case *Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections* that poll taxes in any federal, state, or local election were unconstitutional.[61] Over the next fifteen years, Fulton County experienced a notable increase in Black voter participation, mainly due to civic organizations that worked to register more voters and enhance their get-out-the-vote efforts.

Beginning in 1966 and 1967, one hundred years after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, eight Black Fulton County residents were sworn in as members of the Georgia General Assembly.[62] These elected officials included Representatives Julian Bond, Benjamin D. Brown, Julius C. Daughterty Sr., JD Grier, Grace Towns Hamilton, and John Hood, as well as Senators Horace T. Ward and Leroy Johnson.[63]

In 1973, Andrew Young, a resident of Fulton County, was sworn in as the first Black Georgian elected to Congress since the Reconstruction era. That same year, Atlanta elected its first Black mayor, Maynard Jackson. In the fifty years since, all his successors have been Black men and women. Additionally, in 1978, Michael Lomax became the first Black person elected to the Fulton County Board of Commissioners and soon became Chair, serving from 1981 to 1993. These milestones signaled a shift in political power and a long-overdue affirmation of Black political agency in a county where it had been suppressed for over a century (Table 12.2), since its 1853 founding.

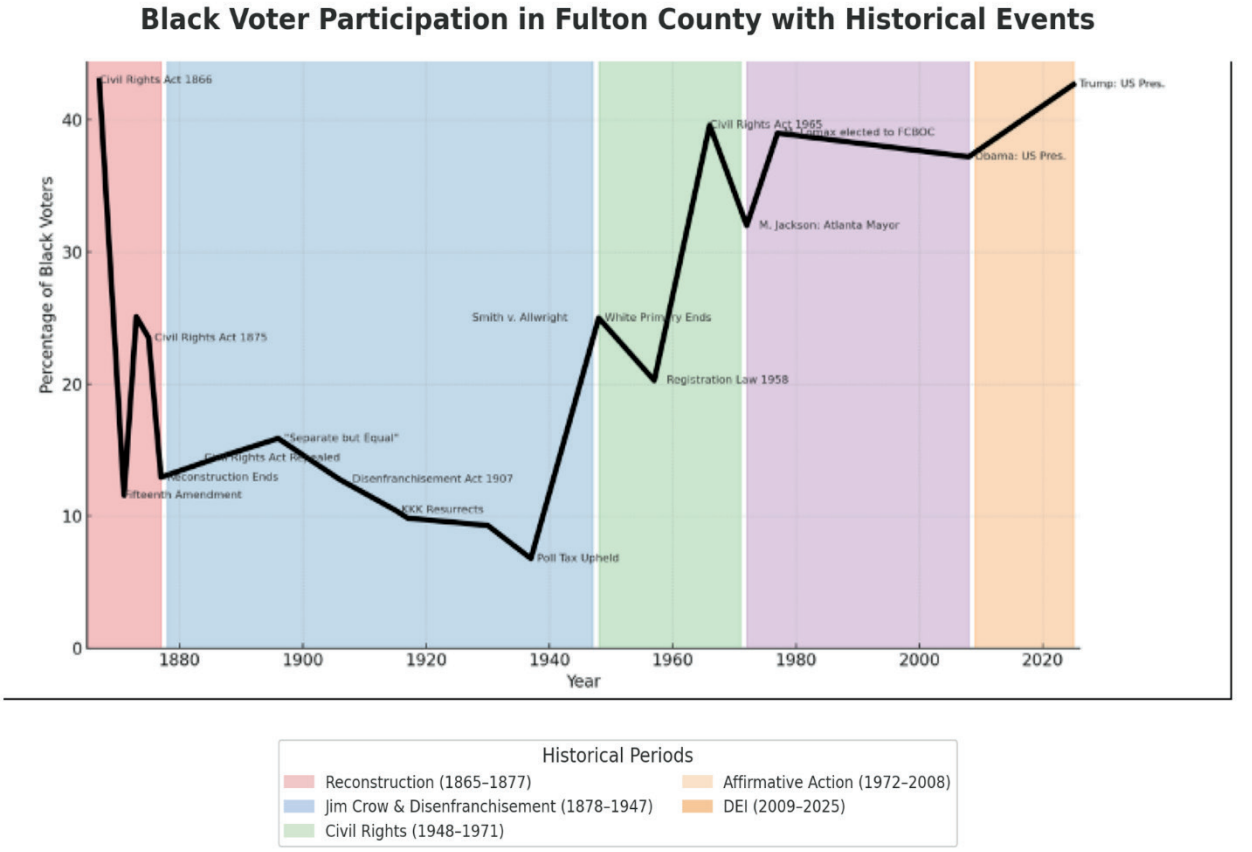


Figure 12.4 Factors contributing to voter participation in Fulton County, 1867–2025.

Table 12.2: Black Voters in Fulton County, Georgia, During Historical Events Since Emancipation

Year	Historical Event	Percentage
1867	Black Men register as first-time voters after emancipation	43%
1871	Ku Klux Klan Act	11.57%
1873	Radical Republicans lose political power in Georgia House of Representatives	25.1%
1875	Civil Rights Act of 1875	23.5%
1877	Reconstruction era ends	12.94%
1886	Civil Rights Act of 1875 repealed	14.39%
1896	“Separate but Equal” doctrine	15.88%
1906	1906 Atlanta race riot	12.77%
1915	Ku Klux Klan resurrects	10.45%
1917	Atlanta branch of NAACP founded	9.85%
1930	Dennis Hubert lynched	9.29%
1937	Poll tax upheld	6.79%
1948	White primary declared unconstitutional	25%
1957	Civil Rights Act of 1957	20.27%

1966	Blacks elected to Georgia General Assembly	39.6%
1972	Andrew Young elected to Congress	32%
1977	Michael Lomax elected to Fulton County BOC	39%
2008	Barack Obama elected US President	37.2%
2025	Donald Trump sworn in as US President	42.68% [64]

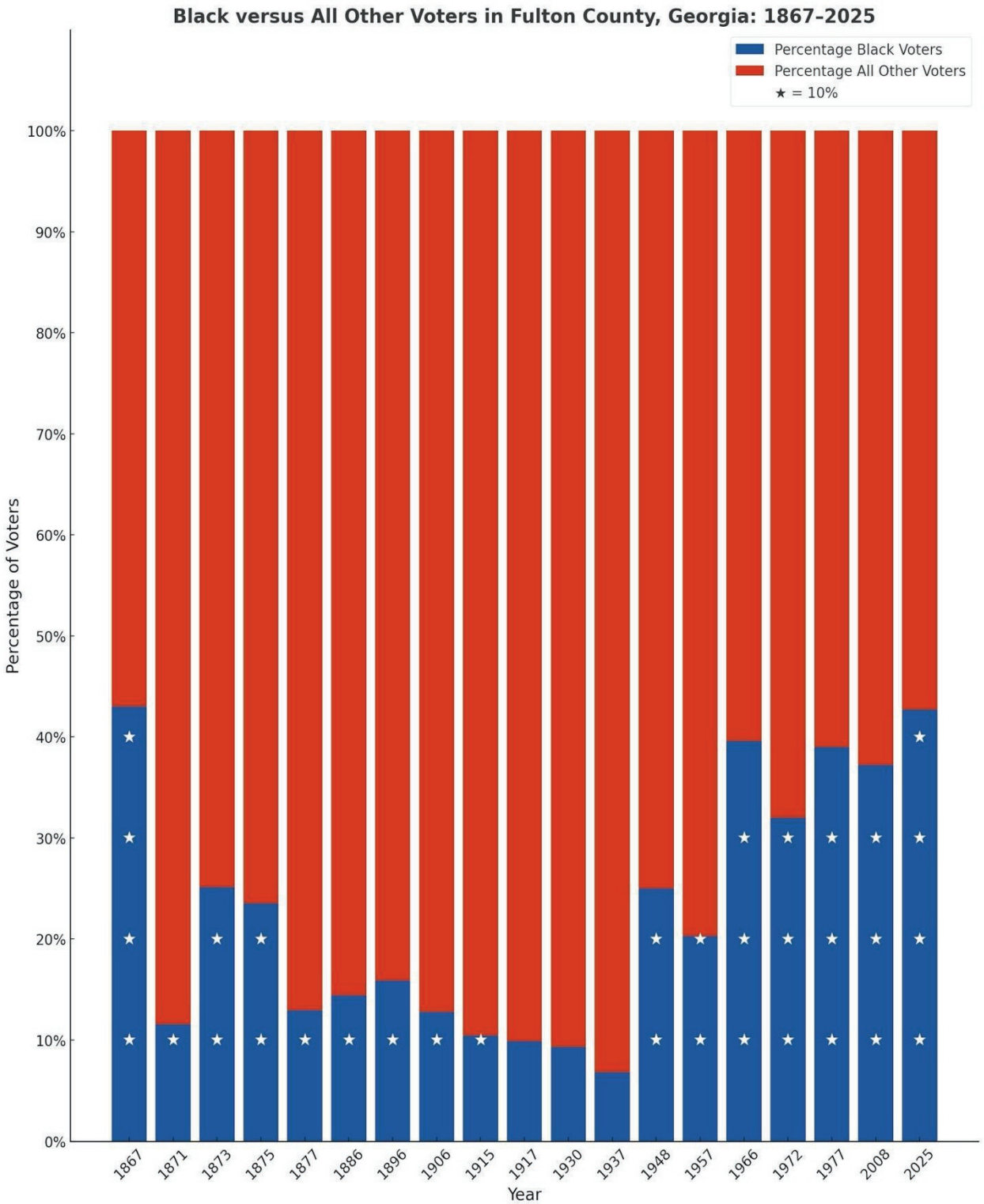


Figure 12.5 In 1867, Black voters in Fulton County were 43 percent of total registered voters. In 2025, Black voters peaked at 42.68 percent—still not surpassing the percentage of Black male residents of Fulton County voting in 1867 for the first time since emancipation.

Conclusion: County Governments as Gatekeepers of Democracy

Spanning more than one hundred years, county governments were the primary enforcers of Black disenfranchisement. In Fulton County, tax assessors, election supervisors, law enforcement officers, and court officials worked in lockstep to suppress Black suffrage through poll taxes, property requirements, literacy tests, voter intimidation, and criminal convictions. These measures effectively erased Black political participation until federal oversight forced counties to uphold the constitutional right to vote in 1965.

Fulton County's history of voter suppression highlights a broader truth: County governments, then and now, control elections. As the first point of contact for voters, county governments wielded extraordinary power and hindered Blacks from fully participating in the political process. In their role as the gatekeepers of suffrage, Fulton County Government blatantly robbed thousands of Black residents of their constitutional right to vote for more than a century. The restriction of voting rights extended beyond preventing Blacks from participating in federal and state elections; it also affected their ability to elect commissioners, sheriffs, tax assessors, clerks, solicitors, district attorneys, and judges. County governments were the enforcers of discriminatory laws and the final arbiters of access to the democratic process.

Disenfranchisement severely harmed the economic well-being of Black residents in Fulton County. It removed their ability to hold elected and appointed county officials accountable for upholding property tax inequities, failing to provide fair and equal access to health and essential human services to all residents, and using mass incarceration to exploit Black men, women, and children to produce convict goods and labor on behalf of the county.

This pattern of Black disenfranchisement in Fulton County was not unique but replicated across the United States. County governments systematically exercised their bureaucratic and legal authority to ensure Black disenfranchisement, a stark reminder of county governments' entrenched power over residents.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 slowly led to Fulton County having the highest number of registered voters in Georgia, with Black voters representing the largest racial demographic. As of March 27, 2025, Black residents made up 42.68 percent of all active voters in Fulton County, equaling the number of registered voters in 1867, when freedmen first voted in the American South (Figure 12.3).

For Black Americans, the fight for full enfranchisement has always been a struggle against the gatekeeping power of county governments themselves. Ensuring complete and equal access to the ballot requires continued recognition of the pivotal role county governments play in shaping the landscape of American democracy.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS UNDER SECTION 19
OF 1958 REGISTRATION LAW (ACT NO. 321)

NOTE: References to Code Sections are to the Annotated Code of Georgia and the Pocket Parts and Supplements. Where no answer appears, it will vary according to the applicant's residence for registration.

1. What is a republican form of government?
   Answer: A government in which the sovereign power resides in the people and is exercised by representatives elected by and responsible to the people. (Webster's Dictionary)

2. What are the names of the three branches of the United States government?
   Answer: Legislative• Executive and Judicial. (Articles I,II and III of the United States Constitution)

3. In what State Senatorial District do you live, and what are the names of the county or counties in such District?

4. What is the name of the State Judicial Circuit in which you live, and what are the names of the counties or counties in such Circuit?

5. What is the definition of a felony in Georgia?
   Answer: An offense for which the offender, on conviction, shall be liable to be punished by death or imprisonment in the penitentiary. (Code Section 26-101)

6. How many Representatives are there in the Georgia House of Representatives, and how does the Constitution of Georgia provide that they be apportioned among the several counties?

Answer: 205. The eight counties having the largest population have three representatives each; the thirty counties having the next largest population have two representatives each; the remaining counties have one representative each. (Article III, Section III, Paragraph I of the Georgia Constitution. Code Section 2-1501)

7. What does the Constitution of Georgia prescribe as the qualifications of Representatives in the Georgia House of Representatives?

Answer: Must be a citizen of the United States, twenty-one (21) years of age, a citizen of Georgia for two years and a resident of the county from which elected for one year. (Article III, Section VI, Paragraph I of the Georgia Constitution. Code Section 2-1801)

8. How does the Constitution of the United States provide that it may be amended?

Answer: The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes; as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Node of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress • (Article V of the. United States Constitution. Code Section 1-501)

9. Who is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia, and who is the Presiding Justice of that Court?
Answer: Chief Justice W. H. Duckworth, Presiding Justice Lee B. Wyatt.

10. Who may grant pardons and paroles in Georgia?
Answer: The State Board of Pardons and Paroles (Article V, Section I, Paragraph XI of the Georgia Constitution.Code Section 2-3011)?

11. Who is the Solicitor General of the State Judicial Circuit in which you live, and who is the Judge of such Circuit? (If such Circuit has more than one Judge, name them all.)

12. If the Governor of Georgia dies, who exercises the executive power, and if both the Governor and the person who succeeds him dies, who exercises the executive power?
Answer: Lieutenant Governor. Speaker of the House of Representatives. (Article V, Section I, Paragraph VII of the Georgia Constitution. Code Section 2-3007)

13. (a) What does the Constitution of the United States provide regarding the suspension of the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus?
(b) What does the Constitution of Georgia provide regarding the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus?
Answer: (a) It shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it. (Article I, Section IX of the United States Constitution. Code Section 1-127)
(b) It shall not be suspended. (Article I, Section I, Paragraph XI of the Georgia Constitution. Code Section 2-111)

14. What are the names of the persons who occupy the following State offices in Georgia?
(1) Governor
(2) Lieutenant Governor
(3) Secretary of State

(4) Attorney General
(5) Comptroller General
(6) State Treasurer
(7) Commissioner of Agriculture
(8) State School Superintendent
(9) Commissioner of Labor
Answer: (1) Marvin Griffin (2) Ernest Vandiver (3) Ben Fortson (4) Eugene Cook (5) Zack Cravey (6) George Hamilton (7) Phil Campbell (8) Claude Purcell

15. How many Congressional Districts in Georgia are there and in which one do you live?
Answer: (First Part) Ten. (Code Section 34-2301)

16. What is the term of office of a United States Senator?
Answer: Six years. (Article I, Section III of the United States Constitution. Code Section 1-107)

17. What is the term of office of a State Senator?
Answer: Two years. (Article III, Section IV, Paragraph I of the Georgia Constitution. Code Section 2-1601)

18. What is the county site of your county?

19. How does the Constitution of Georgia provide that a county site may be changed?
Answer: By a two-thirds vote of the qualified voters of the county, voting at an election held for that purpose, and by a majority vote of the General Assembly.

20. What are the qualifications for jury service in Georgia?
Answer: Must be on the books of the tax receiver and must be an upright and intelligent citizen. (Code Section 59-106)

21. What are the names of the persons who occupy the following offices in your county?
    (1) Clerk of the Superior Court
    (2) Ordinary
    (3) Sheriff
22. How may a new state be admitted into the Union?
    Answer: By Congress. (Article IV, Section III of the United States Constitution. (Code Section 1-405)

23. On what day and how often is the general election held in Georgia at which members of the General Assembly of Georgia are elected?
    Answer: On Tuesday after the first Monday in November in the even-numbered years. (Article III, Section IV, Paragraph II of the Georgia Constitution, Code Section 2-1602)
24. What does the Constitution of the United States provide regarding the right of citizens to vote?
    Answer: The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, previous condition of servitude or sex. (Fifteenth and Nineteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution. Code Sections 1-820 and 1-827)

25. In what Federal Court District do you live?

26. What are the names of the Federal District Judges of Georgia?
    Answer: Frank A. Hooper, Boyd Sloan, T. Hoyt Davis, William Bootle, Frank M. Scarlett.

27. Who are the citizens of Georgia?
Answer: All citizens of the United States, resident in Georgia (Article I, Section I, Paragraph XXV of the Georgia Constitution. Code Section 2-125. Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Code Section 1-815)

28. What is treason against the State of Georgia?
Answer: Levying war against her; adhering to her enemies; giving them aid and comfort. (Article I, Section II, Paragraph II of the Georgia Constitution. Code Section 2-202)

29. In what body does the Constitution of the United States declare that the legislative powers granted in such Constitution shall be vested?
Answer: Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives. (Article I, Section I of the United States Constitution. Code Section 1-101)

30. How many electoral votes does Georgia have in the Electoral College?
Answer: Twelve. (Article II, Section I of the United States Constitution. Code Section 1-202)

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11 Acts of the General Assembly of the state of Georgia, 1853–1854; Atlanta, Ordinance Book A, 1856, Sec 1; Atlanta, Ordinance, 1859–1869, Sec. 7–12; Atlanta, Ordinance Book A, 1857–1859, Sec 2.

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47 For the Court's ruling and list of Georgia statutes, see "Breedlove v. Suttles 302 U.S. 277 (1937)," FindLaw.com, accessed September 2, 2025, https://caselaw.findlaw.com/court/us-supreme-court/302/277.html; "Breedlove v. Suttles," Library of Congress, accessed September 2, 2025, https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/ll/usrep/usrep302/usrep302277/usrep302277.pdf.

48 Nolan Breedlove (Plaintiff) argued he was denied equal protection of the law under the Fourteenth Amendment and his Nineteenth Amendment right not to be discriminated against because of his sex. See "Breedlove v. Suttles, 302 U.S. 277 (1937)," Justia.com, accessed September 2, 2025, https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/302/277/.

49 "Chapman v. King, 154 F.2d 460 (5th Cir. 1946)," Justia.com, accessed September 2, 2025, https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/appellate-courts/F2/154/460/1478559/.

50 "Primus E. King," New Georgia Encyclopedia, accessed September 2, 2025, https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/primus-e-king-1900-1986/.

51 Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, *Atlanta and the Civil Rights Movement, 1944–1968* (South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2017), p. 14.

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53 Sims-Alvarado, A*tlanta and the Civil Rights Movement, 1944-1968*, pp. 19–21.

54 Clarence A. Bacote, "The Negro Voter in Georgia Politics, Today," *The Journal of Negro Education* 26, no. 3, The Negro Voter in the South (1957), pp. 307–313, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2293414.

55 Ibid.

56 The Georgia General Assembly passed the Neill Primary Act on June 24, 1917. See https://www.newspapers.com/image/26885910/?match=1&clipping_id=25652785; *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1931*.

[57] "Civil Rights Act of 1957," Civil Rights Digital Library, Digital Library of Georgia, accessed September 2, 2025, https://crdl.usg.edu/events/civil_rights_act_1957.

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[59] *Whitus v. Georgia*, 385 US 646 (1967), Court Listener, accessed September 2, 2025, https://www.courtlistener.com/opinion/107341/whitus-v-georgia/.

[60] "Voting Rights Act (1965)."

[61] "Harper v. Virginia Bd. of Elections, 383 U.S. 663 (1966)," Justia.com, accessed September 2, 2025, https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/383/663/#top.

[62] "January 1966: Georgia Legislature refuses to seat Julian Bond," SNCC Digital Gateway, accessed September 2, 2025, https://snccdigital.org/events/georgia-legislature-refuses-to-seat-julian-bond/.

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[64] As of March 27, 2025, the Secretary of State of Georgia reported 774,436 active voters: Black (331,388), White (289,763), Other (91,990), Asian or Pacific Islander (34,893), Hispanic (27,659), and American Indian or Alaska Native (7,744). See "Election Data Hub," Georgia Secretary of State, accessed September 2, 2025, https://sos.ga.gov/election-data-hub.

Part Five:

Racial Terror



Chapter Thirteen

The Origin of the Ku Klux Klan in Fulton County

John Wright

The controlling cause of the unsettled condition of affairs in the department is, that the greatest efforts made by the defeated insurgents since the close of the [Civil] War have been to promulgate the idea that the cause of liberty, justice, humanity, equality, and all the calendar of the virtues of freedom, suffered violence and wrong when the effort for southern independence failed. This is, of course, intended as a species of political can't, whereby the crime of treason might be covered with a counterfeit varnish of patriotism, so that the precipitators of the rebellion might go down in history hand-in-hand with the defenders of the government, thus wiping out with their own hands their own stains; a species of self-forgiveness amazing in its effrontery, when it is considered that life and property—justly forfeited by the laws of the country, of war, and of nations, through the magnanimity of the government and people—was not exacted from them.

—George H. Thomas, Major General, USA[1]

Abstract

The Ku Klux Klan (the Klan) rose to prominence at several points during the history of Fulton County. During such times, the Klan employed a variety of methods to secure social and political control county- and statewide. They used intimidation, thuggery, and terroristic violence to influence election outcomes during and after Reconstruction. From the 1910s to the 1950s, the Klan did not just influence elections; they ran members for local and statewide offices. The Klan's racial and social agendas diminished the quality of life for Fulton County residents who were Black, Jewish, Catholic, immigrants, or anti-Klan. The organization actively recruited government employees, clerks, law enforcement offices, prosecutors, judges, heads of state and local agencies, legislators, and governors. Klan members in positions of authority were able to set policies, decide who to arrest, who to prosecute, and how to sentence. They also used physical intimidation, flogging, and even murder in their efforts to enforce their goals as a White, Protestant society.

Research Questions

The objective of this investigation is to determine whether the Ku Klux Klan was active in Fulton County. If so, what was the degree of their influence, and how did they exercise that influence? Was the Klan able to infiltrate government institutions, and if so, to what extent?

Methodology

Conducting research into "secret societies" was a research challenge. This researcher had to rely on print ma-

terial, books, journal articles, interview transcripts, and newspaper articles whose locations and applications were vast and wide. Print resources were located and used in the Special Collections Department of the Fulton County Library System. Digitized material was located using databases provided by the Fulton County Library System and searches of other publicly accessible online resources.

Research into the first Klan relied heavily on the Georgia volumes of the *Report of Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States*.[2] This researcher used portions of the print copy of the report in the Special Collections Department of the Fulton County Library System and digitized versions of volumes of the report that were not available in Special Collections. Additional information was located in several print works from the Special Collections Department and several digitized articles. Newspaper articles relevant to the first Klan were located using the researcher's personal subscription to Newspapers.com.

Information on the second and later incarnations of the Klan required usage of many of the same resources. There was significantly more coverage of the second and later Klans in newspaper articles. Newspapers.com proved invaluable in locating articles and documenting the activities of the Klan. In addition, RevealDigital.com provided the researcher with complimentary access to its restricted collection, "Documenting White Supremacy and its Opponents," which centered on the 1920s. RevealDigital.com is part of ITHAKA, a nonprofit with a mission to improve access to knowledge and education for people around the world. A variety of Klan and anti-Klan publications were accessible through RevealDigital.com's unique collection.

Identifying the locations of Klan offices and specific individuals who were Klan members was also challenging. Membership lists are not available; therefore, the researcher had to rely on published accounts, such as newspapers and investigations, and the reports of individuals who were able to infiltrate the Klan and who named members or likely members. The Special Collections Departments collection of Atlanta City Directories proved invaluable in identifying the locations of Klan offices and officers.

The Origin of the Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan—the "First Klan"—was fundamentally and unabashedly a terrorist organization. It was a widely dispersed, secret organization with no acknowledged leaders—or members, for that matter. Its origin is tied to Nathan Bedford Forrest (1821–1877), plantation owner, horse and cattle trader, real estate broker, slave trafficker, and former Confederate cavalry general from Tennessee. The Ku Klux Klan was first organized in Tennessee by former Confederate politicians and military members. Forrest was the first Grand Wizard of the Klan. During his testimony to the *Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States*, he stated that in 1868, he believed there were 550,000 Klan members in the eleven former Confederate states.[3]

The Klan initially operated as a loose collection of local factions and secret vigilante groups throughout the former Confederacy. The restoration of so-called Home Rule occurred with the victory of the Democrats at the polls in 1870, made possible through extralegal means of coercion. Klan acts of terrorism were seen as a one way to redeem the South.[4] In *Report of the Secretary of War* in 1868, the Klan was described in the following manner:

> As to the objects and purposes of this organization, they can only be known by their acts and sayings while in their masks and ghostly uniforms. While thus engaged they take out citizens and kill them-some by hanging, some by shooting, and some by the slower and more certain plan of whipping, while some are whipped not until death, but severely and disgracefully. In some parts of the State, they are traveling at night as often as twice a week and visiting the houses of Union men and federal soldiers, some of whom they kill, others they whip and order from the country on

> the pain of being killed if they do not leave, while others are ordered under promise of violence if they remain after being warned to depart. This is carried on by greater or less numbers, according as the objects to be affected on the particular night are of greater or less magnitude. They rarely appear in their masks or uniforms in daylight. It is the night when they mostly travel and perpetrate their acts of violence and bloodshed. The most peaceably, orderly, quiet and, we may say, the most exemplary members of the church are not exempt from their midnight visits and are the objects of their personal violence. Instances are known where the most orderly and pious men of a neighborhood have been waked from their slumbers and beaten by them for no other reason than their political sentiments. Murders are common, particularly among the colored people, against whom the "Klan" seems to have a peculiar and mortal hatred.[5]

The Klan's objectives were to suppress the rights of Blacks, resist the reforms of the post-war Reconstruction campaign, and return absolute control of all levels of government in the former Confederate states to members of the Southern White aristocracy.

The First Klan in Georgia, 1865–1877

Georgia had a large Klan presence, as documented by the 1872 *Report of the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States*. Two of the report's thirteen volumes document Klan activities in Georgia. It is widely believed that the head of the Georgia Klan was John B. Gordon, a wealthy plantation owner, lawyer, and former Confederate general. Gordon admitted in his testimony before the Joint Select Committee that he was a member of a "secret police" organization but denied being a member of the Klan.

As stated in the report, "Perhaps the men who knew more about the formation of what has come to be familiarly known as the Ku-Klux organization than any others were General Nathan Bedford Forrest, of Tennessee, and General John B. Gordon."[6] Like Gordon, Forrest denied in his testimony before the Joint Select Committee that he was affiliated with the Ku Klux Klan.[7]



Figure 13.1 *Credit:* Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print.

The First Klan in Fulton County, 1865-1877

While Klan night riders were active throughout much of Georgia, and despite the fact that John B. Gordon once lived and enslaved four persons in Fulton County, no documented incidents could be clearly attributed to the Klan in Fulton or DeKalb Counties, according to the report.[8] It can be assumed that this was because a large number of federal troops were stationed in Atlanta. Nathan Forrest claimed that the Klan was disbanded in late 1867 or early 1868.[9] However, it is known that night rides and other acts of terror persisted at least through the election of 1870. In fact, the *Report of the Joint Select Committee* documented such acts occurring into the latter half of 1871.

One possibly Klan-related incident did occur in Atlanta during the 1870 election. In Atlanta, voting took place in the City Council chambers of City Hall over three days: December 20 to 22. On the first day, voting went smoothly. On day two, beginning at about noon, police and "special" police blocked Black voters from entering City Hall for about three hours. Entry into the polling place was open to White voters all day. Black voters and known White Republican voters were blocked from entry. On the third day, police officers completely blocked all voters from entry to City Hall. Several times on the third day of voting, the U.S. Marshall requested federal troops' assistance to ensure the polls were open

to all voters. For much of the day, Democrat voters were admitted through side doors directly into the Council Chamber, where voting was taking place.[10]

A second possibly Klan-related incident also occurred in Atlanta during the 1870s. Rufus B. Bullock was the first Republican elected governor of Georgia. Although he did not precisely fit the established definition of a "carpetbagger," he was hated by White Southerners for being a Northerner, politician, industrialist, and supporter of Black suffrage. The expulsion of Blacks from the Georgia General Assembly in 1868 and the intimidation Black voters experienced during elections resulted in Bullock asking Congress to place Georgia back under military rule by virtue of the Georgia Act in 1869 and to force legislators to swear their loyalty to the Union. Following the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in Georgia in 1870, Bullock was threatened by the Ku Klux Klan. In 1871, Bullock was forced to flee the capital city of Atlanta and the State of Georgia to save his life. He resigned as governor on October 30, 1871, and did not return to Atlanta again until 1895, when he heard Booker T. Washington give his famous Atlanta address at the Cotton State Exposition.[11]

The Enforcement Act of 1871, also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act or the Civil Rights Act of 1871, was intended to combat the paramilitary vigilantism of the Ku Klux Klan.[12] The act made certain actions committed by private persons federal offenses, including conspiring to deprive citizens of their rights to hold office, serve on juries, or enjoy the equal protection of law. The act also authorized the president to deploy federal troops to counter the Klan. It was the passage of the Enforcement Act of 1871 that ultimately ended the first Klan's reign of terror. However, its goals of ending Reconstruction era reforms, suppressing Black voting, and establishing a new era of White supremacy were by-and-large accomplished before its demise.

The Second Klan and Its Origin in Fulton County, 1915–1944

The second incarnation of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan has its origin in Fulton County but was marked by a rally held atop Stone Mountain, in DeKalb County, on Thanksgiving night, 1915. The rally was held less than four months after the lynching of a young Jewish Atlantan, Leo Frank, who was convicted of the murder of a thirteen-year-old child employee, Mary Phagan, of Marietta, Georgia. The rally was not a spontaneous event. Rather, it followed years of calls for the Klan's return from the local newspapers and members of the White community angered by the growth and occasional success of members of the Jewish and Black communities in Fulton County and throughout the South.

On March 1, 1901, the *Atlanta Constitution* documented the mass gathering of a White mob at Spring and Luckie Streets in response to an alleged assault on a White woman by a Black man. A member of the mob was quoted as calling for the reorganization of the Klan.[13] The 1905 publication of Thomas Dixon's historical romance *The Clansman* generated a nostalgic fondness for the Klan among many southern Whites. Under the banner "The Reign of Terror Must End," a letter to the editor of the *Atlanta Georgian* printed on September 1, 1906, called for the reestablishment of the Klan. The article closed with the statement, "[I]t does look to an old Ku-Klux that the old way is the best—a rope and the nearest limb." Even the lynching of Leo Frank on August 17, 1915, served to further spur angry members of

the White community to look with favor on the Klan and its form of vigilante law. The Cobb County coroner, a former Klansman who investigated the lynching in newspaper coverage, compared the lynchers' "oath bound secrecy of the vigilance committee" to the secrecy maintained by the post–Civil War Klan.[14] Finally, the 1915 release of D. W. Griffith's film *The Birth of a Nation*, which glorified the original Ku Klux Klan, served as an inspiration to the incorporators of the new Klan and a boon to early membership drives.[15]

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan filed Articles of Incorporation with Fulton County's Superior Court on October 30, 1915, with William Joseph Simmons as Imperial Wizard. They, however, did not receive a charter from the Fulton County Superior Court, followed by the Secretary of State of Georgia, until December 7, 1915.[16]

The organization characterized itself as being anti-Black, anti-immigrant, anti-communist, anti-Catholic, anti-Jew, anti-Darwin, anti-modern, and anti-liberal and claimed to be fundamentalist, moral, and militantly Protestant, preaching "one hundred percent Americanism" and demanding the "purification" of politics. The Klan adopted a variety of modern business practices. It hired full-time paid recruiters, printed its own publications, and opened a factory at 3155 Roswell Road with exclusive rights to manufacture the robes and hood members were required to buy.[17] Despite a series of scandals and internal power struggles, membership in the Klan continued to rise. For example, in 1922, Dallas, Texas, dentist Hiram W. Evans succeeded in engineering a coup to replace Simmons as Imperial Wizard. Despite the internal turmoil, by the mid-1920, membership estimates ranged from three to eight million members.

By the late 1920s, the ongoing power struggles, in combination with a series of sex scandals, financial questions, and other scandals began to impact membership. For example, Indiana Grand Dragon David Curtis Stephenson formed a breakaway Klan based in the Midwest. Then, in 1925, he was convicted on charges of the kidnapping, rape, and murder of Madge Oberholtzer. Following his conviction, Stephenson released lists of Klan members and payoffs of government officials in Indiana.[18] As a result of mismanagement and scandals, by 1930, national membership had dropped to about 30,000. In 1944, after the IRS levied a large tax liability claim against the organization, Imperial Wizard James A. Colescott disbanded the Klan and retired to Florida.[19]

Subsequent Klan Organizations, 1944 and Beyond

Klan activities continued in most areas of the country even after Colescott disbanded the national organization in 1944. Except for a brief period in the mid-1920s,when the Imperial Wizard moved the Klan's headquarters to Washington, DC, the organization remained a Fulton County-based organization from 1915 to 1963. During this period, the Klan and its members were, with very few exceptions, a dominant force in Atlanta and Fulton County. Even when the Klan did not control the city and county governments, it had enough members in key positions that it was able to effectively run a shadow government. Though various Klan organizations continue to operate throughout the country to this day, for the purposes of this report, the researcher will focus on the Georgia Klan and local Klan organizations and activities.

After national disbandment, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan officially reappeared in Georgia in October 1945, when Georgia Grand Dragon Samuel Green, an Atlanta obstetrician, reestablished the organization at a cross-burning ceremony atop Stone Mountain. Green claimed that the Klan had never dissolved and continued to operate under the charter issued in 1915, which he said had been extended for another twenty years.[20] However, when the IRS renewed efforts to collect $685,305 in past-due taxes from the Klan, Green pivoted, claiming that the new Klan, recognized as the Association of Georgia Klans (AGK), was a Georgia organization and had nothing to do with the earlier Klan. In May 1946, Green estimated forty to fifty thousand Klan members in Georgia and about twenty thousand in the seven Atlanta-area Klaverns.[21]

In an effort to revoke the Klan's charter, several organizations initiated investigations against the AGK. The Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI) and Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) found evidence of the AGK's involvement with or plans to commit acts of violence. Klan infiltrator and journalist Stetson Kennedy informed Deputy State Attorney General Lawrence Daniel Duke Sr. of events at Klan meetings and activities of the Klan's Kavalier Klub. Kennedy exposed the Kavaliers' killing of Black taxi driver Porter Flornoy Turner in August 1945, as well as the kidnapping and administration of fifty-two lashes to Black Navy veteran Hugh Johnson on February 13, 1946. [22] Duke secured charges against Klansmen for the murder of Johnson, who was found frozen to death with two three-foot whips next to his body.[23] On June 13, 1947, Fulton County Superior Court judge Bond Almand, a former Klan member, formally dissolved the charter of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.[24]

Following the revocation of its charter, the Klan did not disappear. Rather, as former Georgia Assistant Attorney General Dan Duke said, "The parent body is dead, and the wizard no longer has the power to issue edicts, but now any group can meet and call itself the Ku Klux Klan and be responsible to no one but itself."[25] The following year, in response to the statewide Black voter mobilization campaign of 1948, Georgia Grand Dragon Dr. Samuel Green began initiating thousands of new members. The Klan's violent intimidation tactics against Black voters continued as before. Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook possessed the names of prominent individuals in Georgia who were associated with the Klan but claimed that the data was stolen from his office.[26]

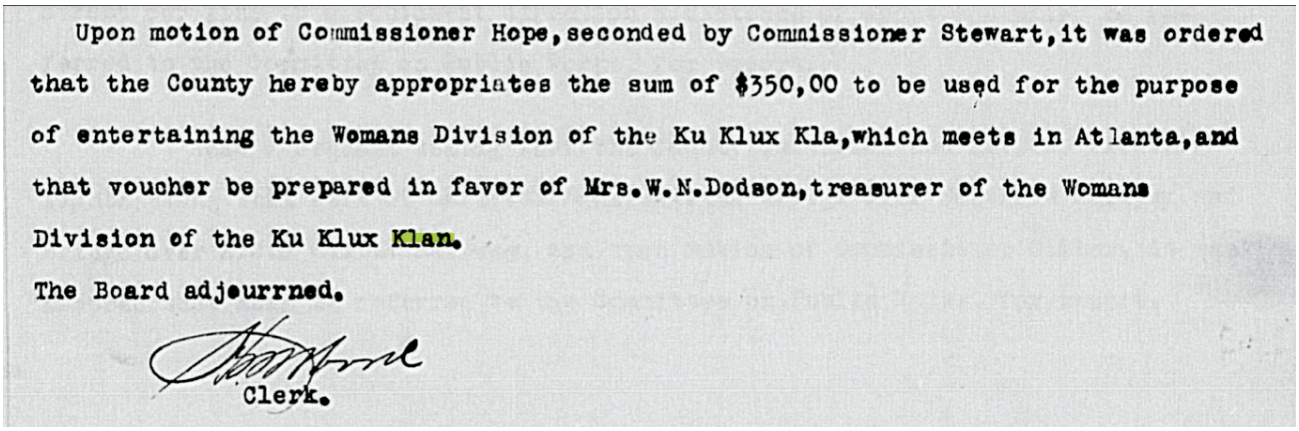
Samuel Green was promoted to Imperial Wizard on August 8, 1949, but died ten days later. His successor, Samuel W. Roper, was selected the next evening at a meeting held in the Oakland City Klavern. Roper was a former captain in the Atlanta Police Department and former head of the Georgia State Patrol who had been recently appointed to a position in the State Department of Corrections.[27] Following Roper's selection as Imperial Wizard, The *Atlanta Journal* ran an editorial from *The Augusta Chronicle* that declared, "[I]t is a sad commentary on law enforcement that the task of protecting the lives and property of citizens so often is entrusted to men who belong to a secret order which takes the law into its own hands."[28] Roper quickly moved to expand Klan reach and membership. He reinstated the Chattanooga, Tennessee, Klavern that Samuel Green had disbanded for violence. He also formed the Associated Klans of America, a brief unification of the AGK and the Alabama-based Southern Klans. Additionally, he attempted to unite the AGK with Klan groups from Tennessee, Florida, and the Carolinas.[29] Personal rivalries and power struggles again squelched all such efforts.

Roper lasted only two years as Imperial Wizard, choosing to retire to Florida in 1950. He was replaced by Eldon Lee Edwards from College Park, an automobile paint sprayer at General Motors Fisher Body Plant. Edwards continued efforts to expand the Klan. In 1955, he created a new Klan organization he called the U.S. Klans—Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. At one point, he claimed twelve to fifteen thousand members in Georgia, with fifty thousand members spread throughout nine Southeastern states.[30] Edwards died of a heart attack on August 1, 1960.[31]

Succeeding Edwards as Imperial Wizard of the U.S. Klans—Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was Reverend Roy Elonzo Davis. A Texan, Davis was a lifelong Klan member and an early associate of Imperial Wizard William Joseph Simmons, founder of the second incarnation of the Klan. He was a lifelong criminal and fraudster, arrested and jailed at least seventeen times between 1916 and 1961 on charges of fraud, grand theft, petty theft, forgery, illegal firearms possession, trafficking a minor, cross burning, and libel. Davis was convicted at least twice and served prison terms from 1917 to 1918 and 1940 to 1942. Based in Dallas during the 1950s and 1960s, he was even investigated in connection to the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Despite his shady dealings, Davis was successful as a Klan recruiter and organizer. He grew membership to around fifty thousand and briefly unified Klan groups throughout the U.S. Davis resigned as Imperial Wizard in 1964.[32] According to an FBI report, within a year, the organization had fragmented into fourteen different groups with around nine thousand members.[33]

Fulton County and Women of the Klan, 1923-1961

The Women's Division of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK) was headquartered in Fulton County upon receiving a chapter from the Fulton County Superior Courts on March 23, 1923. Fulton County Superior County granted charters to multiple women-led Klan organizations over four decades. As illustrated in Figure 13.2, Fulton County Board of Commissioners appropriated $350 from their budget to entertain the Women's Division of the Ku Klux Klan Atlanta. Funds were issued to Mrs. Jessie C. Dodson, treasurer of the WKKK during the 1920s.[34] Called the Kamelia, the female-centered body was organized by the founder of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, William J. Simmons. Claiming to be "100% American," the auxiliary society attracted large groups of followers largely because of its public relations campaign, led by Mary Elizabeth Tyler, who lived in a lavish mansion off Howell Mill Road in Atlanta, Georgia. With wealth created from the KKK, the Salvation Army, and American Red Cross, Tyler launched a marketing scheme to protect the "purity" of Southern White females. The Kamelians embraced the campaigned and became unfaltering advocates for "more stringent immigration laws . . . to oppose intermarriages between members of the white, black, yellow, and brown races" and opposition to any religious belief except Protestantism.[35]



Upon motion of Commissioner Hope, seconded by Commissioner Stewart, it was ordered that the County hereby appropriates the sum of $350,00 to be used for the purpose of entertaining the Womans Division of the Ku Klux Kla, which meets in Atlanta, and that voucher be prepared in favor of Mrs. W. N. Dodson, treasurer of the Womans Division of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Board adjourned.

Clerk.

Figure 13.2 Fulton County Commissioners approving the sum of $350 to be granted to the Women's Division of the Ku Klux Klan for a meeting held in Atlanta after the organization's incorporation in 1923.

Three additional women's auxiliaries of the Ku Klux Klan were charted or recharted by the Fulton County Superior Court in 1960 and 1961, including the Women of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., and the Ladies of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc. (Table 13.1). They operated in tandem with their male counterparts, who made a final attempt to resurrect the Klan in Fulton County as Black and White college students organized a variety of demonstrations to integrate downtown Atlanta businesses. The following decade, the terrorist organization became defunct in Fulton County.

Table 13.1 White Supremacist Organizations Chartered by the Fulton County Superior Court, 1915–1961

Name	Date incorporated	Date dissolved	Incorporated by	Officers or petitioners
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan[36]	Dec. 7, 1915	June 13, 1947	W. L. Smith & H. G. Head	Petitoners: W. J. Simmons, Imperial Wizard H. D. Shackelford, Imperial Klalif W. L. Smith, Imperial Kilgrap O. L. Teasley, Imperial Klabee G. A. Vonder-Leith, Imperial Klad W. P. Varner, Imperial Klogo A. G. Dallas, Imperial Klexter J. F. V. Saul, Imperial Klud O. B. Walker, Imperial Klarox E. R. Clarkson, Imperial Klonsil Jno. W. Bale, W. E. Floding, Robt. C. W. Ramspeck, W. C. Bennett, & W. B.Henderson, Imperial Klokann
The Kamelia—Women's Organization based on the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan[37]	March 22, 1923		W. J. Simmons	W. J. Simmons
American Fascisti & Order of Black Shirts[38]	Denied, 1931			Organized by: Holt J. Gewinner & Joseph Wood Henry J. Norton, President Raymond V. Berger& Thomas B. West, Vice Presidents James O. Wood, Secretary James R. Venable, Treasurer
The Vigilantes	Oct. 10, 1942		Eugene Talmadge	
The Fact Finders, Inc[39]				
We the People[40]			Vester M. Ownby	1944—Officers of Atlanta Council No. 1, We the People, Inc.: President—Mack H. Stowe, First Vice President—Emory C. Burke, Second Vice President—George H. Frye, Rev. E. E. George—Chaplain, Vester M. Ownby, Inner Guard, E. P. Johnson—Outer Guard, Curtis G. Riggins—Conductor, L. E. Shelnut—Runner 1947—Reestablished: Vester M. Ownby—President Floyd Dennard—Chairman
Association of the Georgia Klan[41]			Dr. Samuel Green	
The Columbians, Inc.	Aug. 16, 1946	June 26, 1947	Vester M. Ownby	Homer Loomis—President Emory Burke—Vice President
The Bilbo Club[42]		Withdrawn in 1949	Homer Loomis & Ira Jett	

US Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.[43]	Oct. 24, 1955	see note	Samuel Green, Jr.	Petitioners: E. L. Edwards, M. Wesley Morgan, William A. Daniel, Sr.
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.[44]	Dec. 7, 1959	January 15, 2001	Clifford R. Wheeless	Petitioners: H. L. Jones, R. L. Bing, W. B. Parr, J. T. Campbell
Women of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.	July 7, 1960	January 15, 2001	Florence L. Breen	Petitioners: Estelle Norris, Joan Carter, Mildred Wingate
Invisible Empire United Klans Knights, Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc.	Feb.21, 1961	January 12, 1992	Vester M. Ownby	Petitioners: Robert Day, George Sligh, William A. Daniel, Sr., M. Wesley Morgan
Ladies Auxiliary, Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc.[45]	Mar. 29, 1961	see note	Vester M. Ownby	Petitioners: R. Estelle Roster, Mary Nash, Haxel Newberry
Ladies of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc.	Sept. 5, 1961	January 15, 2001	Vester M. Ownby	President: Frances L. Wansil [sp] Secretary: Edna Williams

Table 13.2 Klan Office Locations in Atlanta and Fulton County

Name	Locations	Years
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan – William J. Simmons, Imperial Wizard—First headquarters	607 & 611 Silvey Building—5 Edgewood Avenue	1916[46] 1920[47]
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan – William J. Simmons, Imperial Wizard	618 Central Building, 31 Alabama Street	1918[48]
Domain of the Southeast	84 ½ South Broad Street	1921
Knights of the Air (Klan Air Force)	1219 Hurt Building, 45 Edgewood Avenue	1921
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan – William J. Simmons, Imperial Wizard	301-305 Haynes Building – 2 ½ Auburn Avenue—Corner of Auburn Avenue at Peachtree Street	1921[49]
Searchlight Publishing Company (Klan Publisher) – J. O. Woods, publisher	501 Flatiron Building – also known as the Georgia Savings Bank Building – 84 Peachtree Street	1922[50]
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan – William J. Simmons, Imperial Wizard—Imperial Palace	2621 Peachtree Street	1922-1928[51]
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—Propagation Department – Edward Young Clarke, Imperial Kleagle	301-305 Haynes Building—2 ½ Auburn Avenue	1922-1923[52]

Searchlight Publishing Company (Klan publisher) – J. O. Woods, publisher	8th Floor—Georgia Savings Bank Building – Flatiron Building—84 Peachtree Street	1924[53]
Searchlight Publishing Company – J. O. Woods, publisher	Wynne-Claughton Building—11 Carnegie Way	1927 ACD 1927
Knights of the Ku Klux Industrial Department	45 Roswell Road Buckhead	1924[54]
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—Realm of Georgia—Nathan Bedford Forrest, Jr., Grand Dragon	1118-1122 Wynne, Claughton Building—11 Carnegie Way	1927[55]
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan – State Headquarters—Nathan Bedford Forrest, Jr., Grand Dragon	1524-1525 Healey Building – 57-59 Forsyth Street	1929 ACD 1929
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan – State Headquarters – Samuel Green, Grand Dragon	1523–1524 Healey Building – 57-59 Forsyth Street	1930-1933 ADC 1930, 31, 32, 33
National Headquarters, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan – Samuel Green, Imperial Wizard	1523-1525 Healey Building—57-59 Forsyth Street	1929-1932[56]
Realm of Georgia – Nathan Bedford Forrest, Grand Dragon	8th Floor Georgia Savings Bank Building, Flatiron Building, 84 Peachtree Street	1938[57]
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Headquarters – James A. Coldscott, Imperial Wizard	55 Roswell Road (after street numbering changes 3155 Roswell Road)	1939[58] 1943 [59]
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan – Dr. Samuel Green, Imperial Wizard—Medical Office and Klan Headquarters	308 Peters Building—7 Peachtree Street	1947-1950[60]
Association of Georgia Klans—Samuel W. Roper, President	5 Florence Building 847 1/2 Gordon Street SW	1951[61]
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—James R. Venable, Imperial Wizard	206-207 Walter R. Brown Building— 100 1/2 Hunter Street	1964-1970[62]
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—James R. Venable, Imperial Wizard	214 Marks Building—98 Alabama Street	1971-1973[63]
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—James R. Venable, Imperial Wizard	1420 First National Bank Tower 2 Peachtree Street, NW	1972-1979[64]
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—James R. Venable, Imperial Wizard	Masonic Temple Building – 211 East Ponce de Leon Avenue (Decatur)	1980[65]

Table 13.3 The Klaverns and Their Locations Throughout Fulton County

Branch	Location	Affiliation
Klavern #1 – The Nathan Bedford Forest Klan "Mother Klan of the Nation"[66]	338 Miller Building—313 West Peachtree Street[67] Red Men's Wigwam—160 Central Avenue, SW[68] Plumbers and Steamfitters Local Union #72—198 ½ Whitehall Street [69]	Samuel Green Exalted Cyclops of the Klavern, also Grand Dragon of the Realm of Georgia and Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan[70] Expelled from the Klan from 1924-1931 by Hiram Evans for supporting William Simmons as Imperial Wizard[71]
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—Branch	58 ½ South Forsyth Street ACD 1924	Unidentified Branch
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan —411-14	67 Luckie Street ACD 1925	Unidentified Branch
Klavern #51: East Point Klan	East Point Klan Hall—East Point Avenue[72] or White Way[73]	Fulton County Deputy Solicitor General Harold Sheats, Grand Cyclops, 1933-134.[74] Fulton County Deputy Sheriff W. W. Scarborough, Grand Cyclops.[75] Scarborough was among those indicted in the East Point flogging case in 1940.[76]
Klavern #91 – The John B. Gordon Klan	505 Gould Building—9 Edgewood Avenue[77] 406 Wynne-Claughton Building -133 Carnegie Way [78]	
Klavern #207 – North Atlanta Klan (Also Riverdale or Riverside Klan)	Fraternity Hall—423 1/2 Marietta Street[79]	Vester Owenby, Exalted Cyclops[80]:
Klavern #213 – East Atlanta Klan—Joe Bush, Exalted Cyclops[81]	Corner of East Fair Street (now Memorial Drive) and Flat Shoals Road[82]	
Klavern #240—Nathan Bedford Forest Klan –	338 West Peachtree Street[83]	Established by Hiram Evans after he expelled Klavern #1
Klavern #241 – Mount Vernon Klan	Meeting Hall at the Inman Rail Yards[84]	
Klavern #297 – Oakland City Klan	1177 Lee Street, SW[85]	Samuel Roper, Exalted Cyclops, later Imperial Wizard
Klavern #268—Center Hill Klan	Center Hill Masonic Hall – Bankhead Highway[86]	
Klavern #96—College Park Klan	Meeting location not identified	Eldon L. Edwards, Imperial Cyclops, later Imperial Wizard
Buckhead Provisional Klan[87]	This Klavern likely met at the Klan Building at 45 Roswell Road	
Forrest Park Klan	Plumbers and Steamfitters Local Union #72—198 ½ Whitehall Street, SW[88]	
Hapeville Klan	Meeting location not identified	

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—Unidentified Branch	58 ½ South Forsyth Street[89]	
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan 411-14	67 Luckie Street[90]	
Kavalier Klub, Order of the Knights of the Great Forest[91]—"Military Department" of the Klan—Cliff Vittur, Nighthawk, known as "Chief Ass-Tearer"[92]	Met at Klavern #1—Plumbers and Steamfitters Local Union #72—198 ½ Whitehall Street[93] and at Wingo's Café – 625 Lee Street, SW[94]	Conducted Klan sanctioned kidnappings, floggings and murders.[95]:
Women of the Ku Klux Klan—Lenore Verble Major—Kleagle	910 C & S Building – 24-26 Marietta Street ACD 1927	

Table 13.4 Public locations of Klan initiation ceremonies

Location	County
Georgia State Capitol, Room 321[96]	Fulton
Grant Park[97]	Fulton
Piedmont Park[98]	Fulton
Atlanta Municipal Auditorium[99]	Fulton
Stone Mountain	DeKalb

Fulton County Public Officials, Administrators, and Staff as Ku Klux Klan Members

In order to appreciate the reach and influence of the Klan in Atlanta and Fulton County, it is important to see how deeply ingrained they were in the apparatus of government. Members owing their first allegiance to the Klan held elected positions at the state, county, and local levels. Other members occupied positions throughout all levels of government. With Klansmen serving as judges, prosecutors, and law enforcement officers, the Klan was effectively able to operate a shadow government. Making decisions about whom to arrest or have prosecuted or, more ominously, who have flogged or even murdered.

For example, at a June 3, 1946, meeting of the Nathan Bedford Forest Klavern, Klavern #1, thirty-eight uniformed law enforcement officers removed their weapons and placed them at the feet of Grand Dragon Samuel Green. During the meeting, Green informed members that arrangements had been worked out with Atlanta-area police forces to let the Klan deal with any racial disturbances related to the June 4 Fulton County Primary. At the close of the meeting, Klansmen were instructed that in the county primary, they should vote against the proposed county manager system because it may result in some Klan members losing their jobs.[100]

Author Stetson Kennedy, serving as a paid agent of Deputy State Attorney General Dan Duke, reported that at a meeting of Klavern #1, the Grand Dragon boasted that "We've got well over a hundred policemen in Klavern No. 1."[101] As an example, at one point, a Klansman complained about a Black employee of the coffee shop in the Grady Hotel. Rather than kidnapping and flogging him, the Nighthawk informed the Grand Dragon that "We considered the case very thoroughly, Chief, and finally decided

the best thing to do was ask one of our brothers who is a deputy sheriff to give the nigger two years on the chain-gang."[102] At a July 1946 meeting of the Oakland City Klavern, #297, the Exalted Cyclops said "that practically all members" of the city, county, and state law enforcement agencies were Klansmen. If a non-Klan police officer arrested a Klansman, the judges would release him.[103]

Table 13.5 Klan Membership: Fulton County Public Officials, Administrators, and Staff

Name	Position	Department	Klan association and other affiliations
Bond Almand	Judge	Fulton County Superior Court[104]	
Luke Arnold	Judge	Fulton County Recorder Court Judge	Klan #1[105]
Ellis Barrett	Commissioner	Fulton County Board of Commissioners	Klan #1[106]
John Boykin	Solicitor General	Fulton County Solicitor General[107]	
Edward Burdette	Deputy Sheriff	Fulton County Sheriff Dept.[108]	
A W Callaway	Judge	Fulton County Recorder Court	Klan #1[109]
Cal Cates	Lieutenant	Fulton County Police[110]	
Henry Cawthon	Special Deputy Sheriff	Fulton County Sheriff Department[111]	
Herb Edison	Deputy Sheriff	Fulton County Sheriff Department[112]	
Paul Etheridge	Fulton County Commissioner, Commissioner of Roads and Revenue	Board of Commissioners and Roads and Revenue	Imperial Kloncil [attorney]; drew both Fulton County and Klan salaries[113]
Carl E Hutcheson	School Board Member	Fulton County School Board	Associate Editor of the *Searchlight*[114]
R E Jones	Detective	Fulton County Police	Klan #297[115]
David T. Kirkland		Fulton County Police	
Paul Lambert	Deputy Sheriff	Fulton County Sheriff Department[116]	
Jim Lowry	Sheriff	Fulton County Sheriff Department[117]	
Lloyd Homer Mapp	Deputy Sheriff	Fulton County Sheriff Department[118]	
Gus Howard	Judge	Fulton County Superior Court Judge[119]	
Ralph "Ross" McClelland	Judge	Fulton County Civil Court[120]	
John O. McCrary	Investigator	Fulton County Police[121]	
Louis P. Marquart			Administrative Staff of Fulton County Solicitor General Boykin[122]
George Mathieson	Chief of Police	Fulton County Police[123]	
Charles D Owens	Clerk	Office of the Fulton County Tax Collector[124]	

Warren W Scarborough	Deputy Sheriff	Fulton County Sheriff Department[125]	Exalted Cyclops of the East Point Klan
E Harold Sheats	Deputy Solicitor and Deputy County Attorney	Office of Fulton County Solicitor General	Exalted Cyclops of the East Point Klan. Took a leave of absence from Fulton County to defend members of the East Point Klan in the 1940 flogging cases[126]
George D Sligh	Honorary Position	Fulton County Sheriff Department[127]	Exalted Cyclops and Oakland City Klan
William R Stubbins	Special Deputy Sheriff	Fulton County Sheriff Department[128]	
John H Weaver	Deputy	Fulton County Tax Receiver's Office[129]	
Fred H. Womack	Clerk	Fulton County Recorder's Court[130]	

Table 13.6 Klan Membership: Other Municipal and State Officials and Staff Associated with the Klan

Name	Position	Affiliation
Joe Allen	Atlanta City Council	Klan #1[131]
T A Andrews	East Point Police Department[132]	
Luke Arnold	Atlanta Municipal Court Judge[133]	
N H Ballard	State School Superintendent[134]	
Grady Benton	Newton County Sheriff[135]	
Fred Bridges	Assistant State Commissioner of Agriculture[136]	
J J Brown	Georgia Commissioner of Agriculture[137]	
Raymond Bryan	East Point City Employee – Mechanic[138]	
A M Campbell	Georgia State Assembly	Oconee, Washington County, Georgia[139]
W Bailey Cauthon (Cawthon?)	East Point Police Department[140]	
Orville B Cawthon	Atlanta City Council	Klan #1 and Klan #213[141]
Hugh B Cobb	Judge, DeKalb County Municipal Court[142]	
Ben Culpepper	Atlanta Warehouse Manager for US War Assets Administration[143]	Promised to procure machine guns for the Klan
M O Dunning	Chair Georgia Fish and Game Commission	Appointed Klan Chief of Staff by Imperial Wizard Hiram W Evans[144]
G Neil Ellis	Assistant Chief, Atlanta Police Department	Klan #1[145]
F Lee Evans	Atlanta City Council – Secretary at Klan Headquarters[146]	
Walter George	US Senator	Georgia[147]
John F Goodwin	Head of State Highway Patrol[148]	
George Hamilton	Georgia State Treasurer[149]	
Howard Haire	Atlanta City Council, Mayor Pro-Tem	Klan #1[150]

William J Harris	US Senator[151]	
Jimmie Helms	Detective – Atlanta Police Department	Head of Klokan Committee the Klan investigative committee Klan #1[152]
Cecil Hester	Atlanta City Council, Atlanta Police Commissioner	Klan #1[153]
Ben T Huiet	Georgia State Labor Commissioner	Klan # 1[154]
John N Holder	Chairman of the State Highway Department[155]	
Herbert Jenkins	Atlanta Chief of Police (briefly a Klan member)[156]	
Lt. "Shotgun" Johnson	Atlanta Police Department[157]	
O R Jones	Detective, Atlanta Police Department	Klan #297[158]
O L Kilpatrick	Atlanta Police Department[159]	
John Marler	Atlanta Police Commissioner[160]	
John "Itchy-Trigger-Finger" Nash	Atlanta Police Department [reputed to have killed 13 Blacks "in the line of duty"][161]	
Policeman Patrick	Atlanta Police Department[162]	
Detective Pulliam	Detective, Atlanta Police Department[163]	
Ed Rivers	Governor of Georgia[164]	
Samuel Roper	Captain Atlanta Police Department, Head of State Highway Patrol Investigation Bureau, second Director Georgia Bureau of Investigation	Exalted Cyclops of the North Atlanta Klan #297 and Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. Attended meetings in his police uniform[165]
Richard B Russell	Chief Justice Georgia Supreme Court, US Senator[166]	
Walter Sims	Mayor of Atlanta[167]	
T O Sturdivant, Jr.	Atlanta Police Department[168]	
W H Terrell	Atlanta Board of Education	Klan General Counsel until 1920[169]
Joseph Edward Turner	Atlanta City Council[170]	
Peter S Twitty	Georgia Commissioner of Fish and Wildlife[171]	
William D Upshaw	Congressman	5th Congressional District[172,173]
Clifford Walker	Governor of Georgia[174]	
Thomas E Watson	U. S. Senator – Claimed to be the "King of the Ku Klux Klan"[175]	
Joseph O Wood	Georgia State Representative from Fulton County	paid for work for Klan department of investigation, editor of Klan newspaper "Searchlight"[176]

The lists in Tables 13.5 and 13.6 should not necessarily be interpreted as an indictment of the individuals named. Rather, they are intended to illustrate the reach and pervasiveness of the Klan. To quote former Fulton County Deputy Solicitor General and Former Deputy Georgia Attorney General Daniel Duke,

> Well, there were many, many people like that that belonged to the Klan. And what is so obnoxious to me in our time, people say: 'Oh, he was a member of the Klan' and stop right there. They are intellectually dishonest when they do it that way, and they do a lot of harm and a lot of wrong. People are products of their own culture and background. . . .[177]

Other White Supremacist Groups Organized in Fulton County

Through the 1940s, an assortment of White supremacist organizations were formed in Fulton County. Some filed petitions of incorporation, and some were granted articles of incorporation. Others operated briefly and faded away. Regardless, all were committed to the cause of White supremacy and the oppression of Blacks and, usually, Jews and Catholics. Most also held staunchly anti-immigrant and anti-union attitudes, as well. Among those groups were the Nationalists, organized by former Klan Imperial Wizard William Joseph Simmons in the early 1930s;[178] Vigilantes, Incorporated, chartered in Fulton County Superior Court on October 10, 1942, by supporters of Eugene Talmadge;[179] and the Fact Finders, Inc., organized in 1944, which held at least one meeting at the Masonic Lodge in Buckhead.[180] Two of the organizations formed in Fulton County are particularly noteworthy because of their attempts to emulate European Fascist groups. Following is a closer examination of the American Fascist Association and Order of the Black Shirts and the Columbians.

The American Fascist Association and Order of the Black Shirts, 1930–1931

As membership for the Ku Klux Klan diminished during the 1920s, a new but short-lived terrorist organization emerged. The American Fascist Association and Order of the Black Shirts (the Black Shirts) was conceptualized in 1930 for the sole purpose of running Black workers out of jobs during the early years of the Depression. Leading this effort were Holt J. Gewinner, Joseph Wood (Klansman and former gubernatorial candidate), Henry J. Norton (president), Raymond V. Berger and Thomas B. West (vice presidents), James O. Wood (secretary), and James R. Venable (treasurer). The men hoped to establish the organization to mobilize the working class like their predecessors in the Klan. Wearing black shirts as their regalia, unemployed workers picketed Atlanta's White establishments and pressured employers to not hire Blacks until all Whites were employed.[181] After the fall of the stock market in 1929, job competition between Blacks and Whites not only escalated racial tension, but also created the opportunity for employers to reduce wages for all workers. By the summer of 1930, over 150 Atlanta business leaders, American Legion members, and Fulton County and City of Atlanta law enforcement and government officials came together with the goal to "foster the principles of White supremacy."[182]

The Black Shirts formed shortly after the lynching of an eighteen-year-old Morehouse student, Dennis Hubert. Hubert was shot at point-blank range by a mob of seven White men on the Crogman School playground on the evening of June 15, 1930. He was accused of speaking "inappropriately" to the wife of J. Glover Gavin. This was soon revealed to be a case of mistaken identity. In response to the outcry from Atlanta's Black, civically engaged middle class, members of the mob were quickly arrested.[183]

Soon charged with murder were J. Glover Garvin (1676 Rodgers Avenue) and six accomplices: Tom

Berryman (175 Georgia Avenue), Troy T. Marton (Hapeville), Murry W. Harmon (1006 Pryor Street, SW), Roy Evans (917 Pryor Street, SW), Aubrey Sikes, (1004 Pryor Street, SW) and "Fat" Wilson.[184] According to detectives, Sikes was responsible for shooting Hubert. However, testimony from members of the mob said Martin was the gunman. In fact, all of the members of the mob possessed guns.[185] Six of the seven men were found guilty and given sentences ranging from two to fifteen years of hard labor. Sikes was tried separately and charged with voluntary manslaughter. For the Hubert family and the Black community, the Fulton County Superior County failed to sentence the Hubert's murderers harshly.

Fulton County experienced great division in 1930 and 1931. Blacks' organized efforts to see Dennis Hubert's killers convicted of murder shocked and outraged members of metro-area White supremacist groups. Possibly even more shocking to them were the groups of socially conscious Whites who wanted Hubert's family to receive justice for the loss of their son and who refused to be intimidated by groups like the Black Shirts.

During the trials of Dennis Hubert's murderers, national news publications became critical of Atlanta newspapers for their failure to expose the Black Shirts' efforts to establish the nation's first fascist organization , as well as their intimidation of Black workers and White employers. A pressure campaign developed, urging the Fulton County Superior Court to postpone granting the hate group a charter of incorporation. On September 26, 1930, the *Atlanta Constitution* printed a letter submitted by the Fulton County Grand Jury urging the City of Atlanta to deny the Black Shirts' request for a permit to parade the city streets. The letter stated,

> We have sufficient evidence to convince us that the Black Shirt organization has no proper place in the life of this city, for the reason that it has inculcated fear in the hearts of some of our citizens and has created a spirit of unrest throughout the city.[186]

Nevertheless, it existed as a clandestine organization and recruited over twenty-one thousand members from Georgia and beyond. The group would remain active until at least 1934. Stickers with the Black Shirts' emblem reading slogans such as "Wanted: 100,000 Red Blooded White Americans in This State"; "Let's Get Back to the Spirit of '76"; and "Black Shirt Are the Minute Men of Today!" were found on businesses as far away as Philadelphia.[187]

Time published the following article on September 8, 1930. It explains the origins of the fascist origination and challenges Atlanta newspapers to explain their reasons for remaining silent on the Black Shirt's existence and reprehensible activities:[188]

> "Races: Blackshirts v. Blackmen"
>
> Last month in Atlanta, Ga., birthplace of the (second) Ku Klux Klan and Order of the Supreme Kingdom, there came into being an "American Fascist [*sic*] Association and Order of Black Shirts." Its organizers were Holt J. Gewinner and Joseph Wood, onetime Klan candidate for governor. In petitioning the Fulton County Superior Court for a charter (not

yet granted) the association claimed its purposes were "white supremacy," "charity," "patriotism" and assistance to members in finding jobs. Dues: $1. The Black Shirts prepared to run Negroes out of jobs, replace them with unemployed "Fascist" members. Atlanta stores advertised black shirts at reduced rates. The Atlanta newspapers were silent on the new organization, printing little or nothing about its mushroom growth to a membership of over 21,000. Four nights ago, the Black Shirts paraded in Atlanta to thwart a Communist Sacco-Vanzetti memorial meeting.

Last week the new order came in for a sound drubbing at the hands of the potent *Macon Telegraph* (by reputation the best-edited paper in Georgia). In a signed front-page editorial headed "Crack the Head of This Newest Nasty Thing," able Editor William Thomas Anderson declared:

. . . What have the Atlanta newspapers been doing that they have permitted a thing like this to blossom and flourish. . . and never a line about it?. . . The Telegraph is of the opinion that the more quickly a bad matter is brought to the light. . . the sooner it will be dissipated. . . . If the kluxing effort had been shown up to start with, thousands of good Georgians would never put on a mask or a nightshirt at $10 for a 35¢ garment and the order would have died aborning. . . .

The Black Shirts. . . want to run all the Negroes out of their jobs and give these to white people. . . . Here we have been thinking all these centuries that if we could only get the Negro to go to work, to hold his job, all would be well with the white man. . . . Now that the Negro has gone to work, up jumps an order to put the white man to work again. We don't think the thing is going to be popular for very long. For if the Negro doesn't work and make his living, the white man must work and make it for him. A fine program the Black Shirts have mapped out!. . . We have Atlanta and her newspapers to thank for this, as publicity in the beginning would have prevented their getting 2,100 members, instead of 21,000.

Editor Anderson's blast produced results in Atlanta. The *Atlanta Constitution* broke its silence. It reported that the Federal Grand Jury would soon inquire into the Black Shirts. The basis of the investigation: charges that "Fascist" committees had called on Atlanta employers of Negroes, ordered them, under threats of violence, to discharge their Black help and hire jobless Black Shirts. A violation of a federal statute that provided sentences of up to ten years in jail and a $5,000 fine for persons who "conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the constitution or laws of the U.S."

When the Black Shirts' petition for incorporation came before the Fulton County Superior Court on October 17, 1930, it was rejected by Judge G. H. Howard.[189] But failing to establish a charter in Georgia did not thwart the group's efforts to capitalize on the fears of Whites frustrated by the economic chal-

lenges of the Depression. Instead, it was granted a charter in Orlando, Florida. Despite being incorporated in Florida, the group maintained its headquarters in Atlanta.[190]

The Columbians, 1946–1947

In the immediate post-World War II era, racial tensions were particularly high as White supremacists feared erosion of their perceived superiority and political control. With the poll tax and White primary election declared as unconstitutional in 1945, Fulton County residents were profoundly impacted by racial tension during the weeks leading up to and after the Georgia elections of July 1946. Papers reported the news that war veteran Maceo Snipes of Rupert, Georgia, had been fatally shot for voting during the Democratic primary election on July 18, 1946. Snipes was the only Black person to cast a ballot at his Taylor County voting precinct during the primary election. The *Atlanta Daily World*, *Atlanta Constitution*, and *Atlanta Journal* covered the brutal shootings of two Black couples in Walton County on July 26, when an angry mob of masked men fired sixty bullets at the couples. The victims, executed on a dirt road near the Moore's Ford bridge, were identified as World War II veteran George Dorsey, Mae Murray Dorsey, Dorothy Malcom, and Roger Malcom. On August 6, 1946, a seventeen-year-old Martin Luther King Jr. wrote letter to the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* opining on the lynching of Maceo Snipes and the Dorsey-Malcolm couples killed by mob violence.

In that tense climate, an Atlanta newspaper announced that the Fulton County Superior Court had granted the Columbians' charter on August 16, 1946 (Petition No. 18598). The charter was granted despite concurrent efforts led by Dan Duke, at the time the assistant state attorney general, to revoke the Klan's Fulton County charter. It was the first neo-Nazi political party formed in the United States after World War II, and it was established in Fulton County.

The Columbians described themselves as a "patriotic and political" group that sought to create voter unity among "all White American citizens who are adherents of the true American spirit." The Columbians were founded by Homer Loomis Jr., a World War II veteran from New York, and Emory Burke, veteran of numerous White supremacist and fascist groups. Serving as the organizers' attorney was Vester Ownby, former Cyclops of Klan Klavern 207 and alleged member of the Black Shirts.[191] The organization was modeled on the German "Brownshirts," founded by Adolph Hitler in 1921. Their membership was composed mostly of angry young men and women who wore uniforms consisting of khaki pants or skirts, khaki shirts, and black ties. Their shirts were emblazoned with an arm patch of a red lightning bolt derived from the double lightning bolts worn by the Nazi Schutzstaffel (SS), the "protective echelon" described as the "political soldiers" of the Nazi Party.

The Columbians were repeatedly granted permits to parade and picket throughout Atlanta.[192] They threatened and beat Blacks. They proclaimed White working-class areas as "White zones" and sought to discourage White property owners and neighborhood residents from renting or selling to Jews or Blacks. It was believed that the Columbians were responsible for the explosion that destroyed the property of Minnie Sibley, an Black woman residing at 333 Ashby Street SW, now Joseph E. Lowery Blvd SW. It is also believed that they planned to bomb the Atlanta Police Station, the Atlanta Journal-Consti-

tution Building, City Hall, and the City Auditorium.[193] Loomis and several other members were arrested for demonstrating at the residence of Frank Jones and his wife, a Black couple who had purchased a home previously owned by Whites.[194] In a trial held in the Fulton County Superior Court, Homer Loomis Jr. and Emory Burke were found guilty on December 3, 1948, of inciting a riot and usurpation of the police force in 1947. Member Ira Jett was also convicted for possession of dynamite.

The Columbians organization began to crumble virtually as soon as it was formed due to the efforts of infiltrators like Stetson Kennedy, members of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League (NAZL), and the Georgia assistant attorney general to arrest and convict its leaders for their efforts terrorize Blacks, Jews, and Catholics. By June 1947, Homer Loomis stated that he was the last remaining member of the organization. Though its existence in Fulton County was short-lived, the Columbians' use of propaganda influenced the Southern Dixiecrats, who broke from the Democratic Party in 1948. The organization's use of dynamite to intimidate Blacks, Jews, and Catholics influenced other White supremacist groups to mirror such practices for decades across the United States.

Klan Organizations and Activity, post-1950

The years following 1950 were volatile and brought major change to race relations in Fulton County. In March 19609, a direct-action demonstration from Atlanta University Center ignited in downtown Atlanta, met with opposition from the Klan. A cross-generation of Black and White activists pushed for integration of lunch counters, movies, hotels, hospitals, and other public services and accommodations. During the same period, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. woke to the burning of a small cross, placed on his front lawn by the Klan after they learned of his return to Atlanta. College student activism continued for the next four years, with the young activists refusing to be intimated by the Klan, whose members now abashedly exposed their identities and faces to both the community and the press.



Figure 13.3 *Credit:* Photographed by Maurice Pennington, Atlanta Life Insurance Company, 1960.

James R. Venable founded the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan on top of Stone Mountain in 1963. The Venable family owned Stone Mountain, Pine Mountain, and Arabia Mountain, all used for quarrying granite. Venable grew up Klan. He attended school with Nathan Bedford Forest's grandson and was the youngest person to attend the Klan revival atop Stone Mountain on Thanksgiving night in 1915, which he did with his uncle Sam, who was a Klan secretary. Despite Venable's bona fides, from 1964, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan effectively ceased to exist. He nevertheless served as Imperial Wizard of the group until his retirement in 1987.[195]

Still, numerous Klan organizations continued to exist, some with multi-state memberships, though they were and continue to be small and disjointed. In Georgia, for example, there was the Georgia Realm of the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, headed by Calvin F. Craig, an Atlanta construction worker. Craig served as Grand Dragon of the Georgia Realm until 1968, when he resigned his position and left the Klan to work for a nation where "black men and white men can stand shoulder to shoulder in a united America."[196]

Conclusion

Of course, the Klan has not gone away. In his just-published book *White Robes and Broken Badges: Infiltrating the KKK and Exposing the Evil Among Us*, Joe Moore discusses his ten years as an undercover agent infiltrating the Klan. He was specifically tasked with investigating enduring ties between law enforcement and the White supremacist organization. Moore observed that far-right ideology like the Klan's has two principal origins: "One is geographical, where you are raised up in an area where that ideology is simply a part of a belief system. The second is a generational origin in which it's handed down." As Congressman Jamie Raskin stated in his introduction to *White Robes and Broken Badges*, Moore "shows how the KKK remains a central entry point and organizing force for violent White nationalism in America." Moore's experience infiltrating the Klan was not unlike that of Stetson Kennedy, who infiltrated the Klan eight decades ago. And the sentiments of the American Fascist Association and Order of Black Shirts as expressed in the stickers they posted on businesses; "Let's Get Back to the Spirit of '76," and "Black Shirt Are the Minute Men of Today!" have an all too familiar ring today.

Of particular interest and relevance to this project is the extent to which Georgia and Fulton County officials, acting in their governmental capacities, simultaneously held positions of authority and leadership in the Ku Klux Klan and other White supremacist, terrorist organizations. These include U.S. Senators, Georgia legislators, Fulton County commissioners, Atlanta City Council members, Board of Education members, judges, and law enforcement. These individuals were empowered to make life and death decisions for Black residents in Fulton County. They could, and did, arrest and sentence Black people to endure mistreatment and economic exploitation in Fulton County chain gangs and convict labor camps, for conduct that was perceived to threaten the racial hierarchy and norms of White supremacy. They also could—and did—kidnap, lynch, assault, and murder Black citizens indiscriminately and, in most instances, without consequences. Their indiscriminate use of violence created a climate of fear that stifled Black economic activity, restricted access to property ownership, and deterred investment in Black neighborhoods. The systematic disenfranchisement and terror perpetuated by these state-sanctioned entities hindered the economic development of Black communities, perpetuating cycles of poverty. Furthermore, Fulton County's issuance of charters to the Klan and the Columbians provided these organizations with legal legitimacy, embedding White supremacist terrorism into the institutional framework of governance.

Even after their charters were revoked, these groups were effectively deputized to enforce racial apartheid. This systemic violence and exclusion undermined Black economic participation and reinforced the racial wealth gap, with long-lasting effects on the economic prosperity of Black individuals in Fulton County and beyond. These extralegal exercises of governmental authority had widespread and devastating effects on Black individuals and communities in Fulton County.

The Klan and the Columbians received the official imprimatur of Fulton County, as the legal existence of these organizations was established by the Fulton County Superior Court's issuance of a charter. As such, these organizations were creatures of the state, and even after their charters were revoked, they continued to operate as deputized shadow entities, authorized to use terrorism to maintain racial

apartheid in Fulton County, across Georgia and throughout the South, at the expense of and to the detriment of Black people.

Economic Analysis

The Ku Klux Klan's history in Fulton County left a legacy of racial terror, social oppression, and deep economic inequality. This report looks at how the Klan shaped the county's economy and government, and it outlines the long-term effects of their actions and influence. While this analysis cannot measure the exact impact on Black residents, it does highlight ways in which the county's failure to stop the Klan led to harm.

1. Impact on Property Rights and Economic Participation

Klan intimidation, including violence and bombings, fostered insecurity that discouraged Black property ownership and forced families to relocate. This hostility created "White zones," undermined economic stability for Black households, and expelled Black workers via campaigns like the Black Shirts' during the Depression.

2. Taxation and Redistribution Disparities

Black residents funded public infrastructure but were excluded from its benefits, despite paying higher taxes relative to services received. In 1930, Black residents paid taxes on property assessed at over twice the value per acre as Whites, yet were limited to underfunded institutions. Public funds were also diverted to Klan-associated groups, reducing equitable investments in education and infrastructure.

3. Labor Market Disruption

The Klan's economic ideology sought to reinforce a racially stratified labor market, particularly during the Great Depression and the Jim Crow era. Groups like the Black Shirts directly targeted Black workers, forcing employers to replace them with unemployed White workers. This coercion not only displaced Black families from the workforce but also perpetuated wage suppression and labor inefficiencies. The resulting labor disruption exacerbated poverty and widened racial income gaps, slowing economic growth in sectors reliant on labor stability.

4. Institutional Capture and Economic Policy

The Klan infiltrated Fulton County's institutions, leading to policies that deepened economic inequities. Klan-affiliated authorities selectively enforced laws, penalized Black businesses, and protected Klan-aligned actors, perpetuating economic disenfranchisement. Public decisions prioritized White economic interests by denying protections and allowing violence, distorting competition and capital flow.

5. Economic Impact of Social Instability

The Klan's activities fostered social instability and suppressed economic potential. Fear of violence de-

terred investment in Black neighborhoods and limited mortgage and loan access. These systemic barriers still drive disparities in wealth, education, and entrepreneurship as part of the Klan's lasting impact.

The Klan's control over social, economic, and political institutions in Fulton County significantly impeded equitable economic development. Black residents bore the brunt of systemic exclusion, resource misallocation, and labor suppression, resulting in economic disparities that can be measured with sufficient data. Quantifying these economic damages requires detailed historical and economic modeling, including projections of lost wealth accumulation and property valuation differentials. However, such analysis would provide a foundation for equitable reparative measures in Fulton County.

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Chapter Fourteen

A Genocidal Pattern of Lynching in Fulton County

Ann Hill Bond

"The Bronze Legacy, To a Brown Boy"

'Tis a noble gift to be brown, all brown,
Like the strongest things that make up this earth,
Like the mountains grave and grand,
Even like the very land,
Even like the trunks of trees—
Even oaks, to be like these!
God builds His strength in bronze.
To be brown like thrush and lark!
Like the subtle wren so dark!
Nay, the king of beasts wears brown;
Eagles are of this same hue.
I thank God, then, I am brown.
Brown has mighty things to do.

—Effie Lee Newsome

Abstract

The legacy of racial terror in Fulton County, Georgia, remains a critical yet often overlooked chapter in the history of systemic racial violence in the United States. This report seeks to document lynching as a method of racial control and genocide against Blacks, focusing specifically on Fulton County. It has served as a foundational resource for the Fulton County Reparations Task Force study, connecting the historical harms of lynching to actionable recommendations for reparative justice.

Using the framework established by the United Nations (UN) Genocide Convention, this report will demonstrate how lynching in Fulton County fits the criteria for genocide, characterized by the intentional killing, psychological terror, and economic destabilization of Black communities. By documenting these crimes and their long-term impacts, this report aims to highlight the necessity of addressing this history through reparations and systemic reforms.

This report incorporates data from the Equal Justice Initiative, the Fulton County Remembrance Coalition, and the historic petition *We Charge Genocide*, among other sources.[1] It provides a detailed analysis of documented lynching cases, explores their social and economic impacts, and outlines recommendations for reparative justice. These findings have been and continue to be used to inform and support the ongoing work of the Fulton County Reparations Study Committee.

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- **Equal Justice Initiative (EJI)**: For their comprehensive research on lynching in America and their dedication to memorializing victims of racial terror
- **Fulton County Remembrance Coalition**: For their tireless work in documenting and honoring lynching victims in Fulton County through initiatives like the soil collection project
- **Contributors to the UN Framework for Reparations**: For establishing a global standard for addressing systemic harms
- **Historical records and researchers**: Including the creators of the *We Charge Genocide* report, the Monroe and Florence Work project, and local archives that provided invaluable data and narratives
- **Community members and activists**: For their courage in sharing personal stories and advocating for reparative justice in Fulton County

This report is dedicated to the memory of the victims of racial violence and to the communities still striving for justice.

Methodology

The report synthesizes archival research, oral histories, and historical data guided by the UN Genocide Convention and other reparations frameworks. Key steps in the process included:

- **Data Collection**
  - Utilized records from the EJI, Fulton County Remembrance Coalition, and other historical databases to compile information on lynching cases in Fulton County[2]
  - Conducted a review of archival materials, including newspapers, court records, and oral histories, to contextualize individual cases and community impacts[3]
- **Framework for Analysis**
  - Employed the UN Genocide Convention criteria to evaluate lynching as a form of genocide[4]
  - Applied the UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on Reparations to develop actionable recommendations[5]
- **Community Engagement**
  - Incorporated insights from local activists, historians, and community members to ensure the report reflects lived experiences and community priorities
- **Recommendations Development**
  - Synthesized findings into targeted policy recommendations, focusing on economic restitution, memorialization, and systemic reform

Gaps in Historical Records

The exact wording of Georgia's 1893 Anti-Lynching Law has not been located in readily available archives. Secondary sources confirm its enactment and general provisions, but the legislative text remains elusive. Contemporary accounts and legal analyses, including records from the Georgia Archives and the Library of Congress, may provide further insights. Additionally, historical rewards—such as Governor W. Y. Atkinson's $500 bounty for lynchers in a 1895 Columbus, Georgia, case—contextualize the broader governmental response to lynching during this era.

Introduction: The History of Lynching in Fulton County

Between 1877 and 1950, at least thirty-six Blacks were lynched in Fulton County, making it the number-one site of racial terror in Georgia.[6] During this period, Georgia recorded the second-highest number of lynchings in the United States, with over five hundred documented cases. These acts of racial violence were not isolated events, but part of a broader system designed to reinforce White supremacy and suppress Black progress.[7]

Systemic Nature of the Violence

The lynchings and massacres in Fulton County were not isolated incidents. Local authorities, including law enforcement and government officials, were often complicit in the violence, either by failing to prosecute perpetrators or by actively participating in these acts. The overlap between the Ku Klux Klan and local officials created a culture of impunity, ensuring that racial terror could be used as a tool of control without fear of legal consequences.

Community and Family Impact

These acts of violence devastated Black families and communities in Fulton County, leading to economic displacement, intergenerational trauma, and the entrenchment of racial hierarchies. Families who lost loved ones to lynching often faced additional intimidation and financial ruin, exacerbating existing inequities. The victims of lynching were often breadwinners and community leaders, leaving their families devastated and economically vulnerable. Survivors faced not only the loss of loved ones, but also the psychological trauma of living under constant threat. Lynchings were often public spectacles, attended by hundreds, meant to instill fear and enforce racial hierarchies. This climate of terror forced many Black families to flee their homes, contributing to displacement and the economic marginalization of entire communities.

Systemic Complicity

Local law enforcement and government officials often turned a blind eye to lynching, refusing to prosecute perpetrators or actively participating in the violence. The overlap between members of the Ku Klux Klan and law enforcement further institutionalized racial terror. This systemic complicity ensured that lynching remained a tool of control, with its perpetrators rarely held accountable.

Cases of Racial Violence and Lynching

1. The Lynching of Mack Henry Brown (1877)

Mack Henry Brown was abducted from his home in Atlanta, Georgia, by a group of White men and later found handcuffed, bound, and shot. His lynching was reportedly triggered by accusations of inappropriate behavior toward a White woman. Brown's murder exemplifies how such allegations were weaponized to justify acts of racial terror and suppress Black autonomy.

2. The Palmetto Massacre (1899)

On March 16, 1899, a mob of masked White men in Palmetto, Georgia, attacked nine Black men held in a warehouse. All five men—John Bigby, Henry Bingham, Bud Cotton, Edward Brown, and Tip Hutson—were killed. According to oral histories, a total of nine men were killed in the massacre. The incident was sparked by a series of fires in Palmetto, for which suspicion fell without evidence on Black residents. The five accused men were apprehended and held in a warehouse whose owner collected a $300 reward for the effort. The mob opened fire on the captured men without trial or due process.

During this era, Black suspects were frequently subjected to violence, intimidation, and forced confessions. Bud Cotton was reported to have confessed to arson, implicating the others, likely under duress. The massacre devastated Palmetto's Black community, exemplifying how racial terror lynchings were used to reinforce White supremacy.[8]

3. The Lynching of Warren Powell (1889)

On September 4, 1889, fourteen-year-old Warren Powell was forcibly removed from jail by a mob in East Point and lynched. Powell was accused of assaulting a White girl, but no evidence or trial substantiated the claim. His death was a deliberate act of racial terror, targeting a child to instill fear in Fulton County's Black residents.[9]

4. The Lynching of Sterling Thompson (1901)

Sterling Thompson, a politically active Black man, was lynched in his home near the Chattahoochee River by a White mob. His prominence in the community and refusal to submit to racial oppression made him a target. Thompson's lynching was a direct effort to suppress Black political power and economic autonomy in Fulton County.[10]

5. 1906 Atlanta Massacre

From September 22 to 25, 1906, White mobs terrorized Atlanta's Black communities, killing over twenty-five Black residents, with some estimates suggesting up to one hundred victims.[11] The violence, fueled by sensationalized media reports and racist political campaigns, targeted Black individuals indiscriminately. Key victims included

- **William "Henry" Welch:** Shot while cutting a client's hair and dragged to the Henry Grady statue
- **Frank Smith:** Stabbed, beaten, and thrown off a bridge on Forsyth Street
- **Leola Maddox:** Fatally stabbed while shopping with her husband
- **Milton Brown:** Lynched while walking home on Peters Street
- **Sam Magruder:** Shot while fleeing a mob near Crew Street
- **Frank Fambro:** Lynched in his grocery store by deputized men
- **George Wilder:** Seventy-year-old Civil War veteran lynched near Fambro's store
- **James Fletcher and Will Moreland:** Killed by Atlanta City Police on Randolph Street
- **Clems Rhodes:** Shot and killed in South Atlanta/Brownsville
- **Will Marion:** Shot and killed
- **Sam Robinson:** Shot and killed by soldiers for "not halting"
- **Annie Sheppard:** Shot in the chest at point-blank range and killed

The massacre also resulted in the destruction of Black-owned businesses, including Alonzo Herndon's barbershop, and displaced hundreds of families. Law enforcement failed to protect Black residents, and only two White men were convicted for their roles in the violence.[12]

6. The Lynching of Floyd Carmichael (1906)

Floyd Carmichael was forcibly taken from his home by a White mob and lynched under accusations of assaulting a White woman. These accusations were never substantiated, reflecting a broader pattern of using baseless claims to justify racial terror. Carmichael's death highlights the systemic impunity for White mobs during this period.[13]

7. The Lynching of Zeb Long (1906)

Zeb Long was lynched in East Point after being forcibly removed from jail by a mob. Known for speaking out against racial oppression, Long was accused of "incendiary talk" that challenged White supremacy. His lynching sent a chilling message to Black activists and community leaders in Fulton County.[14]

8. The Lynching of Dennis Hubert (1930)

On June 15, 1930, Dennis Hubert, an eighteen-year-old Black teenager, was lynched on the playground of Atlanta's segregated Crogman School. His murder came after an alleged altercation with a White man. Hubert was shot and killed by a mob who acted without legal proceedings. His death underscores how spaces meant for education and safety were turned into sites of terror for Black communities in Fulton County.[15]

9. The Lynching of Thomas Finch (1936)

Thomas Finch was lynched in downtown Atlanta, one of the last documented lynchings in Fulton County. Finch's death underscores the persistence of racial violence and the systemic failure to protect Black citizens well into the twentieth century.[16]

Economic and Social Harms for Victims, Families, and Communities

- **Economic genocide:** Lynchings disrupted Black families' economic stability by forcibly displacing them from their homes and communities. Destruction of property and livelihoods often accompanied these acts of violence, exacerbating generational poverty.
- **Psychological impact:** The public spectacle of lynching, in which victims were hanged or burned before large crowds, was designed to intimidate and dehumanize. Fear of becoming a victim discouraged Blacks from asserting their rights, whether by voting, organizing, or seeking legal redress.

Warren Powell (1889)

The lynching of fourteen-year-old Warren Powell, who was unjustly accused of assaulting a White girl, illustrates the deep economic harm caused by racial violence. Powell's family was likely forced into financial hardship following his murder, as they would have lost not only their loved one but also his ability to work and sustain the family's livelihood.

Sterling Thompson (1901)

Sterling Thompson, a prominent Black politician, was murdered by a White mob because he stood up for Black political participation. The violence surrounding his death led to further losses of land and political power for Black families in the area.

The 1906 Atlanta Race Massacre

The Atlanta Race Massacre devastated Atlanta's Black community economically and psychologically, with many families losing not only loved ones but also homes, businesses, and livelihoods. The riot highlights the long-term impacts of racial violence on community infrastructure. Many Black communities have been left without adequate investment in their infrastructure, contributing to cycles of poverty. The destruction of businesses and homes during the Atlanta Race Riot in 1906 deprived many Black families of the ability to send their children to school.

The legacy of such violence continues to affect the wealth gap today. The trauma from this event likely impeded educational opportunities for multiple generations. The massacre displaced hundreds of Black families and decimated thriving Black business districts, causing economic devastation that would last generations. It also reinforced racial hierarchies and racial control through terror, ensuring that Black Atlantans remained politically and socially subordinate.

Frank Fambro (1906)

The lynching of Frank Fambro during the 1906 Atlanta Race Riot disrupted his life and the broader Black community's economic development.[17] At the time of his death, Fambro was a shop owner in Brownsville. The riot, fueled by racial violence, resulted in significant loss of property and business opportunities for Black residents.

William "Henry" Welch (1906)

Henry Welch's 1906 lynching prevented him from accessing opportunities for upward mobility in the workforce. Upon his death, Welch was a barber. At that time, in the context of racial segregation, Black males were limited to specific employment opportunities, male grooming being the largest occupation at the time. This pattern of exclusion from economic opportunities has persisted for generations.

Thomas Finch (1936)

Thomas Finch's lynching demonstrates that racial violence continued to thrive well into the twentieth century. Finch, like many Blacks, was likely prevented from acquiring wealth and property due to the pervasive climate of fear and violence

Lynching as Genocide

Application of the Genocide Framework

The lynching of Blacks in Fulton County aligns with the definition of genocide under the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted in 1948.[18] Specifically, it aligns with the following elements:

- **Killing members of the group:** The documented lynchings of at least thirty-six Blacks in Fulton County represent deliberate acts of killing aimed at reinforcing White supremacy and controlling the Black population. Victims like William "Henry" Welch, Milton Brown, and Thomas Finch were targeted for their race with the intent to terrorize and control the Black community.
- **Causing serious bodily or mental harm:** Beyond physical violence, lynchings inflicted profound psychological trauma on surviving family members and the wider Black community, fostering a climate of perpetual fear.
- **Deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to destroy:** The economic and social displacement caused by lynchings, along with barriers to legal and political participation, created conditions that hindered Black families' ability to thrive, perpetuating systemic poverty and disenfranchisement.

Systemic Complicity

The role of local and state institutions in enabling lynching cannot be overlooked. In many cases, lynchers benefitted from

- **Law enforcement inaction:** Local police either ignored mob activity or actively participated in the violence. For example, in the Palmetto Massacre of 1899, authorities made no effort to stop the killings or hold perpetrators accountable.
- **Judicial failure:** The lack of convictions for lynching cases reinforced impunity, effectively sanctioning racial violence.
- **Ku Klux Klan influence:** The Klan's significant overlap with law enforcement and government officials institutionalized racial terror in Fulton County, turning lynching into a state-tolerated practice.

Integration of the UN Framework for Reparations

The UN's *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation* provide a clear framework for addressing harms like those caused by lynching.[19] This framework outlines five key components of reparations, all of which are applicable to Fulton County's history of racial violence:

1. **Restitution:** Restore victims and their descendants to the conditions they would have enjoyed had the harm not occurred. This includes access to property, housing, and educational opportunities lost due to lynching.
2. **Compensation:** Provide monetary compensation for economic harm, such as loss of land, wages, and livelihoods caused by lynching and displacement.
3. **Rehabilitation:** Address the psychological and social harm inflicted through lynching by offering mental health services and community healing programs.
4. **Satisfaction:** Acknowledge and memorialize the victims through public apologies, historical markers, and educational initiatives that confront the legacy of racial violence.
5. **Guarantees of non-repetition:** Implement systemic reforms to prevent the recurrence of racial violence, including measures to address institutional racism in law enforcement and government.

Legacy of Racial Terror and Path to Reparations

The legacy of lynching in Fulton County continues to manifest in systemic inequities, including disparities in wealth, education, and political representation. Recognizing lynching as genocide and addressing its consequences through the UN reparations framework provides a path toward justice and healing. By aligning reparative efforts with these global principles, Fulton County can set a precedent for addressing historical and ongoing racial harms.

Georgia's 1893 Anti-Lynching Law

On December 20, 1893, Georgia became the first state in the union to pass a law against lynching, making the act punishable by four years in prison. However, this statute proved largely ineffective in curbing the practice, as enforcement was minimal, and lynchings continued unabated.[20]

Analysis and Context

On December 20, 1893, Georgia became one of the first states in the southern United States to enact legislation explicitly addressing lynching, commonly referred to as the Anti-Lynching Act of 1893.[21] This law was an early attempt to combat the widespread racial violence and mob killings that disproportionately targeted Blacks in the post-Reconstruction era. However, the law's effectiveness was limited, and lynching remained a persistent and systemic problem in Georgia and throughout the South well into the twentieth century.

Key Provisions

Between 1882 and 1968, nearly two hundred anti-lynching bills were introduced before Congress and seven U.S. presidents.[22] In 1893, Georgia's anti-lynching legislation sought to curb the practice by holding law enforcement officers and local governments accountable for preventing mob violence.[23] The provisions included

1. **Accountability for law enforcement officials:** Sheriffs and jailers who failed to protect prisoners in their custody from lynching could be fined and removed from office. Some accounts suggest a financial penalty of up to $500, though this figure remains unverified in primary sources.[24]
2. **Governor's authority:** The governor of Georgia was granted the authority to remove sheriffs found negligent in protecting individuals from lynch mobs.[25]
3. **Civil liability for counties:** Counties where lynchings occurred could be held financially liable and required to pay compensation to the victim's family or estate. This was intended to incentivize local governments to prevent mob violence.
4. **Definition and scope:** While the term *lynching* was not explicitly defined in the law's text, it addressed extrajudicial killings and mob executions, particularly in cases where mobs sought to usurp legal processes.

Challenges and Ineffectiveness

Despite its intentions, the 1893 Anti-Lynching Law was rarely enforced. Several factors contributed to its limited impact:

- **Collusion with mobs:** Law enforcement officials and local governments often colluded with lynch mobs, either passively allowing the violence or actively participating.
- **Judicial bias:** The judicial system's pervasive racial prejudice often ensured that perpetra-

tors of lynching were not prosecuted or convicted.

- **Social norms:** Public support for lynching as a means of "justice" undermined efforts to enforce the law.

Ida B. Wells, a prominent anti-lynching activist, documented these failures in her 1899 pamphlet *Lynch Law in Georgia*, which detailed the ongoing violence and the inadequacy of legal protections for Blacks.[26]

Broader Context and Legacy

The passage of Georgia's Anti-Lynching Law occurred during a period of increasing awareness about the breakdown of law and order caused by mob violence. However, the persistence of lynching despite legislative efforts highlighted systemic issues. Between 1882 and 1968, nearly two hundred anti-lynching bills were introduced in Congress, with varying degrees of success; most efforts were obstructed by Southern lawmakers who supported racial segregation and White supremacy.[27] Georgia's 1893 law set a precedent for other states to enact similar measures, though these laws often suffered from the same enforcement failures. Efforts to combat lynching gained momentum during the twentieth century, driven by activists like Ida B. Wells and organizations such as the NAACP. However, it was not until the Civil Rights Movement and federal intervention that lynching began to decline significantly.

Historical Relevance

Georgia's 1893 Anti-Lynching Law was a pioneering, albeit flawed, legislative effort to address mob violence. Its limited enforcement and the continued prevalence of lynching after its passage underscore the systemic challenges in combating racial violence during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This law represents an important, though insufficient, step in the long struggle for racial justice and legal accountability in the United States.

Federal Legislation: The Emmett Till Anti-Lynching Act (2022)

After more than two hundred failed attempts since 1900, the U.S. House of Representatives passed the Emmett Till Anti-Lynching Act, making lynching a federal crime. The bill passed in a 422–3 vote, with Georgia Representative Andrew Clyde one of the three Congressmen who voted against it.[28]

Recent State Initiatives

- **Georgia hate crimes law (2020):** In the wake of Ahmaud Arbery's killing, Georgia enacted new bipartisan hate crimes legislation in June 2020. This law requires enhanced sentencing for defendants convicted of targeting a victim due to actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, sex, sexual orientation, gender, mental disability, or physical disability.[29]
- **Proposed cold case task force (2022):** The same week that the U.S. Congress passed the Emmett Till Anti-Lynching Act, Georgia's Legislative Black Caucus proposed House Bill

1555, which aimed to establish a task force to investigate unsolved lynching cases in Georgia, reflecting a continued effort to address historical racial violence.[30]

These legislative actions, both at the state and federal levels, underscore the ongoing struggle to confront and rectify the legacy of lynching and racial violence in Georgia. Incorporating this legislative history into the discussion of lynching as genocide highlights the systemic challenges and evolving legal responses to such atrocities.

Conclusion

The legacy of lynching in Fulton County continues to shape disparities in wealth, opportunity, and justice. By adopting reparative measures aligned with global principles, Fulton County can lead the way in addressing the harms of racial terror and creating a path toward justice. The history of lynching in Fulton County is not just a record of violence—it is a legacy of systemic racial terror that continues to shape the social and economic realities of Blacks today. The deliberate killing, displacement, and economic disenfranchisement of Black residents created generational harm, reinforcing racial hierarchies and institutionalizing inequities that persist into the present.

This report has shown how lynching meets the criteria for genocide under international law, through the lens of the UN Genocide Convention. It has also highlighted how the UN Framework for Reparations provides a roadmap for addressing the harm caused by racial violence. Fulton County, as a historical epicenter of these atrocities, has an opportunity to lead in confronting its past and providing meaningful reparations. The recommendations outlined in this report, ranging from memorialization efforts and educational investments to economic restitution and systemic reforms, are not merely symbolic gestures. They represent tangible steps toward justice, healing, and equity for the descendants of lynching victims and the wider community. By acknowledging its history and committing to reparative actions, Fulton County can begin to heal the wounds inflicted by racial terror and set an example for other jurisdictions grappling with similar legacies. The time for action is now. This report calls on the Fulton County Reparations Study Committee, local and state governments, and the broader community to work collaboratively in implementing these recommendations. Only by addressing the historical harms of lynching can Fulton County move toward a future defined by justice and equity.

The campaign of lynching in Fulton County functioned not merely as brute violence but as a calculated mechanism of economic coercion whose scars endure in local wealth and development patterns. Between 1877 and 1950, at least thirty-six documented killings—along with the mass atrocity of the 1906 Atlanta Race Massacre, which destroyed scores of Black-owned businesses—wrought direct and indirect financial calamities on Black households. Every life lost represents more than the negation of personal future earnings; many victims, such as Warren Powell and Sterling Thompson, were breadwinners whose murders deprived their families of immediate income, pushed widows and children into poverty, and dissolved the human capital crucial to community resilience.

Property destruction during episodes of racial terror further accelerated capital flight from Black neighborhoods. The 1906 Riot alone razed enterprises like Alonzo Herndon's barbershop and hundreds of

homes, wiping out business equity and neighborhood credit networks. Rebuilding under conditions of legal impunity, when neither law enforcement nor courts offered restitution, proved prohibitive. Lenders raised interest rates or refused loans in the wake of mob violence, stifling entrepreneurship and preventing generational asset accumulation.

Lynching also inflicted pervasive psychological trauma that depressed both labor productivity and civic participation. Public spectacles of terror dissuaded Black men and women from asserting property rights, pursuing professional advancement, or engaging in collective organizing that might have redressed economic grievances. Forced migrations out of Fulton County, often under threat of mob reprisal, depleted the local labor pool and fragmented consumer markets, reinforcing segregated patterns of White investment and Black disinvestment.

Viewed through the lens of the UN's definition of genocide, these killings and their attendant economic devastations meet the criteria of "deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about the destruction of a group." By suppressing Black wealth creation, land ownership, and business development, lynching entrenched a racial wealth gap whose echoes persist in today's disparities in homeownership rates, business creation, and intergenerational income. Any reparative framework must therefore account not only for the moral imperative of memorializing victims, but also for the quantifiable economic losses—lost earnings, destroyed capital, diminished credit access, and capital flight—that underlie the enduring gap in prosperity between Black and White residents of Fulton County.

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Chapter Fifteen

Summary of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill and Its Legacy in Georgia

Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD

Abstract

Introduced in 1918 by Congressman Leonidas C. Dyer (R-Missouri), the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill was the first major federal attempt to criminalize lynching and hold county officials and law enforcement accountable for failing to protect victims and arrest and prosecute mob participants. The bill also demanded that restitution for victims' families be paid by county governments. The Dyer Bill arose in the context of widespread mob violence, often aimed at Black Americans, with little to no prosecution at the state or local levels. It passed the U.S. House of Representatives in 1922, but was blocked in the Senate by Southern Democrats and ultimately never enacted.

As stated in H.R. 11279, 67th Congress, 2nd Session, 1922, the key provisions and penalties are as follows:

1. **County liability:** The county where a lynching occurred would pay $10,000 per victim to the victim's family or the U.S. Treasury, if no heirs could be identified (Section 4).
2. **Mob participants:** Any person involved in a lynching could be fined up to $5,000 and/or imprisoned for up to five years (Section 2).
3. **Sheriffs and peace officers:** Officials who fail to protect victims or refuse to arrest mob members may face the same penalties: up to $5,000 in fines and five years in prison (Section 3).
4. **Public officials refusing to prosecute:** Any law enforcement or public official who failed in their duty to arrest and prosecute participants would also face $5,000 fines and five years' imprisonment (Section 3).

Table 16.1: Lynching Bill Penalties Overview: County Government and Law Enforcement

Responsible Party	***Fine***	***Prison Term***
County (where lynching occurred)	$10,000 per victim	None
Mob Participants	Up to $5,000	Up to 5 years
Sheriffs or Peace Officers	Up to $5,000	Up to 5 years
Officials Refusing to Prosecute	Up to $5,000	Up to 5 years

The *fines were woefully low*, given the moral and human value of a life. In 2025, $10,000 in 1922 equals almost $200,000—worth far less than the irreplaceable losses of life and dignity that lynching victims and their families suffered.

Connection to Fulton County and Georgia

According to the Equal Justice Institute, between forty and fifty lynchings were documented in Fulton County, Georgia, between 1889 and 1950. These acts of racial terror were primarily aimed at Black Americans and were carried out with the tacit or active cooperation of local authorities. Under the Dyer Bill, Fulton County would have faced civil liability of $10,000 per lynching, totaling nearly $200,000 in 1922 dollars (or between $8 million and $10 million in 2025), payable to victims' families or the federal government. Sheriffs, deputies, and local officials who failed to protect individuals from lynching or who failed to prosecute it would have been subject to federal criminal penalties and fined.

Legacy and Advocacy

Walter White, a native of Atlanta, Georgia, played a defining role in pushing for federal anti-lynching legislation. As assistant secretary, and later executive secretary, of the NAACP, White personally investigated over *forty lynchings* across the South between 1918 and the early 1930s. Light-skinned enough to pass as White, he risked his life by posing as a White man to infiltrate White communities and gather firsthand accounts of racial violence. His *undercover investigations exposed* the brutal reality of lynchings and generated critical evidence and media attention that fueled the NAACP's national campaign to pass the Dyer Bill. White's roots in Atlanta made him acutely aware of Georgia's lynching crisis, and he used his personal connection to Fulton County to spotlight local governments' complicity in racial terror.

Ida B. Wells, one of the first and fiercest anti-lynching crusaders, laid the intellectual and moral foundation for the bill through her 1890s exposés, including those on Georgia lynchings. In Atlanta, some *White women activists*, particularly those from church groups and interracial coalitions, joined efforts to pressure Georgia's lawmakers to take a stand against mob violence.

Although the Dyer Bill failed, its spirit endured. The *Ahmaud Arbery case in Georgia*—involving the 2020 murder of a Black man by White vigilantes—sparked national outrage and helped renew federal efforts. In 2022, the *Emmett Till Anti-Lynching Act* was finally passed, defining lynching as a federal hate crime. However, unlike the Dyer Bill, it lacks a *restitution clause* that would hold counties or officials financially responsible.

Together, these efforts by Black and White activists reflect the long struggle for justice and federal accountability. The Dyer Bill remains a powerful symbol of a missed opportunity and a blueprint for what actual restitution and justice could look like.

Chapter Sixteen

The Anti-Lynching Bill

Congressman Leonidas Dyer

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CONGRESS, } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. { REPORT
Session. } { No. 452.

ANTILYNCHING BILL.

OCTOBER 31, 1921.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

Mr. DYER, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the following

REPORT.

[To accompany H. R. 13.]

The Committee on the Judiciary, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 13) to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of any State the equal protection of the laws, report the same back with the recommendation that the said bill do pass with the following amendment: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That the phrase "mob or riotous assemblage," when used in this act, shall mean an assemblage composed of five or more persons acting in concert for the purpose of depriving any person of his life without authority of law as a punishment for or to prevent the commission of some actual or supposed public offense.

SEC. 2. That if any State or governmental subdivision thereof fails, neglects, or refuses to provide and maintain protection to the life of any person within its jurisdiction against a mob or riotous assemblage, such State shall by reason of such failure, neglect, or refusal be deemed to have denied to such person the equal protection of the laws of the State, and to the end that such protection as is guaranteed to the citizens of the United States by its Constitution may be secured it is provided:

SEC. 3. That any State or municipal officer charged with the duty or who possesses the power or authority as such officer to protect the life of any person that may be put to death by any mob or riotous assemblage, or who has any such person in his charge as a prisoner, who fails, neglects, or refuses to make all reasonable efforts to prevent such person from being so put to death, or any State or municipal officer charged with the duty of apprehending or prosecuting any person participating in such mob or riotous assemblage who fails, neglects, or refuses to make all reasonable efforts to perform his duty in apprehending or prosecuting to final judgment under the laws of such State all persons so participating except such, if any, as are or have been held to answer for such participation in any district court of the United States, as herein provided, shall be guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment not exceeding five years or by a fine of not exceeding $5,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Any person who participates in a mob or riotous assemblage that takes from the custody or possession of any State or municipal officer any person held by such officer to answer for some actual or supposed public offense and puts such person to death as a punishment for such offense, or any person who participates in any mob or riotous assemblage that obstructs or prevents any State or municipal officer in discharging his duty to apprehend, prosecute, protect, or punish any person suspected of or charged with any public offense and puts such person to death as a punishment for such offense shall be guilty of a felony and on conviction thereof shall be imprisoned for life or for not less than five years.

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SEC. 4. That any person who participates in any mob or riotous assemblage by which a person is put to death shall be guilty of a felony, and on conviction thereof shall be imprisoned for life or for not less than five years.

SEC. 5. That any county in which a person is put to death by a mob or riotous assemblage shall forfeit $10,000, which sum may be recovered by an action therefor in the name of the United States against such county for the use of the family, if any, of the person so put to death; if he had no family, then to his dependent parents, if any; otherwise for the use of the United States. Such action should be brought and prosecuted by the district attorney of the United States of the district in which such county is situated in any court of the United States having jurisdiction therein. If such forfeiture is not paid upon recovery of a judgment therefor, such court shall have jurisdiction to enforce payment thereof by levy of execution upon any property of the county, or may compel the levy and collection of a tax therefor, or may otherwise compel payment thereof by mandamus or other appropriate process; and any officer of such county or other person who disobeys or fails to comply with any lawful order of the court in the premises shall be liable to punishment as for contempt and to any other penalty provided by law therefor.

SEC. 6. That in the event that any person so put to death shall have been transported by such mob or riotous assemblage from one county to another county during the time intervening between his capture and putting to death, each county in or through which he was so transported shall be jointly and severally liable to pay the forfeiture herein provided.

In construing and applying this act the District of Columbia shall be deemed a county, as shall also each of the parishes of the State of Louisiana.

SEC. 7. That if any section or provision of this act shall be held by any court to be invalid, the balance of the act shall not for that reason be held invalid.

The prevalence in many States of the spirit which tolerates lynching, accompanied too often with inhuman cruelty, and the inability or unwillingness of the public authorities to punish the persons who are guilty of this crime, threaten very seriously the future peace of the Nation. Not only is lynching a denial of the right secured by law to every man of a fair trial before an established court in case he is charged with crime, not only does it brutalize the communities which suffer it by breeding a spirit of lawlessness and cruelty in the young people who see barbarities unpunished and uncondemned, not only does it terrorize important bodies of our citizens, but it inevitably leads the people whose rights are thus trampled upon to leave the regions where their lives, their families, and their property are in danger, and move to others where they can find peace and protection, thus disturbing the labor situation all over the country. It also blots our fair fame as a Nation, for we can not claim to be civilized until our laws are respected and enforced and our citizens secured against the hideous cruelties of which we are constantly furnishing fresh examples.

The people of the United States suffer justly under the grievous charge that they continue to tolerate mob murder. It is well known that the innocent, equally with the guilty, suffer the cruel inflictions of mob violence. Mobs have even invaded court rooms and prisons to seize and murder prisoners whose punishment had already been fixed. Local and State authorities frequently offer only the feeblest objection to the actions of the mob which is permitted to do its will unchecked. Rarely are the members of a mob sought out and prosecuted even when, undisguised and in full daylight, they have participated in murder, and only in a few isolated cases has any lyncher ever been punished. Patriotic citizens throughout the country feel the shame which lynchings cast upon the Nation. The time has come when the United States can no longer permit the setting at naught of its fundamental law. We can no longer permit open contempt of

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the courts and lawful procedure. We can no longer endure the burning of human beings in public in the presence of women and children; we can no longer tolerate the menace to civilization itself which is contained in the spread of the mob spirit.

The Republican Party, which received such a large majority at the last general election, adopted as a part of its platform at Chicago the following:

> We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end lynching in this country, which continues to be a terrible blot on our American civilization.

President Harding, in his first message to the Congress, on April 12, said:

> Congress ought to wipe the stain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a free and orderly representative democracy.

Ex-President Wilson, on July 26, 1918, issued an appeal to the American people to stop lynchings. He said:

> I therefore very earnestly and solemnly beg that the governors of all the States, the law officers of every community, and above all, the men and women of every community in the United States, all who revere America and wish to keep her name without stain or reproach, will cooperate, not passively merely, but actively and watchfully to make an end of this disgraceful evil. It can not live where the community does not countenance it.

Ex-Attorney General Gregory, May 6, 1918, in an address to the American Bar Association, said:

> We must set our faces against lawlessness within our own borders. Whatever we may say about the causes for our entering this war, we know that one of the principal reasons was the lawlessness of the German nation—what they have done in Belgium, and in northern France, and what we have reason to know they would do elsewhere. For us to tolerate lynching is to do the same thing that we are condemning in the Germans.
>
> Lynch law is the most cowardly of crimes. Invariably the victim is unarmed, while the men who lynch are armed and large in numbers. It is a deplorable thing under any circumstances, but at this time, above all others, it creates an extremely dangerous condition. I invite your help in meeting it.

These and similar appeals have gone for naught. Lynchings continue. This is evidenced by many lynchings that have taken place this year. It is impossible to get data touching all these outrages. Many lynchings take place and the facts never reach the public. I include a memorandum showing some of the very recent lynchings, to wit:

Lynching, 1921.

Name.	Date.	Place.	Manner of lynching.
1. Jim Roland	Jan. 2	Mitchell County, Ga	Shot.
2. Robert Lewis	Jan. 4	Meridian, Miss	
3. Sam Williams	Jan. 6	Talbotton, Ga	Hanged.
4. William Beard (white)	Jan. 13	Jasper, Ala	Shot.
5. Alfred Williams	Jan. 24	Norlina, N. C	Do.
6. Plummer Bullock	...do	...do	Do.
7. Henry Lowery	Jan. 26	Nodena, Ark	Burned.
8. George Werner	Feb. 1	Port Allen, La	Hanged.
9. ——— ———	Feb. 4	Vicksburg, Miss. (near)	
10. Elijah Jones	Feb. 12	Ocala, Fla	Do.
11. Ben Campbell	Feb. 10	Wauchula, Fla	Do.
12. ——— ———	Feb. 12	Odena, Ala	
13. John Eberhardt	Feb. 16	Athens, Ga	Burned.
14. Richard James	Mar. 13	Versailles, Ky	Hanged.
15. William Bowles	Mar. 14	Eagle Lake, Fla	Do.
16. Browning Tuggle	Mar. 15	Hope, Ark	Do.
17. Adolphus Ross	Mar. 19	Water Valley, Miss	Do.
18. Arthur Jennings	Mar. 20	Hattiesburg, Miss	Do.

Lynching, 1921—Continued.

Name.	Date.	Place.	Manner of lynching.
19. Phil Slater	Mar. 22	Monticello, Ark	Hanged.
20. Sandy Thompson	Apr. 4	Langford, Miss	Do.
21. Rachel Moore	Apr. 9	Rankin County, Miss	Do.
22. Tony Williams	Apr. 15	Rodessa, La	Shot.
23. ——— ———	Apr. 25	Carriere, Miss. (Picayune)	Hanged.
24. Roy Hammonds	Apr. 29	Bowling Green, Mo	Do.
25. ——— ——— (white)	Feb. 6	Monroe, La	Burned.
26. Berry Bolling (white)	May 7	Huntsville, Tenn	Hanged.
27. Sam Ballinger	May 8	Starke, Fla	Do.
28. Leroy Smith	May 11	McGhee, Ark	
29. George Marshall	Apr. 15	Lauderdale, Miss	Shot.
30. John Henry Williams	June 18	Moultrie, Ga	Burned.
31. ——— ———	do	Enid, Miss	Shot.
32. Herbert Quarles	June 19	McCormick, S. C	Do.
33. Louis Wimberly	June 20	Jackson, Miss	Hanged.
34. "Red" Bilbro	June 29	Madison County, Miss	Do.
35. Casey Jones (white)	July 23	Hattiesburg, Miss	Do.
36. ——— ———	Aug. 3	Lawrenceville, Va	Do.
37. Alex. Winn	Aug. 15	Datura, Tex	Hanged (body burned).
38. Walter Smalley	Aug. 16	Augusta, Ga	Do.
39. Will Allen	Aug. 24	Chapin, S. C	
40. William Anderson	Mar. 4	Baker County, Ga	
41. ——— ———	Jan. —	———, Ga	Shot.
42. ——— ———		———, Ga	Hanged.
43. ——— ———		———, Ga	Drowned.
44. ——— ——— (woman)		———, Ga	Do.
45. Mansfield Butler	Sept. 8	Aiken, S. C	Shot.
46. Charlie Thompson	do	do	Do.
47. Gilman Holmes	Sept. 13	Columbia, La	Hanged (body burned).
48. Ernest Daniels	Sept. 18	Pittsboro, N. C	Hanged.
49. Edward McDowell	Sept. 19	McComb, Miss	
50. Jerome Whitfield	Aug. 14	Jones County, N. C	Do.
51. Ed. Kirkland	Oct. 24	Allendale, S. C	Shot (body burned).
52. Sam Gordon	Oct. 25	Winneboro, La	Hanged.

In the 30 years from 1889 to 1918, 3,224 persons were lynched, of whom 2,522 were Negroes, and of these 50 were women. The North had 219; the West, 156; Alaska and unknown localities, 15; and the South, 2,834, with Georgia leading with 386, and Mississippi following with 373. Yet in Georgia Negroes paid taxes on 1,664,368 acres, and owned property assessed at $47,423,499. Of the colored victims 19 per cent were accused of rape and 9.4 per cent of attacks upon women. In the year 1919, 77 Negroes, 4 whites, and 2 Mexicans were lynched. Ten of the Negroes were ex-soldiers; one was a woman. During 1920 there were 65 persons lynched; 6 were white and 59 were Negroes; 31 were hanged, 15 shot, 8 burned, 2 drowned, 1 flogged to death, and 8, manner unknown; 24 were charged with murder, 2 assault on woman, 15 attack on woman, 3 insulting woman, 1 attempted attack on woman, 1 attack on boy, 1 stabbing man, and 3 assaulting man.

The Congress must provide the means of ending this cowardly crime. It is in punishing those who take part in it or who permit it. Congress has the power to enact this bill into law.

The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution provides that no State "shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws," and further provides that "the Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." It is well settled by decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States that the denial forbidden is not alone a denial by positive legislation but that "no agency of the State, or of the officers or agents by whom its powers are exerted, shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

It is thus made the duty of the Congress under the Constitution to enact such laws as may be needful to assure that no State shall

deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Within the limits of the jurisdiction thus conferred the Congress has the right to exercise its discretion as to what laws or what means can best accomplish the desired end.

In nearly all cases of lynching the person put to death is taken by a mob from the sheriff, marshal, or other police officer of the State, whose failure to defend and protect him denies to him the equal protection of the laws.

In Ex parte Virginia (100 U. S., 339, 346) the Supreme Court in an unanimous opinion by Mr. Justice Strong, speaking of the prohibitions of the fourteenth amendment, says:

> They have reference to actions of the political body denominated a State, by whatever instruments or in whatever modes that action may be taken. A State acts by its legislative, its executive, or its judicial authorities. It can act in no other way. The constitutional provision therefore must mean that no agency of the State, or of the officers or agents by whom its powers are exerted, shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Whoever, by virtue of public position under a State government, deprives another of property, life, or liberty, without due process of law, or denies or takes away the equal protection of the laws, violates the constitutional inhibition; and as he acts in the name and for the State, and is clothed with the State's power, his act is that of the State. This must be so, or the constitutional prohibition has no meaning. Then the State has clothed one of its agents with power to annul or to evade it.
>
> But the constitutional amendment was ordained for a purpose. It was to secure equal rights to all persons; and to insure to all persons the enjoyment of such rights, power was given to Congress to enforce its provisions by appropriate legislation. Such legislation must act upon persons, not upon the abstract thing denominated a State, but upon the persons who are the agents of the State in the denial of the rights which were intended to be secured. (See also the very recent cases of Home Telephone Co. *v.* Los Angeles, 227 U. S., 278, 290; Buchanan *v.* Worley, 245 U. S., 60, 77.)

A distinguished southern judge has given this definition:

> By "equal protection of the laws" is meant equal security under them to everyone in his life, his liberty, his property, and in the pursuit of happiness. It not only implies the right of each to resort on the same terms with others to the courts of the country for the security of his person and property, the prevention and redress of wrongs, and the enforcement of contracts, but also his exemption from any greater burdens and charges than such as are equally imposed on all others under like circumstances.

The Supreme Court of the United States says of this provision:

> When the facts shown establish an administration directed so exclusively against a particular class of persons as to warrant and require the conclusion that, whatever may have been the intent of the laws as adopted, they are applied by the public authorities charged with their administration, and thus representing the State itself, with a mind so unequal and oppressive as to amount to a practical denial by the State of that equal protection of the laws which is secured to the petitioners as to all other persons, by the broad and benign provisions of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Though the law itself be fair on its face and impartial in appearance, yet if it is applied and administered by public authority with an evil eye and an unequal hand, so as practically to make unjust and illegal discriminations between persons in similar circumstances material to their rights, the denial of equal justice is still within the prohibition of the Constitution.

In another case the same court said:

> An actual discrimination against a Negro, on account of his race, by officers intrusted with the duty of carrying out the law is as potential in creating a denial of equality of rights as a discrimination made by law.

Article I, section 8, of the Constitution gave the Congress the power "to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed

in the service of the United States," as well as "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," but it was not until long after the adoption of the fourteenth amendment that our courts construed "insurrections" to include mobs and riotous assemblages. Under these two provisions quoted there can be no doubt whatever as to the power of Congress to define and punish the crime of lynching.

One can not conceive a more humiliating or shameful admission to be made by a Government claiming to be a sovereign State than the confession that it is without the power to make good the guaranty in its Constitution that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. It is nevertheless the fact that in almost numberless instances our State Department has so stated in official communications to civilized nations like France, Spain, China, Italy, and Great Britain.

The Congress has appropriated and the Government has paid to other Governments no less a sum than $792,499.39 to compensate the murder by lynching of their citizens by American mobs; and there are now with the Department of State unadjusted claims to a large amount for similar murders of Austrians, Greeks, Japanese, and Italians. Every diplomatic letter sent by our foreign office to another nation with regard to these claims has stated that the Federal Government is impotent to protect strangers within our borders and seeks to lay the blame on the State governments under which the lynchings have occurred. Every such letter admits the dereliction of Congress in not enforcing the guaranties of the fourteenth amendment and adds to the appeal to Congress to delay action no longer in enacting the legislation in contemplation when the fourteenth amendment was adopted in 1868.

This sum of $792,499.39 was paid for less than 100 lives of foreigners taken by mobs. The inquiry is pertinent that if we have paid $800,000 for less than 100 murdered foreigners, how much has the country lost by the murder of 3,307 Americans killed by mobs since 1889?

The bill reported by this committee seeks to prevent lynchings as far as possible; (1) by punishing State and municipal officers who fail to do their duty in protecting the lives of persons from mobs; (2) to punish the crime of lynching; and (3) to compel the county in which the crime is committed to make compensation.

Section 5 extracts from the county in which a person is lynched a penalty of $10,000, recoverable in an action directed to be brought by the district attorney in the name of the United States for the use of the dependent family, if any, and if there be no dependent family, for the use of the United States.

Such provisions are common in State legislation and are justified as to citizens lynched by the fact that the penalty makes it to the interest of every taxpayer of the county to prevent the lynching.

This section does nothing more than adopt the South Carolina and Ohio laws, imposing a penalty on the county in which the laws against lynching have failed of enforcement; and such laws have been held constitutional in both States by their respective supreme courts, the law of South Carolina in Brown *v.* Orangeburg County (55 S. C., 45; 32 S. E., 764); and the Ohio law in Commissioners *v.* Church (62 Ohio St., 318). The committee can find no stronger argument

for this remedy for an admitted evil than in the following words from the opinion of the Supreme Court of South Carolina:

It has been held that statutes making a community liable for damages in cases of lynchings, and giving a right of recovery to the legal representatives of the person lynched, are valid on the ground that the main purpose is to impose a penalty on the community, which is given to the legal representatives not because they have been damaged but because the legislature sees fit thus to dispose of the penalty. Such statutes are salutary, as their effect is to render protection to human life and make communities law-abiding.

Hon. Guy D. Goff, assistant to the Attorney General of the United States appeared before the committee on July 20 with reference to this bill. His statement, in part, is as follows:

This bill seeks to confer upon the Federal courts jurisdiction to enforce the law and maintain the peace of the United States, which is nothing more than the so-called police power of the United States. You are familiar with that "excursion," if I may so term it, of the Supreme Court into the field of Federal police power. It was first announced in Gibbons *v.* Ogden (9 Wheat., 202), and has found definite application in the so-called white-slave cases. I recall those decisions distinctly because at that time I was engaged as an attorney for the United States in the interpretation and enforcement of the white-slave law. In Gibbons *v.* Ogden supra: Chief Justice Marshall (at p. 202) said: "It is obvious that the Government of the Union in the exercise of its express powers * * * may use means that may also be employed by a State in the exercise of its acknowledged powers." In the case which held the white-slave law constitutional, Hoke against the United States (227 U. S., pp. 308 and 309), the court said:

"While our dual form of Government has its perplexities, State and Nation having different spheres of jurisdiction, we are one people and the powers reserved to the States and those conferred on the Nation are adapted to be exercised, whether independently or concurrently, to promote the general welfare, material and moral.

"The white-slave traffic act is a legal exercise of the power of Congress under the commerce clause of the Constitution and does not abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the States or interfere with the reserved powers of the States, especially those in regard to regulation of immoralities of persons within their several jurisdictions."

In Hoke *v.* United States (227 U. S., 308, 323), speaking expressly of the power of Congress over interstate transportation, it was said "the power is complete in itself, and that Congress, as an incident to it, may adopt not only means necessary but convenient to its exercise, and the means may have the quality of police regulations."

And in Wilson *v.* United States (232 U. S., 563, 567), speaking of the white slave law, which was held constitutional, the court said:

"As has already been decided, it has the quality of a police regulation, although enacted in the exercise of the power to regulate interstate commerce."

In Seven Cases of Eckman's Alterative *v.* United States (239 U. S., 510, 515) it was said:

"Congress is not to be denied the exercise of its constitutional authority over interstate commerce, and its power to adopt not only means necessary but convenient to its exercise, because these means may have the quality of police regulations."

And an even more direct statement to this effect is:

"Congress may establish police regulations as well as the States, confining their operations to the subjects over which it is given control by the Constitution; * * * Gloucester Ferry Co. *v.* Pennsylvania (114 U. S., 196, 215), citing Cooley's Constitutional Limitations, 732."

In other words, when necessary for the proper exertion of its express powers, Congress may use exactly the same means which the State may use for the exertion of its own powers. This is no new doctrine. In Gibbons *v.* Ogden, supra, it was said:

"It is obvious, that the Government of the Union, in the exercise of its express powers, that, for example, of regulating commerce with foreign nations and among the States, may use means that may also be employed by a State, in the exercise of its acknowledged powers; that, for example, of regulating commerce within the State."

And again, in the very recent case, Hamilton *v.* Kentucky Distilleries Co. (251 U. S., 146, 156) (decided December, 1919), involving the constitutionality of the war time prohibition act, Mr. Justice Brandeis, speaking for the court, stated the principle thus:

"That the United States lacks the police power, and that this was reserved to the States by the tenth amendment, is true. But it is none the less true that when the United States exerts any of the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution, no

valid objection can be based upon the fact that such exercise may be attended by the same incidents which attend the exercise by a State of its police power, or that it may tend to accomplish a similar purpose."

We had a somewhat hazy comprehension of the police powers of the State and the corresponding rights of the Federal Government. This line of cases holds that there is a Federal police power. Now, if there is a Federal police power, it must be by virtue of some power conferred on the Federal Government by our Constitution. It was conferred in the White Slave cases by the commerce clause. I assume, therefore, in this argument that there is such a Federal police power, a concomitant, as it were, to preserve law and order, and to see that the laws are equally enforced, and to see that no man is denied or deprived of the common right to enjoy life, liberty, and property, and that such rights are conferred upon the Federal Government by the fourteenth amendment to the United States Constitution.

A case, which has caused some discussion, is the case of James *v.* Bowman, 190 United States, page 127. I refer to this case, first, because it may be cited in contradiction of the underlying principles of the statement I have made. This case involved the fifteenth amendment to the United States Constitution. It grew out of an indictment in the State of Kentucky, based upon section 5507 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which sought to punish anyone who attempted to interfere with a person going to or from the polls, or intimidate those who sought to exercise their prerogative to vote as they saw fit. The Supreme Court held that the indictment was improvidently conceived and said that the fifteenth amendment, which reads—

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude"—

was an amendment which prohibited the State but did not reach the individual. Such was the underlying principle which controlled and which differentiates this case from the other cases. Mr. Justice Brewer wrote the opinion and, in addition to holding that the fifteenth amendment was a curb upon the Federal and State Governments, expressly said that it did not in any sense relate to individuals. He recognized the undoubted existence of the police power of the State and, in the last lines of the decision, remarked that the act was unconstitutional because it was too broad in its terms:

"Congress, he concluded, has no power to punish bribery at all elections. The limits of its power are in respect to elections in which the Nation is directly interested, or in which some mandate of the National Constitution is disobeyed, and courts are not at liberty to take a criminal statute, broad and comprehensive in its terms, and in these terms beyond the power of Congress, and change it to fix some particular transaction for which Congress might have legislated, if it had seen fit."

The court recognized the rule with which we are all familiar, that while a statute may be constitutional in some provisions and unconstitutional in others, the courts will hold it constitutional if they can separate, without destroying the purpose of the statute, the unconstitutional from the constitutional; or, if you prefer, that where a statute can not be separated or resolved into its constituent parts without committing judicial legislation, the courts will not, under such circumstances, attempt to hold the statute constitutional, but will declare it unconstitutional and deny the application of a comity rule of the judiciary, which strives to sustain legislation wherever possible. This case, as I say, recognized that where an inhabitant of a State attempted to interfere with the exercise of a general right which did not relate to a Federal election, that he was not guilty of violating this act. But I must draw this conclusion and emphasize it: I do not think the court attempted to decide that if the same acts so attempted under the broad general terms of the law, which the court felt constrained to hold as beyond the authority of Congress, had been attempted or accomplished in a specific general Federal election, that such acts would not have been a violation of the fifteenth amendment to the United States Constitution, obviously a law meeting the facts of such a situation would be constitutional. In Ex parte Virginia, 100 U. S., 339, 346, construing the provisions of the fourteenth amendment, it was said:

"They have reference to actions of the political body denominated a State, by whatever instruments or in whatever modes that action may be taken. A State acts by its legislative, its executive, or its judicial authorities. It can act in no other way. The constitutional provision, therefore, must mean that no agency of the State, or of the officers or agents by whom its powers are exerted, shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

In view of that interpretation and merely for the purposes of convenience and accuracy, permit me to refer expressly to the amendment:

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person

of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Justice Brewer in the Bowman case, referring to the leading case of Ex parte Virginia, supra, gives to the fourteenth amendment, clearly and unequivocally, this interpretation: That no State shall deprive any person—not as a mere abstract entity, but through its legislative, its executive, or its judicial functions—of life, liberty, or property. In other words, the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in so far as it guarantees to the people of this country life, liberty, and property, means that the legislative department of a State shall in no sense encroach upon such common rights; it means that the executive department—that is, any person empowered with the enforcement of legislative acts, be it a governor, sheriff, or police official, acting under the municipal law of a State—shall not deny to any person the rights which the fourteenth amendment pronounces shall be preserved, nor deny to any person the equal protection of the laws of that State.

The learned justice also quotes from the very important case of United States *v.* Cruikshank (92 U. S., 542, 554). He adopts the statement:

"The fourteenth amendment prohibits a State from denying to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws; but this provision does not, any more than the one which precedes it and which we have just considered, add anything to the rights which one citizen has under the Constitution against another. The equality of the rights of citizens is a principle of republicanism. Every republican government is in duty bound to protect all its citizens in the enjoyment of this principle, if within its power. That duty was originally assumed by the States, and it still remains there. The only obligation resting upon the United States is to see that the States do not deny the right."

The State can deny this right through an executive officer as readily as it can through a legislative or a judicial act. If a State, acting through its highest judicial officers, denies this right, there is a direct appeal, if the record has properly raised the point, to the Supreme Court of the United States. If the legislative department denies the right, we know, of course, how the right is preserved and enforced.

The mere fact that the Congress of the United States has never affirmatively, so far as I have been able to find, invaded the field, and by appropriate legislation under this constitutional provision sought to restrain the executive officers of the States from denying this right is no reason why Congress should not now take such appropriate action as will tend to protect their and similar rights. Therefore, without citing additional authorities, I unhesitatingly make this deduction:

Wherever the Constitution has delegated to Congress certain rights and duties, which Congress is permitted or bound to enforce and to carry out, the extent to which Congress may go in thus enforcing rights or fulfilling duties within the limitations prescribed by the Constitution is sufficiently great to permit of the exercise of a Federal police power, and the exercise of this Federal police power is neither repugnant to nor superior to the police power of the State. Each is concurrent with the other. Thus, if in the proper use of its taxing power, or in the constitutional regulation of commerce, or in the establishment of war-time rules, it becomes necessary to resort to measures which partake of the nature of or are, in fact, equivalent and similar to the police regulations of a State, Congress has the right to adopt such measures and to enforce them. How appropriately might the quotation from Gibbons *v.* Ogden be paraphrased to fit any of the express powers of Congress? Is it not a logical step to adopt this principle of constitutional law to the fourteenth amendment as to any other provision? If it be so applied, and if the aforementioned opinion be so paraphrased, is it not correct to say, with the great Chief Justice—

"It is obvious that the Government of the Union, in the exercise of its express powers, that, for example, of providing to all citizens equal protection of its laws, may use means that may also be employed by a State in the exercise of its acknowledged powers."

In a word, it has been definitely established that there is a Federal police power; that Congress can invoke this power within the limits and according to the provisions of constitutional limitations; and that Congress having so invoked the power can enforce it to the fullest extent. If the State, in the mind of Congress, denies this right because all legislation assumes the existence of an evil to be corrected, then Congress, having legislatively determined that fact (and the courts will not consider whether Congress was or was not justified, but will assume because of Congress having passed appropriate legislation that the States have denied the rights in question), obviously, Congress possesses the authority under the fourteenth amendment and under the interpretation which the courts have given it to go forward and say that since the States of this country have denied to many people within their borders because of race and nationality the right to be protected in their property, in their lives, and their liberty, and have

also denied them the equal protection of the laws, a necessity exists that not only justifies but compels adequate and appropriate legislation to the end that the people of our several States may enjoy and be secure in those rights which the organic law guarantees them.

We have, as you know, a great many instances where a State takes jurisdiction before the Federal Government and where the Federal Government may have and take concurrent jurisdiction. Those are the cases where the same act is a crime against separate sovereignties. If one government proceeds to punishment before the other, the other, the punishment of the first government is generally pleaded as "an equitable defense" in criminal law to the imposition of a penalty by the other sovereignty, and I think that would be a case presenting possibly the situation you suggest. If congress saw fit to pass a law which came within the meaning, as the courts have defined that meaning, of the fourteenth amendment, that then the courts could not conduct an inquiry as to whether Congress was justified in deciding what is generally termed a legislative fact. Congress, as we know, can take affirmative action or not upon many questions within its jurisdiction. I recall, as you will, the law relative to bankruptcy. A few years ago we had no national bankruptcy law, merely the State insolvency laws The mere fact that Congress sees fit to decide that the time has come, within the life of this country as a sovereign Nation, to determine in favor of the affirmative exercise of a power which it has permitted to lie dormant is not to be questioned after Congress has so acted. Neither is the existence of the power to be questioned, merely because of congressional inaction, default, or neglect.

The Supreme Court, speaking through Mr. Chief Justice Waite, in the case of the United States against Cruikshank (92 U. S., p. 542), said, addressing himself to a very exhaustive consideration of the fourteenth amendment:

"The fourteenth amendment prohibits a State from depriving any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

And from denying to any person within its jurisdiction the whole protection of the laws.

"But this adds nothing to the rights of one citizen as against another. It simply furnishes an additional guaranty against any encroachment by the States upon the fundamental rights which belong to every citizen as a member of society."

The duty of protecting all of its citizens in the enjoyment of rights was originally assumed by the States, and it still remains there. Will you please note this:

"The only obligation resting upon the United States is to see that the States do not deny the right."

My conclusion is this: Must the Congress of this country sit supinely by when it knows that a State, either affirmatively or negatively, is denying that right? If the State omits to give or withholds protection through motives of indifference or inability, is the guaranty performed and the duty of the Federal Government discharged? In a word, is the fourteenth amendment meaningless because of State negativity? I hope not, and I think not. The Congress of the United States clearly is charged under the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, with the duty of seeing that the States do not neglect this right. Then, if the Congress of the United States decides that the States have, by omission, neglect, incapacity, or local prejudice, if you please, failed to insure and secure to every citizen within those States the full protection of the laws and the right to life, liberty, and property, then does not the obligation arise to protect these rights?

We are all familiar with that state of affairs where if the Congress of the United States—and it has recently decided it—concludes as a matter of fact that a republican form of government does not exist in a State because the State has not the means or the instrumentalities by which such forms of government are recognized and protected, that it, the Congress of the United States, has the right to go into that State and see that a republican form of government is maintained and preserved. It was done only recently, as you know, in the State of West Virginia, and a committee of the Senate of the United States, merely upon a determination of the legislative fact that a republican form of government did not exist there, invaded the State to see whether the State was properly enforcing its laws under its constitution and the Constitution of the United States.

If a State omits affirmatively to legislate upon such questions it has denied this protection by not taking affirmative action; if it takes affirmative action and does not enforce that action, or if it says it will take no action because, within the judgment of the State, no action along those lines should be taken, then I say the Federal Government can say to that particular State, "You have denied negatively," "You have failed to give," "You have defaulted," if I may so phrase it, "to the citizens of these States the protection that the Constitution of the United States, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, says they are entitled to receive." Now, I contend

that under the general police power, the Federal Government may go in, and, side by side with the States, as it does in bankruptcy, aid the States in securing the protection which for any reason the local governments can not give.

The Federal Government was given the power to curb the States in these particulars—and the States reserved the correlative right to so "police" its citizens that in maintaining order it would not deprive any person of life, liberty, or property. And if it fails to preserve these rights—and the Congress concludes, that such rights are denied the people and that they are deprived of due process of law—no matter the cause—then are we to be told that these guaranties can not be enforced by appropriate legislation.

Section 5 of the fourteenth amendment says:

"The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article."

This has received special consideration in Logan *v.* United States (144 U. S., 263, 293), where Mr. Justice Gray stated its meaning to be:

"Every right created by arising under or dependent upon the Constitution of the United States may be protected and enforced by Congress by such means and in such manner as Congress, in the exercise of the correlative duty of protection, or of the legislative powers conferred upon it by the Constitution, may, in its discretion, deem most eligible and best adapted to attain its object."

There is a limitation, however, in the amendment itself upon the power of Congress. The clause of the amendment under consideration provides that Congress may enforce the provisions of the amendment by "appropriate legislation," and the right to judge what is appropriate legislation rests with the lawmaking body of the Government—that is, with Congress.

Mr. Justice Lamar, in United States *v.* Sanges, said:

"The provision of the fourteenth amendment authorizing Congress to enforce its guaranties by legislation means such legislation as is necessary to control and counteract State abridgment."

The Supreme Court of the United States has held that Congress would have no right to provide for the enforcement of the provisions of this amendment in the following cases:

"When the State has been guilty of no violation of its provisions; when it has not made or enforced any law abridging the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; when no one of its departments has deprived any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law or denied to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws; when, on the contrary, the laws of the State as enacted by its legislative and construed by its judicial and administered by its executive departments recognize and protect the rights of all persons the amendment imposes no duty and confers no power upon Congress."

But by implication when a State has been guilty of violating any of the above provisions then Congress may provide for the enforcement of the provisions of the amendment.

In Ex parte Virginia, supra, Mr. Justice Strong stated the rule to be:

"Congress is authorized to enforce the prohibitions by appropriate legislation. Some legislation is contemplated to make the amendments fully effective. Whatever legislation is appropriate—that is, adapted to carry out the objects the amendments have in view—whatever tends to enforce submission to the prohibitions they contain, and to secure to all persons the enjoyment of perfect equality of civil rights and equal protection of the laws against State denial or invasion, if not prohibited, is brought within the domain of congressional power."

In McCray *v.* United States (195 U. S., 27), the authorities are reviewed and reference is especially made to ex parte McCardle (7 Wallace, 506), where the court said:

"We are not at liberty to inquire into the motives of the legislature. We can only examine into its power under the Constitution; and the power to make exceptions to the appellate jurisdiction of this court is given by express words."

The courts have no right to question the expediency or the reasonableness of legislation. In Treat *v.* White (181 U. S., 264), the court said:

"The power of Congress in this direction is unlimited. It does not come within the province of this court to consider why agreements to sell shall be subject to the stamp duty, and agreements to buy not. It is enough that Congress, in this legislation, has imposed a stamp duty upon this one, and not upon the other."

When Congress determines upon the question what its legislative judgment should be, that Congress takes into consideration not the facts which exist in some one State, to the exclusion of facts existing in another State, but that Congress takes into consideration what is the greatest good for the greatest number.

Congress must be charged sometimes with altruism when it legislates upon any great question; Congress must not be charged with having taken into consideration condi-

tions in one State to the exclusion of conditions in another, because if it did it would be guilty of penalizing a State where, possibly, the legislation would not affect the individuals of that State, for the benefit of the greater number of the people of the United States.

The words "necessary and proper" have been held as endowing the Federal Government with every authority the exercise of which may in any way assist the Federal Government in effecting any of the purposes the attainment of which is within its constitutional sphere. In United States *v.* Fisher (2 Cranch, 358), decided in 1804, Chief Justice Marshall declared:

"It would be incorrect and would produce endless difficulties if the opinion should be maintained that no law was authorized which was not indispensably necessary to give effect to a specified power. Where various systems might be adopted for that purpose, it might be said with respect to each that it was not necessary because the end might be obtained by other means. Congress might possess the choice of means which are in fact conducive to the exercise of a power granted by the Constitution."

Take the condition that exists in this country to-day. There is not a State—of course, this is a mere truism—that has not a law against murder. Now, in the act which bears the name of your distinguished chairman there are provisions which confer jurisdiction upon the Federal Government to prosecute assaults upon officers engaged in the enforcement of that act. There is a question in the minds of many people whether or not that act should not have conferred upon the Federal Government the right to prosecute cases of murder. It does concede the right to prosecute assaults. Now, I have in mind a case where men living in a certain State shot down, as they claimed in self-defense, the officers of the law who came to search their premises for intoxicating liquor. These men have been tried twice for murder in the State court and the juries have disagreed. The law has not been popular in that State. Now, suppose the condition which exists in the State to which I refer were found to exist in other States of the Union. It is only an easy step to the psychology of our people. We know that the way the people of one State of this Union view a given state of facts is likely to be the view entertained in other sections of the country, unless you should give the facts a political coloring, which this act does not because it would be based upon the Constitution, and apply to all—red, white, and black—citizen, alien, resident, and inhabitant. Now, in view of the general knowledge of the so-called unpopularity everywhere of this law, Congress could pass a law conferring upon the Federal courts the right to punish murder wherever officers enforcing that law were assaulted and killed.

If Congress did that, who could question the judgment of Congress? I do not see who could run "along the highway" and say Congress was not justified in doing this because in the New England States or in the Southern States they do not shoot down men so engaged. I do not think we should or that we could make it in any sense a sectional question, because we are all the same people; we all entertain the same views of life in the final, ultimate analysis. Our late World War demonstrated that. We forgot our politics; we were American citizens for the once, and we forgot that we had ever been Democrats and Republicans. We met the same situation in the same way. There may be differences depending upon temperament or environment, because after all we are initially the products of the conditions that started us, brought us up and pushed us forward in this great fight in life, but when all of that is ironed out we are the same. So I say, that when you find conditions existing in one State you can conclude legislatively as well as actually that if the same "cause irritant" makes its appearance in the other State you will find the same conditions in its train.

The fact that such acts carried a penalty might in their deterrent effect prevent just such crimes. If a mob, in definace of law, destroys property or commits arson, is the taxpayer without remedy, because the authorities were ignorant?

In Crandall *v.* Nevada (6 Wallace, 35) the court discusses and classifies some of the distinctively Federal rights. It is said to be the right of the citizen, protected by implied guaranties of the Constitution, "to come to the seat of government to assert any claim he may have upon the Government, to transact any business he may have with it, to seek its protection, to share its offices, to engage in administering its functions. He has the right of free access to its seaports, through which all operations of foreign countries are conducted, to the subtreasuries, land offices, and courts of justice in the several States."

And in the Slaughter-house Cases (16 Wallace, 36, 79) it is said:

"Another privilege of a citizen of the United States is to demand the care and protection of the Federal Government over his life, liberty, and property when on the high seas or within the jurisdiction of a foreign Government. Of this there can be no doubt, nor that the right depends upon his character as a citizen of the United States. The right to peacefully assemble and petition for redress of grievances, the

privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, are rights of the citizen guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. The right to use the navigable waters of the United States, however they may penetrate the territory of the several States, all rights secured to our citizens by treaties with foreign nations, are dependent upon citizenship of the United States, and not citizenship of a State. One of these privileges is conferred by the very article under consideration. It is said that a citizen of the United States can, of his own volition, become a citizen of any State of the Union by a bona fide residence therein, with the same rights as other citizens of that State."

In Maxwell *v.* Dow (176 U. S., 581) the court in its majority opinion announced that the mere fact that a certain privilege was granted against Federal infringement did not operate to make such privileges distinctively Federal in character. In that case Justice Harlan delivered one of his famous dissenting opinions based upon the proposition that the privileges and immunities enumerated in the first eight amendments of the Constitution belong to every citizen of the United States. However, in the course of the majority opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Peckham the language of the court In re Kemmler (136 U. S., 436, 448) was repeated and approved. It will be observed that the decision turns upon the question whether the trial of a person accused as a criminal by a jury of only 8 persons instead of 12 was an encroachment by the State upon those fundamental rights inhering in citizenship and which the State governments were created to secure. The court said:

"The fourteenth amendment did not radically change the whole theory of the relations of the State and Federal Governments to each other, and of both Governments to the people. The same person may be at the same time a citizen of the United States and a citizen of a State. Protection to life, liberty, and property rests primarily with the States, and the amendment furnishes an additional guaranty against any encroachment by the States upon those fundamental rights which belong to citizenship and which the State governments were created to secure. The privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, as distinguished from the privileges and immunities of citizens of the States, are indeed protected by it; but those are privileges and immunities arising out of the nature and essential character of the National Government and granted or secured by the Constitution of the United States."

Obviously, if the State by direct legislation abridged any of these rights, the act would encroach on the privileges protected. The State would then positively violate the Federal provisions. But does the State not violate and render meaningless the provisions of the amendment by neglecting to legislate, refusing to enforce its laws, or by allowing its laws and its officials to drift into a condition of utter helplessness and indifference? Are "citizens" and "persons" to be thus deprived of life, liberty, and property when the people of the States have clothed the Federal Government with power to see that they, the States, do not deny such rights, and have expressly empowered the Congress and directed it "to enforce" such commands by appropriate legislation?

We quote some additional authorities as to the constitutionality of the antilynching bill submitted by Hon. Merrill Moores.

The case of James *v.* Bowman (190 U. S., 127) is not in point as to the proposed antilynching bill, for the reason, in addition to those stated by Col. Goff, that it concerns a statute based solely on the fifteenth amendment, while the proposed bill is based on the fourteenth amendment, which is totally different in its provisions.

The fourteenth amendment guarantees that no State "shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws," a guaranty equivalent to one that each State shall secure to every person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The fifteenth amendment is as follows:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." To enforce this provision Congress enacted Revised Statutes 5507, to punish "every person who prevents, hinders, controls, or intimidates another from exercising or in exercising the right of suffrage, to whom that right is guaranteed by the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, by bribery or threats," etc.

Certain men were indicted under this statute for bribing colored voters of Kentucky not to vote at a congressional election. The court held that under the amendment providing that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, etc., the Congress could not pass a statute punishing election bribery of Negroes. It is hardly worth while discussing the propriety of this decision, in view of the fact that it has no bearing at all on the questions at issue.

The fourteenth amendment forbids the withholding of the equal protection of the law by any State to any person within its jurisdiction. This bill simply provides that the State governments shall treat all persons within their jurisdiction alike in discharging the highest function of government, the protection of life and liberty of the governed.

The first principle stated in the Declaration of Independence is as follows:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

In framing the Constitution, our fathers, recognizing that governments are instituted among men to secure the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, stated in the preamble its purpose to be to form a perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

With these principles as their purpose, all the State governments were established and the principles are restated in every State constitution.

The fourteenth amendment is simply declaratory of the principle that a State in which life, liberty, and property are not protected for every person within its boundary does not perform the first and greatest function of government—the protection of the personal rights of the governed. It is for this purpose that all State officers are chosen and paid. It is for this that taxes are collected and the States policed.

It goes without saying that in a civilized government like ours if any person is assaulted, beaten, maimed, or lynched by a mob, some officer whose sworn duty it is to enforce the laws has been derelict in his duty and has violated his official oath. The often-quoted words of Mr. Justice Matthews in the Yick Wo case are in point as to the moral liability of the State for the dereliction of its officer:

"Whatever may have been the intent of the ordinances as adopted, they are applied by the public authorities charged with their administration and thus representing the State itself, with a mind so unequal and oppressive as to amount to a practical denial by the State of that equal protection of the laws which is secured to the petitioners, as to all other persons, by the broad and benign provisions of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Though the law itself be fair on its face and impartial in appearance, yet if it is applied and administered by public authority with an evil eye and an unequal hand so as to make unjust and illegal discriminations between persons in similar circumstances, material to their rights, the denial of equal justice is still within the prohibition of the Constitution." (Yick Wo *v.* Hopkins, 118 U. S., 356, 373.)

This language has been quoted with approval by the same court in construing a cigarette law of Tennessee unequally enforced. (Austin *v.* Tennessee, 179 U. S., 343, 350.)

It has also been followed in its reasoning in the Los Angeles Gas Works case. (Dobbins *v.* Los Angeles, 195 U. S., 223, 240.)

It was again quoted and followed in the Wisconsin Salvation Army case. (Re Garrabad, 84 Wis., 592–3; 36 Amer. St., 952, 953; 19 L. R. A. 858, 864.)

It was followed again in the trial of Caleb Powers, where in a community almost equally divided in politics, Powers being on trial on a charge of the murder of a political opponent, no member of the political party with which Powers was identified was drawn on the jury in three successive trials. (Commonwealth *v.* Powers, 139 Fed. 452, 461. See also in re Orozco, 201 Fed. 106, 117.)

The Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly stated that the last clause of the first section of the fourteenth amendment guarantees the equal protection of the laws by the States to all persons within their jurisdiction. The common definition of a guaranty is "an agreement by one person to answer to another for the debt, default, or miscarriage of another." Mr. Justice Story thus defined it:

"A guaranty is the collateral undertaking by one person to be answerable for the payment of some debt or the performance of some duty or contract for another person, who stands first bound to pay or perform." (2 Story, Contracts, 5th ed., 319.)

Under the Constitution the States, by ratifying the fourteenth amendment, have bound themselves to perform and discharge the duty of affording to all persons within their respective boundaries the equal protection of the laws, and the Federal Government has guaranteed the performance. The duty to perform is a positive, affirmative duty of equal protection. Wherever this duty is not performed, regardless of the excuse, there is a breach by the State of the contract, and the obligation falls on the guarantor, the Federal Government to assure performance.

The Supreme Court has laid down the rule of construction as to guaranties that "the words of the guaranty are to be taken as strongly against him (the guarantor) as the sense will admit." (Drummond *v.* Prestman, 12 Wheat., 515, 518.) If this is the

rule as to the guarantor, it goes without saying that it is also binding on the principal debtor.

The general rule as to the liability of private corporations for torts committed by agents within the scope of their authority (briefly and well stated in 10 Cyc., 1205, 1222) certainly furnishes an analogy where a constitutional guaranty had been given by State and Nation for performance by the State. As to cases in point there is a paucity of authority, due to the fact that neither State nor Nation may be sued without its consent. There are, however, cases fully in point.

The State of New York, having constructed or acquired certain canals, consented to be sued as to claims "for damages sustained from the canals, from their use and management, or arising from the neglect of an officer in charge, or from any accident or other matter connected therewith," excluding however, "claims arising from damages resulting from the navigation of the canals." In Rexford *v.* State (105 N. Y. 229). Rexford, while navigating a canal boat on the Erie Canal, left his boat at Syracuse to obtain a clearance, and, returning to his boat, was severly injured by the fact that the agents of the State had negligently permitted a ladder to become unsafe. The court held the State liable for the negligence of the officers charged with the duty of keeping the canal and its appurtenances in order.

For a stronger case in point, see Gibney *v.* State (137 N. Y., 1; 19 L. R. A., 365). See also as to the liability of a State for the negligence of an officer or agent: Green *v.* State (73 Calif., 29); Chapman *v.* State (104 Calif., 690; 43 Amer. St., 158); note to Houston *v.* State (42 L. R. A., 65–69); 36 Cyc., 882 n. 16.

These cases are all to the effect that where a State consents to be sued in tort it becomes liable as a private corporation for the negligence of an officer or agent as to acts within the line of his duties.

As to the right of the United States to sue a State or a county there can be no question. (United States *v.* North Carolina, 136 U. S., 211; United States *v.* Texas, 143 U. S., 621; United States *v.* Michigan, 190 U. S., 379; Lincoln County *v.* Luning, 133 U. S., 529.)

Originally a State might be sued by a citizen of another State. (Chisholm *v.* Georgia, 2 Dall., 419.)

This decision led to the adoption of the eleventh amendment, which provides:

"The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State."

It will be noted that this amendment takes away the right neither of the United States nor of any other State to sue a State, but simply restricts the rights of citizens of other States to bring suits.

As to the constitutionality of statutes imposing a penalty upon counties or municipalities for lynching or mob violence, the following additional authorities are submitted: Dale County *v.* Gunter (46 Ala., 111); De Kalb *v.* Smith (47 Ala., 407); Cantey *v.* Clarendon County (101 S. C., 141); Atchison *v.* Twine (9 Kans., 350); Cherryvale *v.* Hawman (80 Kans., 170; 23 L. R. A. (N. S.), 645); P., C., C. & St. L. Ry. Co. *v.* Chicago (242 Ill., 178; 44 L. R. A. (N. S.), 358); 11 Cyc., 500, 501.

To summarize the argument it would appear that the United States, by the joint action of the States, has guaranteed that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

It further appears that every State maintains a system of policing the State for the protection of life, liberty, and property, and that in certain of the States the equal protection of the law is, and for years has been, denied. There can be no question that the denial to persons of a class of the equal protection of the laws, by officers of or under the State charged with their equal enforcement, is the act of the State, and that the failure of the State, through its officers, to give the equal protection of its laws to a class must justify the intervention of the United States under the fourteenth amendment to carry out its guaranty of equal protection.

In bringing this brief reference to authorities to a conclusion it is proper again to refer to two propositions of law laid down by the Supreme Court as to constitutional questions, the first-quoted being in the words of Mr. Justice Bradley and the second in those of Mr. Chief Justice Marshall:

"We hold it to be an incontrovertible principle that the Government of the United States may by means of physical force, exercised through its official agents, execute on every foot of American soil the powers and functions that belong to it." (Ex parte Siebold, 100 U. S., 371, 395.)

"Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited but consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional." (McCullough *v.* Maryland, 4 Wheat., 316, 421.)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., August 9, 1921.

Hon. A. J. VOLSTEAD,
Chairman Committee on the Judiciary,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. VOLSTEAD: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo, transmitting a copy of House resolution 13, to secure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws and to punish the crime of lynching, and inviting suggestions and recommendations with a view to making the bill more effective or to avoid possible constitutional objections.

While under the statutes governing my office I am not authorized to give an official opinion to your committee relative to the bill, my interest in securing to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws, especially with reference to lynching, is so great that I feel warranted in submitting to you as my personal and not official opinion certain thoughts which have occurred to me as the result of a somewhat hasty examination of the bill.

As pointed out by Col. Goff in his statement before your committee, the first seven sections, providing for the removal of cases under certain conditions to the Federal courts, and providing for the punishment of persons obstructing or resisting officers of the United States, are in effect but elaborations of existing law. They appear to be well drafted and within the competency of Congress to enact.

Considerable discussion has taken place as to the constitutionality of the proposed legislation, it being contended that the fourteenth amendment gave Congress power to legislate so as to prevent a denial of the equal protection of the laws by the States and not as to acts of individuals not clothed with State authority. In support of this proposition the following cases have been cited: United States *v.* Cruikshank (92 U. S., 542); Virginia *v.* Rives (100 U. S., 313); Ex Parte Virginia (100 U. S., 339); Civil Rights Cases (109 U. S., 3); United States *v.* Harris (106 U. S., 629); James *v.* Bowman (190 U. S., 127); Hodges *v.* United States (203 U. S., 1); United States *v.* Wheeler (254 U. S., 281).

Col. Goff has very thoroughly gone over this question in his statement before your committee, and I heartily concur in the views he there expressed. It will be observed that in the cases above cited the court holds that the State may act through its legislative, its judicial, or its executive authorities, and the act of any one of these is the act of the State. This is concisely set forth in the opinion of the court in Ex Parte Virginia (100 U. S., 339, at 346):

"We have said the prohibitions of the fourteenth amendment are addressed to the States. They are, 'No State shall make or enforce a law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, * * * nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.' They have reference to actions of the political body denominated a State, by whatever instruments or in whatever modes that action may be taken. A State acts by its legislative, its executive, or its judicial authorities. It can act in no other way. The constitutional provision, therefore, must mean that no agency of the State, or of the officers or agents by whom its powers are exerted, shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Whoever, by virtue of public position under a State government, deprives another of property, life, or liberty without due process of law, or denies or takes away the equal protection of the laws, violates the constitutional inhibition, and as he acts in the name and for the State and is clothed with the State's power his act is that of the State. This must be so or the constitutional prohibition has no meaning. Then the State has clothed one of its agents with power to annul or to evade it."

Of course if the act of one of these agencies of the State is a denial of the equal protection of the laws, since the act of such agent is the act of the State itself, such act is within the prohibitions of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution. The authorities above cited hold that a statute that prohibits the act of an individual, irrespective of any action by the State or its officers, is beyond the power of Congress to enact under this fourteenth amendment. To my mind there can be no doubt that negativity on the part of the State may be, as well as any act of a positive nature by such State, a denial of the equal protection of the laws and thus be within the prohibition of the fourteenth amendment so as to give Congress power to act with reference to it. That such was in the mind of the court when pronouncing the decisions above cited is clearly shown by the following excerpts from the opinion of the court, speaking through Mr. Justice Bradley in the Civil Rights cases, supra, at pages 13 and 14:

"In fine, the legislation which Congress is authorized to adopt in this behalf is not general legislation upon the rights of the citizen but corrective legislation; that is, such as may be necessary and proper for counteracting such laws as the States may adopt or enforce, and which, by the amendment, they are prohibited from making or enforcing, or such acts and proceedings as the States may commit or take, and which, by the amendment, they are prohibited from committing or taking. It is not necessary for us to state, if we could, what legislation would be proper for Congress to adopt. It is sufficient for us to examine whether the law in question is of that character.

"An inspection of the law shows that it makes no reference whatever to any supposed or apprehended violation of the fourteenth amendment on the part of the States. It is not predicated on any such view. It proceeds ex directo to declare that certain acts committed by individuals shall be deemed offenses and shall be prosecuted and punished by proceedings in the courts of the United States. It does not profess to be corrective of any constitutional wrong committed by the States; it does not make its operation to depend upon any such wrong committed. It applies equally to cases arising in States which have justest laws respecting the personal rights of citizens, and whose authorities are ever ready to enforce such laws, as to those which arise in States that may have violated the prohibition of the amendment. In other words, it steps into the domain of local jurisprudence and lays down rules for the conduct of individuals in society toward each other, and imposes sanctions for the enforcement of those rules, without referring in any manner to any supposed action of the State or its authorities."

And again, at page 23:

"Many wrongs may be obnoxious to the prohibitions of the fourteenth amendment which are not, in any just sense, incidents or elements of slavery. Such, for example, would be the taking of private property without due process of law; or allowing persons who have committed certain crimes (horse stealing, for example) to be seized and hung by the posse comitatus without regular trial: or denying to any person or class of persons the right to pursue any peaceful avocations allowed to others."

My examination of the proposed legislation causes me to believe that all of its provisions are predicated upon some action—either negative or positive—upon the part of the States and that therefore the same is wholly within the competency of Congress to enact.

Section 10 imposes a penalty upon every county in which an unlawful killing occurs, and section 11 imposes a like penalty on every county through which the victim may be carried before being put to death. While the question whether the United States may penalize an instrumentality of a political subdivision of a State may cause some doubt, it is at least an open one so far as the decisions of the Supreme Court are concerned. There has been conferred on Congress the power by appropriate legislation to enforce the prohibitions of the fourteenth amendment and the imposition of penalties is a well-established means of enforcing the laws, and is so recognized by numerous decisions of all courts and is no doubt an appropriate method of so enforcing the law. This being true and the States having consented by their adoption of the provisions of the Constitution and its amendments to such enforcement of the law by the Federal Government, it would seem there could be but little question of the power of Congress to provide for such penalties.

Section 12 and section 13 provide for the punishment of State and municipal officers who fail in their duty to prevent lynchings or who suffer persons accused of crime to be taken from their custody for the purpose of lynching. These sections seem to me to strike at the heart of the evil, namely, the failure of State officers to perform their duty in such cases. The fourteenth amendment recognizes as preexisting the right to due process of law and to the equal protection of the law and guarantees against State infringement of those rights. A State officer charged with the protection of those rights who fails or refuses to do all in his power to protect an accused person against mob action denies to such person due process of law and the equal protection of the laws in every sense of the term. The right of Congress to do this is fully sustained by the decision of the court in Ex Parte Virginia, supra. (See pp. 346, 347.)

Section 15, providing for the punishment of unlawful acts committed against citizens or a subject of a foreign country, meets a long-standing need which has been expressed by a number of Presidents. In Missouri *v.* Holland (252 U. S., 416) the court has upheld the power of Congress to enact laws necessary and appropriate to the effectuating of treaties.

I am, in a separate letter, to which is attached a copy of the proposed bill, calling attention to some slight modifications that I am taking the liberty to suggest, most of them being directed to matters of clarity in such proposed legislation.

Yours, very truly,

H. M. DAUGHERTY, *Attorney General.*

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY.

This bill, in the judgment of the minority, is without constitutional warrant. It is definitely and directly antagonistic to the philosophy of our system of government, and within the limit of its effectiveness, if it should be held constitutional, would be destructive of that system.

If enacted and operative it would not add to the protection of person or the general efficiency of government, or strengthen the relationship between the Federal Government and the States. On the contrary, this proposed intervention of the Federal Government directed against local power, supplanting and superseding the sovereignty of the States, would tend to destroy that sense of local responsibility for the protection of person and property and the administration of justice, from which sense of local responsibility alone protection and governmental efficiency can be secured among free peoples.

This bill, challenging as it does the relative governmental efficiency of the States and the integrity of purpose of their governmental agencies, placing the Federal Government, as it does, in the attitude of an arbitrary dictator assuming coercive powers over the States, their officers, and their citizens in matters of local police control, would do incomparable injury to the spirit of mutual respect and trustful cooperation between the Federal Government and the States essential to the efficiency of government.

As a precedent, this bill, establishing the principles which it embodies and the congressional powers which it assumes to obtain, would strip the States of every element of sovereign power, control, and final responsibility for the personal and property protection of its citizens, and would all but complete the reduction of the States to a condition of governmental vassalage awaiting only the full exercise of the congressional powers established.

HATTON W. SUMNERS.
ANDREW J. MONTAGUE.
JAMES W. WISE.
JOHN N. TILLMAN.
FRED H. DOMINICK.

Chapter Seventeen

We Charge Genocide: Document A—Racial Violence and the Suppression of the Black Vote in Georgia

Civil Rights Congress to the United Nations

PART V

Appendix

INCLUDING: (1) a case history of violence and illegal acts in the State of Georgia committed from 1940 through 1950 with the specific purpose of preventing Negroes from voting; (2) a study which, with some variation, is typical of other Southern states, revealing how the charge of "rape" was transformed into a state instrument for the oppression of the Negro people in the State of Louisiana; (3) a study of monopoly control of the South; and (4) a calendar of Congressional action showing its consistent refusal to act for the protection or welfare of the Negro people; (5) a selected bibliography.

Document A

Document A *was prepared as an offer of proof in the trial of the United States of America v. William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress. It will be recalled that Mr. Patterson was cited for contempt of Congress after Representative Henderson Lanham of Georgia, acting chairman of a Congressional committee investigating lobbying, had called him "a black son of a bitch" and had attempted to assault him.*

Although the purpose of the document was to show that Congressman Lanham had been illegally elected under the Fourteenth Amendment, it is also a social document of unusual worth, revealing how state officials combine with the Ku Klux Klan, and use the Klan as a quasi-official arm of government, to prevent the Negro people from .exerci1ing their Constitutional right to vote.

It is valuable, too, in that it reveals methods and techniques in widespread use in other states throughout the South.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The United States of America
v.
William L. Patterson

Criminal No. 177–50

Offer of Proof on Fourteenth Amendment Point

THE WITNESS, Stetson Kennedy, would testify as to the facts showing the unconstitutional denial or abridgment of the right of a substantial number of citizens of Georgia to vote in the Congressional elections, in that State during the period 1940 to 1950. These facts are as follows:

During this entire period from 1940 to 1948 no one was allowed to vote in Georgia who had not registered.

Election of 1940: The United States Census Bureau's records show that in 1940 the total number of citizens in Georgia above the age of 21 and thus eligible under Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution to vote in Congressional elections was 1,768,969.

Official returns of the 1940 election in Georgia as reported by the Secretary of State of Georgia was 312,539 yotes. In other words, only 17 percent of the total population of Georgia above the age of 21 years succeeded in actually casting a ballot in 1940.

Election of 1948: Census Bureau records reveal that in 1948 the population of Georgia above the age of 21 years was 1,968,519.

In the election of that year, a total of 365,356 votes were cast, according to the records of the Secretary of State of Georgia. This was 18 percent of the total population above the age of 21.

Negro Population and Vote: According to Census Bureau records, every third person in Georgia during the period 1940 to 1948 was a Negro. But, according to the same source, in 1948 82 percent of the white population above the age of 21 years was registered, and only 18 percent of the Negro population above the age of 21 years had been registered. The percentages for 1940 were considerably lower because of the existence at that time of the State's polltax law, and the inviolate status of the white primary.

These figures and percentages indicate that an overwhelming ma1onty of the Negro citizens of Georgia above the age of 21 did not exercise the right to vote in Congressional elections.

The witness, if permitted to testify, would establish that the failure to exercise the franchise by Negroes as aforesaid was due to a denial and abridgment of their right to do so and that there were three chief causes for this denial or abridgment: First, direct action by officials of the State of Georgia; second, official action by the Democratic Party of the State of Georgia, acting as an instrument of that State; and, third, the notorious action of private organizations and corporate powers acting with the actual or implied sanction of the State of Georgia. He would testify that:

As to the first cause, official action by the State of Georgia has resulted in the denial or abridgment of the right of citizens above the age of 21 to vote in Congressional elections in that State in the decade from 1940 to 1950 by means of the following:

(*a*) Polltax legislation;

(*b*) Intentional refusal on the part of the election registrars to register qualified Negro citizens;

(*c*) The purging by officials of Georgia of the names of qualified Negro voters from the registration rolls in Georgia;

(*d*) The enactment of legislation in Georgia abolishing all registration lists and requiring the re-registration of citizens previously qualified to vote, and giving virtually unlimited discretionary powers to registrars to deny the voting right of any citizen.

That the rules, regulations and primaries of the Democratic Party in the State of Georgia constitute an integral part of the election machinery of the State and that Party has acted as an agent of the State in the conduct of primary elections for Congressional candidates in that State; that by rules and regulations

of that Party in effect during the period 1940 through 1946, Negroes were prohibited from voting in the Democratic primaries; and that, since there was no Republican Congressional primary held in the State of Georgia during said period, there was no participation by Negro citizens above the age of 21 in the Congressional primaries held in Georgia during this period.

That private and corporate organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. and the Columbians, Inc. had the official approval and assistance of the public officials of the State of Georgia during the decade 1940 to 1950 and with the sanction of said State engaged in terroristic activities which created such fear and intimidation among qualified Negro citizens of the State 0£ Georgia, as well as election registrars of said State, as to prevent and preclude any effective registration and voting on the part of large portions of the Negro citizens of that State in the Congressional elections in Georgia in the decade 1940 to 1950.

That the following chronological compendium itemizing overt threats, cross-burnings, masked parades, floggings, lynchings, purges, and other acts of discrimination and violence against the Negro people of Georgia, were committed during the period 1943 through 1948 with the intent and/or effect of preventing eligible Negro inhabitants of Georgia from exercising their right to vote in Congressional elections; that many of the incidents itemized were personally investigated by the witness for the Georgia Department of Law; and that many others (sources indicated) were widely published throughout the State, in the daily and weekly press, and thus by virtue of such publication served as a deterrent to voting by Negroes, not only in the locale where each such act took place, but throughout the State:

PORTERDALE, *December 10, 1943*. "Christian Democracy and White Supremacy are the greatest things which should emerge from this terrible catastrophe," ex-governor Eugene Talmadge said with reference to World War II. Talmadge was speaking as guest of honor at the annual klonklave of the Porterdale klavern of the Ku Klux Klan, held in Porter Memorial Auditorium owned by the Bibb Manufacturing Company (textile chain). Among those present were James A. Colescott, Imperial Wizard of the KKK; Dr. Samuel Green, Grand Dragon of the Georgia Klan; Harold S. Gates, Exalted Cyclops of the Porterdale Klan; George Hamilton, Treasurer of the State of Georgia; Pat Campbell, member of the. state legislature from Newton County; Zach Cravey, fish and game commissioner under Talmadge's administration; and Johnny Goodwin, formerly Talmadge's highway patrol chief, personal bodyguard, and then leader of the Vigilantes, Inc. Event given statewide publicity by *Atlanta Constitution*, December 18, 1943.

ATLANTA, *January 31, 1944*. "We the People" granted corporate charter by State of Georgia. Attorney for incorporators, Vester Ownby, longtime Exalted Cyclops of Atlanta Klan Klavern 207. Members bound by oath to uphold "white supremacy." Notice of founding published in Talmadge's *Statesman*. Also given statewide publicity by the *Atlanta Journal* and *Atlanta Constitution*, February 1, 1944.

ATLANTA, *May 5, 1944*. "Fact Finders, Inc." given charter by State of Georgia. Group berated Klan for "disbanding at a time when most needed" and attacked ministers who wanted to "give a break to the Negro and Jew.'" *Atlanta Constitution*, May 6, 1944.

ATLANTA, *1946*. With the tacit consent of Imperial Wizard James A. Colescott, who was then in retirement in Miami, Grand Dragon Samuel Green undertook the postwar reorganization of the Klan, using all of its patented and copyrighted regalia, ritual, and effects. Among the latter is a 32-page edict titled "Negro Suffrage—Its False Theory," which says in part: "The legal equality of the Negro, as established by the Fifteenth Amendment, creates a condition which cannot endure forever. The complete answer to the argument against a change in the Constitution is that it will certainly take place some day, and that the sooner the whole issue is settled the better for all concerned. The best that can possibly be said for Negro suffrage is that" if was a mistaken application of a perverted

idealism which has *so far* done little serious harm because it is not practiced in the sections where it would be effective. . . . The Declaration of Independence states clearly what are mankind's 'inalienable rights.' It lists them as 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' It does *not* list votes for unfit persons or races as an inalienable right—or any other kind! Clear and frank recognition that racial discrimination is an American national principle is necessary as a preliminary to seeing through the fog which surrounds the negro question."

CONYERS, *1946*. The Commoner Party, founded in 1945 by James Shipp, a Klansman, distributed widely throughout Georgia its 64-page *Program*, including a section as follows: "*A Double Standard Voting Franchise*. The Commoner Party demands repeal of the 15th Amendment to the Federal Constitution and the reduction of the Negro race to citizenship without the right of franchise. The 15th Amendment was a war spite measure, and the Commoner Party demands that the following be substituted for it: 'The right to vote and to hold office shall be limited to white people who are citizens of the United States of America, and to other racial individuals who can qualify under the franchise standard fixed by the Constitution and Acts of Congress.'" The Commoners would then have Congress empower the states to set up franchise courts, where all Negroes, as well as any whites who might be challenged "by a public official designated for that purpose," would be required to pass stringent tests.

GAINESVILLE, *January 28, 1946*. Klansmen from all over Georgia staged a masked parade and burned three crosses in the Negro section. City fire chief served as coordinator. Report to Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI).

ATLANTA Klavern No. 297, *February 2, 1946*. Exalted Cyclops Sam Roper announced he had written Roy Harris, speaker of the Georgia legislature, congratulating him for having defeated a constitutional amendment which would have permitted Governor Ellis Arnall to run for a second term. Harris replied that he was "100 percent for what the Klan believed in," Roper reported. Report to GBI.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 297, *February 14, 1946*. Floggings and lynchings recommended as solution to "n——r problem"; all Klansmen urged to carry weapons while engaged in Klan demonstrations. Report to GBI.

ATLANTA 'Klavern No. 297, *March 7, 1946*. Exalted Cyclops Roper said all-out Klan support would be given campaign of Eugene Talmadge for governor. It was said that Talmadge had promised Roper to re-appoint him to his former job as head of the state highway patrol. Report to GBI.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 297, *April 1, 1946*. Cyclops Roper reported that he had conferred with gubernatorial candidate Eugene Talmadge on ways and means of keeping Georgia Negroes from voting, and that Talmadge had replied by writing the word "Pistols" on a scrap of paper. Roper indicated that Talmadge had promised to give the Klan a "free hand" in any race rioting that might develop while he was governor. It was announced that "Brother Klansman Judge Luke Arnold would speak at Klavern 297 on the second Thursday in May, on a plan to keep Negroes from voting. Roper reported listening in on a conversation between Grand Dragon Samuel Green and house speaker Roy Harris in Augusta, in which Harris invited Klan leaders to discuss with him the prospect of getting the legislature to convene itself to adopt a white primary law, and other means of keeping Negroes from voting. Report to GBI.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *April 8, 1946*. Grand Dragon Green reported that Talmadge had promised if elected to sweep out of office everyone who did not believe in "white supremacy and 100 percent Americanism." The CIO's Operation Dixie was attacked as "purely political," and "for the n——r and the Jew." "The KKK is declaring war on the CIO—we're going to nip their Operation Dixie in the bud," Green said. Applications for 98 new memberships and 37 reinstatements were attributed to

Klan interest in the Talmadge campaign. Report to GBI.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *April 15, 1946*. A poem "White Georgia Thanks God for the Klan" was read from Talmadge's *Statesman*. Klansmen in Augusta to be urged to support Roy Harris' Cracker Party, which, like Talmadge, is pledged to repeal all primary laws in hope of perpetuating the white primary. Klansmen also urged to support Marvin Griffin for lieutenant governor, as a "100-percent white man who doesn't want any n——r votes cast for him." Press reports read quoting then Adjutant-general Griffin as saying, with reference to U.S. Supreme Court decision against white primaries, "There is a remedy, and we should be courageous enough to follow the example set by our forefathers." Report to GBI.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 297, *April 18, 1946*. Cyclops Roper read what was purported to be a letter from Talmadge calling upon all Klansmen in the state to get out and work for him "to save Georgia and white supremacy." Report to GBI.

ATLANTA, *April 22, 1946*. A mimeographed call went out to all Klansmen urging them to attend a mass demonstration at Stone Mountain on May 9, saying in part: "America is calling every white Man who has red blood, into the fight. WHITE SUPREMACY is threatened on every hand. YOU CANNOT FAIL." Report to GBI.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *April 29, 1946*. Dragon Green warned that "n——r, Jews, unionists, and Communists" were united against Talmadge, and that the Klan would have to work hard to insure his victory in the coming July 17 primary. Efforts to defeat Senator Bilbo in Mississippi with Negro votes would be met "with all the strength the Klan has," Dragon Green said. Report to GBI.

STONE MOUNTAIN, *May 9, 1946*. Some 1,000 Klansmen in a robed ceremony inducted 300 new members from all over Georgia. This was the Klan's first major postwar crossburning demonstration. Associated Press, May 9, 1946.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *June 3, 1946*. Attendance up to 250 as a result of Stone Mountain demonstration. Dragon Green read press stories quoting Talmadge as saying he wanted "all white Georgians to be for Talmadge—whether Ku Klux, Catholics, or Jews." Green swore that if Talmadge were elected "no n——r will vote in a Georgia white primary again." Report to GBI.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *June 10, 1946*. Dragon Green explained that a resolution adopted the previous week by a regional convention of the AFL condemning a "secret, three-letter hate group," was not aimed at the KKK as reported by the press, but was directed against the CIO's PAC. This explanation had been obtained by Hoke Gewinner, chairman of the Klan's own Kommittee to Investigate UnAmerican Activities, who received the explanation from an official at the AFL's southern Headquarters. Report to GBI.

SWAINSBORO, *July 11, 1946*. In a statewide radio address, Talmadge said, "Wise Negroes will stay away from the white folk's ballot boxes on July 17. We are the true friends of the Negroes, always have been, and always will be as long as they stay in the definite place we have provided for them." Associated Press, July 11, 1946.

EATONVILLE, *July 11, 1946*. W. S. Hooten, chairman of the board of registrars, announced that 20 per cent of Putnam County's Negro registrants had been purged "on grounds of incompetence due to lack of education, intelligence, or character." The purge procedure which then swept across Georgia consisted of pro-Talmadge registrars serving thousands of Negro registrants with sheriff's summonses to appear (during working hours) to "show cause" why they should not be dropped for "illiteracy, criminal record, bad character," etc. All who failed to appear were automatically purged. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 12, 1946.

ELLAVILLE. Fifty percent of the county's Negro registrants were purged. When some registrars re-

signed, new ones were appointed by Superior Court Judge W. H. Harper, and the purge continued. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 12, 1946.

GAINESVILLE. Twenty-five percent of the Negro registrants were challenged by attorney Frank B. Stow. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 12, 1946.

ATLANTA. During June, 1946, eighty-one Negro registrants were challenged by attorney Ike Wingrow (who in 1940 had represented the East Point Klan floggers in their clemency hearing before Talmadge). *Atlanta Constitution*.

BAXLEY. During June, 1946, in a hearing involving 400 challenged Negro registrants, the four white complainants were asked to be more specific whereupon they amended their charge to claim that the Negroes "had not taken the proper oath." When the Negroes' attorney asked for a postponement to review this new charge, he was granted five hours. When he rejected this offer, the board ordered all the Negroes purged. *Atlanta Constitution*.

COLQUITT COUNTY. During June, 1946, when C. E. McLendon, chairman of the board of registrars, objected to the purging of 800 Negroes, a group of spectators petitioned Superior Court Judge C. H. Dukes to fire McLendon. Judge Dukes did so, "in order to expedite the hearings." *Atlanta Constitution*.

SPAULDING COUNTY. During early July, 1946, after 180 Negroes had been purged, further purging was postponed when C. R. Fossett, who had made the challenges, admitted he had done so solely on the basis of the Negroes' handwriting. *Atlanta Constitution*.

LAMAR COUNTY. Early in July, 1946, one hundred Negroes purged, 150 more challenged. *Atlanta Constitution*.

MOULTRIE. Early in July, 1946, two hundred and ninety-four Negroes were challenged, but Registrar Bert Clark resigned after the fourth Negro had been called up; and the chairman adjourned the hearing because "There seems to be a difference of opinion as to what constitutes a person qualified to vote." *Atlanta Constitution*.

APPLING COUNTY. On July 10, 1946, a week before the primary, U.S. District Judge Frank H. Scarlett issued an order halting further purging in Atkinson, Ben Hill, Pierce, and Coffee Counties, and ordered the reinstatement of 800 Negroes who had been purged in Appling County. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had charged that more than 20,000 Negro registrants had been challenged in the statewide purge, and had demanded that the U.S. Department of Justice take action. However, the Department decided to maintain a "hands off" policy. (Georgians were keenly aware that Senator Theodore Bilbo in a radio address at Jackson, Mississippi, on June 22 had called upon "every red-blooded American in Mississippi to resort to any means at their command" to prevent Negroes from voting and that he had been re-elected overwhelmingly.) *Atlanta Constitution*.

CEDARTOWN, *July 10, 1946*. Four hundred and ninety-nine Negro registrants were challenged. *Atlanta Constitution*.

COCHRAN, *July 12, 1946*. In a radio address Talmadge charged that U.S. District Attorneys were intimidating white people, and said, "Maybe it would not be inappropriate to warn some of these fellows to be careful. . . ." He repeated his warning to Negroes to stay away from the polls, "for neither the U.S. Attorneys nor Jimmy Carmichael (his opponent) will have a corporal guard to back them up." *Associated Press*, July 12, 1946.

FITZGERALD, *July 16, 1946*. Notices were tacked on the doors of Negro churches reading "The first n——r who votes in Georgia will be a dead n——r!" *Atlanta Constitution*, July 17, 1946.

GREENVILLE, *July 16, 1946*. A fiery cross was burned (election eve). *Atlanta Constitution*, July 17, 1946.

LULA, *July 16, 1946*. A fiery cross was burned. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 17, 1946.

LULA, *July 17, 1946*. No Negroes voted, nor came to town to meet the mail train as was their custom. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 18, 1946.

MANCHESTER, *July 17, 1946*. A state senator picketed the polls with a shotgun as a warning to Negroes not to vote. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 18, 1946.

GEORGIA, *July 17, 1946*. In many cities Negroes, and Negroes only, were arrested early on election day, on charges of carrying "dummy ballots" and other alleged infringements of election laws. Stories of these arrests appeared in afternoon papers across the state, and served as an effective deterrent to Negro voting. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 18, 1946.

GEORGIA, *July 17, 1946*. Talmadge elected governor; pledges to preserve white primary by following lead of South Carolina, which abolished all statutory references to primaries in the hope of circumventing Supreme Court ruling that primaries had become instrumentalities of government. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 18, 1946.

ATLANTA, *August 8, 1946*. Columbians, Inc. granted corporate charter by State of Georgia. Attorney for incorporators Vester Ownby, founder of We the People, Inc., former Cyclops of Klan Klavern 207. James L. Shipp, founder of Commoner Party and American Gentile Army, Columbian No. 5. Ira Jett, Columbian No. 6, a member of KKK's Klavalier Klub flog squad. Hoke Gewinner, Columbian No. 9 and chief recruiter, chairman KKK's UnAmerican Kommittee. *Atlanta Journal*, August 9, 1946.

ATLANTA, *August 26, 1946*. Hoke Gewinner, speaking from sound truck Columbian street meeting in front of Exposition Cotton Mills, called for organization on a block and precinct basis to "combat n——r bloc voting," and said: "There are just two ways to fight these things—with ballots and with bullets. We are going to try ballots first." Report to GBI.

ATLANTA, *October 3, 1946*. Homer Loomis, Columbian leader, at a public meeting held in Klan Klavern No. 1 at 198½ Whitehall Street, said: "Nowadays we hear a lot of talk about 'Let's give the n——r political equality, but not social equality.' But don't you know that, given political equality, one-third of the Georgia legislature would be black?" (Columbians a brownshirt terrorist band which, in addition to discouraging Negro voting, established armed patrols to maintain racial residential zoning. Their blackjacking of Negroes and dynamiting of Negro homes was widely publicized throughout Georgia.) Columbian public meetings were also held in the Dallas courthouse, arrangements being made by state legislator R. E. L. Whitworth, holder of Columbian card No. 5109; and at the Fairburn courthouse.) Report to GBI.

ATLANTA, *October 8, 1946*. West End Cooperative Corporation issued a charter by State of Georgia. Founded by Joseph M. Wallace, chairman of the KKK's Housing Kommittee and member of Klavern 297. According to reports made by Wallace to the Klan, WECC designed to serve as front for terrorizing Negroes who sought to establish homes in "white" neighbor hoods; the Klan's Housing Kommittee to be called on for direct action when necessary. WECC published weekly *West End Facts*, containing such statements as the following: "Southern Whites occupying that super position assigned them by the Creator are justifiably hostile to any race that attempts to drag them down to its own level! Therefore let the Negro be wise in leaving the ballot in the hands of a dominant sympathetic race! since he is far better off as a political eunuch in the house of his friends, than a voter rampant in the halls of his enemies!" Similar sentiments voiced at WECC mass meetings. Report to GBI.

ATLANTA, *November 18, 1946*. Herman Talmadge was featured speaker at a birthday party given by the Klan for Dragon Green in the city auditorium. Klan guards triple-checked all guests, who numbered 1,500. Talmadge was introduced as "the son of an illustrious father, who has the courage of his convictions and is ready to fight for the preservation of our American traditions against Communists,

foreign agitators, Negroes, Catholics, and Jews." Talmadge said he was "glad of the opportunity to speak to organizations like this," which he said are "destined to save America for Americans." He went on to say: "Your organization through its power and influence was of tremendous assistance in electing my father. My father and I were among the first to point out the dangers of Negro voting, particularly since they are easily controlled by a shrewder race." Talmadge eulogized Dragon Green as a "splendid American of spotless character." Green spoke and concluded: "I believe in the Ku Klux Klan, and will fight for it and white supremacy with the last drop of my blood." Report to GBI.

ATLANTA, *December 20, 1946*. Eugene Talmadge died, 21 days before he was to have been inaugurated governor. *Associated Press*, December 20, 1946.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *January 6; 1947*. Klan support was pledged to make Talmadge governor in his father's stead as "the only hope for white supremacy in Georgia." A petition to this effect was launched with about 100 signatures from Klavern No. 1, to be circulated among all Klansmen in Georgia. Report to GBI.

ATLANTA, *January 12, 1947*. The Georgia legislature, dominated by pro-Talmadge forces, refused to swear in lieutenant governor M. E. Thompson as Talmadge's successor. Instead, it became clear that the legislature would name Talmadge's son Herman, who had received 697 write-in votes in the general election (as the result of a last-minute drive inspired by his father's illness) as governor. To strengthen the hand of the Talmadge forces, the Klan sent out a statewide call for Klansmen to come to Atlanta and pack the galleries. Klan stickers (see Exhibit Q) appeared on the Capitol walls and the office of Governor Ellis Arnall. *Associated Press*, January 12, 1947.

ATLANTA, *January 15, 1947*. In a 2 A.M. vote, the legislature named Herman Talmadge governor of Georgia, after hearing legislators such as Jewel Crowe say on the assembly floor, "We are not going to turn Georgia over to n——rs, Rosenwalds, and Wallaces." *Atlanta Constitution*, January 16, 1947.

ATLANTA, *January 16, 1947*. Marvin Griffin, unsuccessful Klan-backed candidate for lieutenant governor, was named adjutant by Talmadge, and proceeded under cover of darkness to replace the lock on the governor's office. Arnall, locked out, declared that Talmadge's claim was based "purely on inheritance, but Georgia is not a monarchy." Arnall insisted that he would continue to serve as governor until Thompson was sworn in to replace him. To this Talmadge in a statewide broadcast said: "There's a n——r named Father Divine in New York City who thinks he's God, but that don't make him God." *Atlanta Constitution*, January 17, 1947.

ATLANTA, *March 19, 1947*. Georgia's supreme court ruled Talmadge out, and Thompson in. Leaving the governor's office with Bible in hand, Talmadge said, "This case will be taken to the court of last resort, the people of Georgia," *Atlanta Constitution*, March 20, 1947.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *March 24, 1947*. Dragon Green ordered all Klansmen to begin campaigning for Talmadge for governor in the 1948 election. The Klansmen were ordered to "appeal even to Catholics and Jews on the basis of white supremacy, but don't let them know you're a Klansman, because they know we are sworn against them." Report to GBI.

MILLEDGEVILLE, *April 10, 1947*. Klan chartered with 147 members, headed by Reverend Bomer as Exalted Cyclops. Report to GBI.

HANCOCK COUNTY, *May 5, 1947*. A Klansman named Phillips from this county, speaking in Atlanta Klavern No. 1, said Negroes constituted a majority in his county, and consequently he was organizing the Klan there as the only means of keeping them disfranchised. Report to GBI.

McRAE, *August 21, 1947*. George Mobley, white, was beaten after attending an anti-Talmadge political rally here in Talmadge's home town. Asked why he didn't swear out warrants, Mobley replied, "After all, I haven't any court to go to, nor do I have a sheriff to go to." *Atlanta Constitution*, August 22,

1947.

MACON, *November 17, 1947*. Police chief Ben Watkins assured Dragon Green, in response to a Klan demand, that a Progressive Party rally scheduled for Macon would be segregated by law officers. *Atlanta Constitution*, November 18, 1947.

GAINESVILLE, *November 29, 1947*. Statewide klavalkade staged with robes and cross-burning at Chicopee Mill Village. Report to GBI.

ATLANTA, *December 7, 1947*. Inflammatory Klan posters appeared, called for defeat of Mayor Hartsfield for having employed Negro police, and urging election of "decent men who are not afraid of pressure from the Chamber of Commerce, the CIO, Georgia Academy of Social Sciences, Jewish Community Council, and Communist groups." *Atlanta Journal*, December 8, 1947.

DOUGLAS, *January 1, 1948*. The *Atlanta Constitution* prominently reported the fact that of the 10,500 Coffee County citizens qualified to vote in the following day's primary, only 175 were Negroes (Exhibit E).

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *January 5, 1948*. "The No. 1 job of all Georgia Klansmen in '48 is the election of Herman Talmadge as governor," Dragon Green said. To this end, he promised a "hot year," with "something doing almost every night." He called for the total "Kluxing" of Georgia through the establishment of at least one KKK Klavern in each of the state's 159 counties by the time of the September 8th primary. Report to GBI.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *February 2, 1948*. Dragon Green ordered all Klansmen to conduct house to house canvasses for Talmadge, saying, "The Klan is doing a good job that way for Ed Crump in Tennessee." Report to GBI.

LAKEVIEW, *February 3, 1948*. Cross burned before home of high school coach Walter Bowland. "I'm afraid of the Ku Klux, and would advise you to do whatever they tell you," the sheriff said. Bowland was fired by the county school board and forced to leave town. *Associated Press*, February 3, 1948.

SWAINSBORO, *February 4, 1948*. Cross burned on courthouse lawn, and 189 robed Kluxers staged parade. Governor M. E. Thompson, asked to halt the demonstration, replied, "I know of no law for stopping a peaceable assembly." The mayor claimed the Klansmen were non-residents; actually the Swainsboro klavern was chartered March 24, 1947, with 126 charter members. *Associated Press*, February 4, 1948.

SAVANNAH, *February 14, 1948*. A Federal grand jury refused to indict two Dodge County registrars charged with purging 1,300 Negroes from the voting list (Exhibit E).

CORDON, *March 1, 1948*. Klansmen burned cross on courthouse lawn on eve of primary. *Atlanta Constitution*, March 2, 1948.

WRIGHTSVILLE, *March 2, 1948*. Three hundred robed Klansmen paraded around Johnson County square, burned cross on courthouse lawn on election eve. Said Dragon Green: "Whenever the Negro takes his place at the side of white men through the force of Federal bayonets, blood will flow in the streets of the South." There were 5,200 whites registered in the county, and 400 Negroes, out of a total Negro population of 4,500 (Exhibit U). No Negroes voted the next day. (Two weeks earlier the Johnson County Democratic Committee adopted an oath requiring all voters to pledge allegiance to segregation laws; but the oath was dropped following the adverse decision by Federal Judge Waites Waring in South Carolina.) *Atlanta Constitution*, March 3, 1948.

COLUMBUS, *March 12, 1948*. Klan staged robed klavalkades to Pine Mountain cross-burning ceremony. *Atlanta Constitution*, March 15, 1948. (Exhibit W.)

JACKSON, *March 22, 1948*. Newspapers reported that the Klan planned a demonstration on eve of Butts County primary.

JEFFERSONVILLE, *March 20, 1948*. Crosses burned on courthouse lawn on Saturday and Sunday nights before Jefferson County primary Monday. Small coffins labeled "KKK" also placed on Negroes' doorsteps. Only 150 Negroes voted. (Exhibit U.) *Atlanta Constitution*, March 21, 1948.

CONERS, *March 23, 1948*. Four crosses burned on eve of Rockdale County primary. One cross bore placard reading, "This cross burned with county fuel oil." Of the 3,600 registrants in county, only 240 were Negroes. (Exhibit T.) *Atlanta Constitution*, March 24, 1948.

LAWRENCEVILLE, *March 23, 1948*. Cross burned on eve of Gwinnett County primary. Of 12,000 registrants, only 800 were Negroes, *Atlanta Constitution*, March 24, 1948.

COLUMBUS, *April 8, 1948*. KKK "white supremacy" propaganda leaflets dropped from airplane over Negro neighborhoods on eve of primary. Report to GBI.

AUGUSTA, *April 13, 1948*. In a robed ceremony conducted in municipal park building from which public was barred, Klan inducted 100 new members. *Atlanta Constitution*, April 14, 1948.

ATLANTA, *April 15, 1948*. Joe Berry, 23-year old white war veteran, was flogged by Klan's "Black Raiders." Investigation revealed the Raiders had also flogged L. J. Martin, white carpenter of Atlanta, and Mary and Limon Gates, Negroes, of South Georgia. *Atlanta Journal*, April 16, 1948,

LAURENS COUNTY, *May 20, 1948*. Eight Negro citizens—including four college graduates, three ministers, and a school teacher—sued for $440,000 damages for having been purged from the voting list. Named as defendants were Superior Court Judge Earl Camp; State Legislator Herschel Lovett; two candidates for the Georgia Senate; and members of the board of registrars and county commission. Since November, 1,800 Negroes, representing 75 percent of the county's Negro registrants, had been purged. (Exhibit D.) *Atlanta Constitution*, May 29, 1948.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, *May 27, 1948*. Scorched bits of paper were mailed to Negroes the day before election, reading: "U beter stay at work tomorro—kkk." Report to GBI.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *June 7, 1948*. Klectoken initiation fee reduced from $10 to $5 to facilitate Klan-building for political purposes. Mass demonstration announced for Stone Mountain July 23, reported 100,000 announcements sent out. Dragon Green reported $25,000 set aside for reprinting *Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan*, which says in part: "This is a White Man's organization, exalting the Caucasian Race and teaching the doctrine of White Supremacy. . . . This is a Gentile organization, and as such has as its mission the interpretation of the highest ideals of the White, Gentile peoples. . . . Our forefathers founded this as a Protestant country and . . . our purpose is to reestablish and maintain it as such. . . . This Republic was established by White Men. It was established for White Men. Every effort to wrest from White Men the management of its affairs in order to transfer it to the control of blacks or any other color, or to permit them to share in its control, is an invasion of our sacred constitutional prerogatives and a violation of divinely established laws. One of the sad facts in American political life is the readiness of so many politicians to sell their noble white birthright for a mess of black pottage. They would betray their race in order to win a few black votes. We would not rob the colored population of their rights, but we demand that they respect the rights of the White Race in whose country they are permitted to reside. When it comes to the point that they cannot and will not respect those rights, they must be reminded that this is a White Man's country, so that they will seek for themselves a country more agreeable to their tastes and aspirations." Report to GBI.

ATLANTA, Klavern No. 1, *June 14, 1948*. Dragon Green announced that the goal of at least one klavern in each of Georgia's 159 counties before the September 8 primary had already been reached. Report to GBI.

MACON, *June 14, 1948*. Cross burned in front of home of Dr. D. W. Walton, Negro supporter of Progressive Party. *Atlanta Constitution*, June 15, 1948.

HAPEVILLE, *June 18, 1948*. Cross burned in front of, and shotgun fired over, a private home. *Atlanta Constitution*, June 19, 1948.

COLUMBUS, *June 28, 1948*. Corporate charter granted "Original Southern Klans, Inc." by State of Georgia, through Secretary of State Ben Fortson and Judge T. Hicks Fort. The latter, who keynotes Talmadge conventions of the Georgia Democratic Party, said he could "find no evidence of illegal intent." The newly-incorporated Klan opened an office in Columbus with a neon sign, and at a public demonstration and crossburning said it was "dedicated to the defense of Protestant Americanism, white supremacy, and the prevention of political dominance of any inferior minority group." (Exhibit F.)

MACON, *June 30, 1948*. Cross burned in front of home of Larkin Marshall, Negro Progressive Party candidate for the U.S. Senate. *Atlanta Constitution*, July I, 1948.

STONE MOUNTAIN, *July 23, 1948*. Three thousand robed Klansmen, convening in cars from all over Georgia and 14 other states, inducted 700 new members under a 30-foot fiery cross. Talmadge stickers on majority of Georgia cars. Dragon Green extolled Talmadge as "the only man in the gubernatorial race who believes 100 percent in white supremacy." The Dragon said again that blood would flow in the streets if Federal civil rights laws are enacted. *Atlanta Journal*, July 24, 1948.

COLUMBIA, S. C., *August 9, 1948*. On the eve of the Democratic primary, the Klan burned fiery crosses in front of a Negro church where a meeting was in progress on the mechanics of voting. *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 11, 1948.

ROSSVILLE, *August 21, 1948*. A crowd of 7,000 turned out to see a Klan demonstration featuring robed horses. "No law that will ever be drafted will make us accept the Negroes as our equals," Dragon Green said. "If it is tried, the grandsons of Klan members who routed the carpetbaggers in 1860 will do the same job over again." *Associated Press*, August 21, 1948.

SANDERSVILLE, *September 1, 1948*. Dragon Green told a gathering of several thousand Klansmen that "The Klan is only interested in preserving white supremacy, which is based on the fact that the white man is a natural-born leader." *Associated Press*, September 1, 1948.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., *September 1, 1948*. A central Florida Klan Klavalklade touched off twelve crosses in twelve Negro communities. *Associated Press*, September 1, 1948.

GRIFFIN, *September 6, 1948*. Two days before election, 558 Negroes purged from voting list. *Atlanta Constitution*, September 7, 1948.

PERRY, *September 7, 1948*. Crosses burned on election eve. *Atlanta Constitution*, September 8, 1948.

BULLOCK COUNTY, *September 7, 1948*. Miniature coffins labelled "KKK" appeared on Negroes' doorsteps. *Atlanta Constitution*, September 8, 1948.

VALDOSTA, *September 7, 1948*. Two crosses burned in Negro sections; "KKK" coffins placed on Negro doorsteps. *Atlanta Constitution*, September 8, 1948.

AUGUSTA, *September 8, 1948*. Election officials handling Negro voting at segregated booths slowed voting to less than one per fifteen minutes by asking all manner of questions. (Exhibit X.) *Atlanta Constitution*, September 9, 1948.

ATLANTA, *September 8, 1948*. Here and elsewhere in state, Negroes arrested early on election day for carrying "dummy ballots" and other alleged infringements, the arrests and news stories in afternoon papers deterring many Negro voters. *Atlanta Journal*, September 8, 1948.

ATLANTA, *September 8, 1948*. Herman Talmadge elected governor. "The people of Georgia have spoken in no uncertain terms of what they think of the so-called civil rights program," he said. Dragon Green one of first to congratulate Talmadge at campaign headquarters. *Associated Press*, September 8, 1948.

MOUNT VERNON, *September 9, 1948*. Isaiah Nixon, Negro, shot down in his home for having voted in the Democratic primary. *Associated Press*, September 8, 1948.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *October 25, 1948*. Dragon Green said: "At last the Klan has a friend in the governor's chair. We're sitting on top of the world and nothing can stop us. Herman has assured me of his cooperation at all times, and has promised to go all the way down the road to protect the Klan. If you ever need anything from him, be sure to make it known that you are a friend of Sam Green's." Green went on to say that "The Dixiecrats are the only ones who are for white supremacy and against social equality—the same principles the Klan has always fought for." He said he was ordering all Klansmen in the U.S. to work for and vote for Dixiecrat nominee Strom Thurmond in the November 2 election. Report to GBI.

LEESBURG, Fla., *October 28, 1948*. The Klan distributed propaganda leaflets warning that it would stage a klavalklade through eight surrounding towns on election eve. *Associated Press*, October 28, 1948.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *November 1, 1948*. Cliff Vittur, chief "AssTearer" (sic) of the KKK's Klavalier Klub flog squad, reported on the demonstration at Vidalia October 28. He said the Klansmen, numbering 300 from all parts of Georgia, were met at the city limits by Toombs County Sheriff R. E. Gray, the police chief and assistant chief, who escorted the parade into town. These three officials, as well as all Vidalia officials except the mayor, were Klansmen, Vittur said. The Klan would either convert the mayor, or defeat him in the next election, he added. At the demonstration, Dragon Green broadcast over a south Georgia radio network. Acting Cyclops Ransom urged all Klansmen to turn out the following day (election) and "work for Thurmond as they had for Talmadge." Nine automobiles were pledged from Klavern 1 to carry Thurmond voters to the polls. Report to GBI.

TUSKEGEE, Ala., *November I, 1948*. The Klan touched off fiery crosses in front of the courthouse, and at the highway leading to Tuskegee Institute. *Associated Press*, November 1, 1948.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., *November 1, 1948*. Many Negroes received threats through the U.S. mails, warning them not to vote. *Associated Press*, November 1, 1948.

MT. DORA, Fla., *November 3, 1948*. The promised Klan klavalklade touched off election eve crosses in Negro districts from Mt. Dora to Miami. *Associated Press*, November 3, 1948.

LYONS, *November 20, 1948*. Robert Mallard, leader in the movement to increase Negro voting, ambushed by robed band and shot while driving from church to his home in Toombs County. *Associated Press*, November 28, 1948.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *November 29, 1948*. Atlanta policeman "Itchy Trigger Finger" Nash, recipient of a Klan award for killing 13 Negroes, declared that Governor Talmadge, who took office two weeks ago, had given the Georgia Bureau of Investigation orders "not to believe everything the n——rs tell them" about the killing of Robert Mallard. A couple of days ago Dragon Green released to the press signed statements which had been forwarded to him by the Kleagle of Vidalia, in which Sheriff Gray (he who allegedly as a Klansman gave escort to the Klan parade less than a month before the murder of Mallard), Sergeant J. W. Robertson of the GBI, and Police Chief T. L. Graham of Lyons all expressed the "belief" that "the KKK had no part in killing this mean Negro." The *Atlanta Journal* suggested that the murder had been committed by Negroes disguised as Klansmen, and went on to say, "Mallard was an uppity Northern Negro, of bad character and habits, who had no business around here." (Mallard was a substantial dealer in mortician's supplies, married to a school teacher.) Report to GBI.

ATLANTA, Klavern No. 1, *December 6, 1948*. Dragon Green boasted that the GBI had given the KKK a "clean bill of health" in the Mallard case. He said Klansmen throughout U.S. were being invited to

Macon demonstration December 10. Pistol bullets were raffled at $1.00 each, the proceeds going to a Klan relief fund; the bullets were then presented to policeman Nash, with the comment, "He knows what to do with them." Report to GBI.

MACON, *December 10, 1948*. Several thousand masked Klansmen demonstrated in the city auditorium, and afterwards burned two fiery crosses. Mercer College students were prohibited by Police Chief Ben Watkins from distributing anti-Klan pamphlets under a local ordinance banning literature distribution which creates a "fire hazard"; at the same time, Klansmen were permitted to distribute Klan propaganda and application blanks. *Associated Press*, December 10, 1948.

ATLANTA, *December 4, 1948*. All seven Klaverns in the city participated in a masked parade led by Fulton County road patrolmen as a motorcycle escort. *Atlanta Constitution*, December 5, 1948.

ATLANTA Klavern No. 1, *December 13, 1948*. Dragon Green ordered all Klansmen "not to take the law into their own hands" without first consulting him. He said he was available at "any hour of the day or night" to "discuss anything that needs to be straightened out." Report to GBI.

ATLANTA, *December 18, 1948*. In an Associated Press dispatch published throughout Georgia under the heading: "GEORGIA MAPS PLAN TO BAR MOST NEGROES FROM POLLS" it was said: "A 'white supremacy' program designed to keep 80 percent of Georgia's Negroes from the ballot box had been advanced today by Gov. Talmadge and his legislative leaders. House speaker Fred Hand, who will guide the measure in the legislature which convenes in January, outlined the proposal at an informal conference of lawmakers. . . . The plan would start out by wiping all the present voters' registration lists off the books. A new statewide registration would follow with emphasis on strict 'educational qualification' for voting. The program, Hand explained, would be similar to Alabama's Boswell amendment, which requires prospective voters to "read and explain" the constitution to the satisfaction of registrars. Talmadge was not present at the conference but the program fitted in with his campaign assertion that "if we can't have an all-white primary in Georgia, then we want one just as white as we can get it." Hand said the Georgia plan would 'hold water'—be constitutional. It is necessary, he continued, because 46 Georgia counties have more Negroes than white persons." *Atlanta Constitution*, December 19, 1948.

ATLANTA, *February 11, 1949*. The Georgia senate passed a bill similar to one already passed by the house, wiping out the 1,200,000 names on Georgia's voting lists. According to the *AP*, February 11, 1949, the measure gave "certain discretionary powers to boards of county registrars in determining an applicant's right to the ballot." Besides requiring applicants to be able to read and write the state and national constitutions "intelligibly or legibly," the bill provided a list of 30 questions, 10 of which must be answered correctly by anyone failing the constitution test. "Gov. Talmadge has said over and over again that the re-registration bill is aimed at ending bloc voting by Negroes," the *AP* reported.

Attached hereto as Exhibit "Map A" is a map of the State of Georgia on which is indicated the geographic location of all of the acts set forth in Paragraph 8 hereof. The said map will be authenticated by the witness and offered into evidence, if permitted. The acts are symbolized in each case by the designation "X." Wherever said act is overtly and directly involved with an election, the symbol "X" is accompanied by the letter "E."

Attached hereto as Exhibits A through Z are photostatic copies of intimidatory propaganda releases, threats sent through the United Sattes mails, news stories, and other documentary materials having the intent and/or effect of deterring the great majority of the Negro citizens of Georgia from voting in the Congressional and other elections; which documents would be duly authenticated and offered as exhibits in connection with the testimony of this witness, if permitted.

That Mr. Henderson Lanham, first elected to Congress in 1946 as well as all of the other alleged Representatives in Congress from the State of Georgia, was elected as such as a direct result of the illegal actions which are mentioned above, and that therefore the re-election of the said Henderson Lanham in 1948 constituted a violation by the State of Georgia of Section 2
of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Respectfully submitted,

George W. Crockett, Jr.
Vito Marcantonio
Ralph E. Powe
Attorneys for the Defendant

Part Six:

Overtaxed and Underserved

Chapter Eighteen

Fulton County Libraries: A Harm and Repair Report

Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD

If library benefits are to be shared only in proportion to the taxes paid by a race, . . . at this rate why call it a "public" library at all since the rich and not the poor, the strong and not the weak; whites and not blacks, are to enjoy its benefits?

W. E. B. Du Bois, "Petition of the Negro for the Use of the Carnegie Library"[1]

Abstract

In 1902, Atlanta received its first free public library, the Carnegie Library, located at 126 Carnegie Way and later renamed the Central Library under the Fulton County Library System.[2] A gift to the city, it was the first library in the Southeast funded by philanthropist Andrew Carnegie. Although the library was established to advance literacy, its trustees restricted Blacks from using the facility and its learning resources. As Fulton County's population grew, so did the need for libraries. By 1935, there were ten libraries in Atlanta and the campaign to build additional branches was accelerating as the City of Atlanta and Fulton County Board of Commissioners entered a contractual agreement to serve *all* persons residing in the county.[3]

Per existing segregation policies and customs, from 1921 until 1959, Fulton County built more branches for White residents and limited Blacks to only three branches: Auburn Avenue, West Hunter Street, and University Homes. Undeterred by blatant legal discriminatory practices, Black public schools, the Atlanta University Center, and Black neighborhoods filled this void by developing an alternative library center of their own, which Fulton County did not support, financially or otherwise.

In 1959, libraries in Fulton County became integrated due to courageous advocacy by librarians, community leaders, and college students. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and changing county demographics, with Whites migrating to North Fulton and leaving neighborhoods where libraries existed, contributed to Blacks gaining greater access to libraries. The diversification of the Fulton County Commission after 1978 allowed new commissioners to work in concert to address the harms of historical *de jure* discrimination and led to the expansion of library services across the county.

But before this social, demographic, and political shift, White library trustees and the Fulton County Board of Commissioners enforced Jim Crow practices for decades, restricting Black taxpayers and their children from equal access to public library services. This group was legally denied entrance to these "public" facilities, demarcated as "Whites-only," simply because of their race.

Research Questions

This study uses quantitative data to answer the following questions:

1. In what ways did the Fulton County Board of Commissioners support and enforce the desegregation of public libraries throughout the county?
2. Did Black taxpayers and library patrons have access to equal library facilities, resources, and services at "Colored" branches, compared to "Whites-only" branches?
3. Were an equal number of libraries as were provided to White residents built in Fulton County to provide services to Black residents?
4. When funding libraries under Jim Crow rule, did *de jure* discrimination inflict an economic burden on Black taxpayers and a corresponding economic benefit to Fulton County taxpayers?
5. What factors eventually led Black Fulton County residents and taxpayers to gain equal access to libraries?

Methodology

Using the Atlanta City Directories, researchers created an inventory of public libraries, including those sites that eventually became a part of the Fulton County Library System. The numbers of "Whites-only" and "Colored" libraries were quantified to determine whether both racial groups received equal library facilities, resources, and services. Researchers created an inventory of all branches managed by the Fulton County Library System for this study.

Because of the history of White flight from Atlanta, residents came to refer to Fulton County according to three regions: North Fulton, South Fulton, and the City of Atlanta. Using the branch inventory, researchers applied specific calculations to identify the racial demographics of those residing in the county's three regions.

To determine whether the Fulton County Board of Commissioners provided an equal number of libraries for Black residents, researchers collected quantitative data from the United States Census to determine the number and percentage of residents according to race. The data was then analyzed to determine the quantity of libraries serving Blacks and Whites during the Jim Crow years. This approach allowed the researchers to calculate patron-to-library ratios, evaluate how many patrons library branches served, and determine how segregation practices burdened and benefitted taxpayers based on race. Additionally, by analyzing library counts alongside estimated economic value per branch, we quantified the economic and educational value lost to Black communities because of systemic underinvestment. To estimate the economic value of library services during this time, our analysis employed inflation-adjusted figures based on collection value**,** facility infrastructure, and annual staff and programming sourced from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (CPI),[4] the American Library Association,[5] and the Urban Libraries Council's Return on Investment studies.[6]

Research Gaps

An expansion of this investigation could benefit from examining Fulton County Government financial records, budgets, and meeting minutes archived at the Atlanta History Center Kenan Research Center. These document the Board of Commissioners' positions and votes granting or denying library services to residents before 1959, when the law required that libraries be racially segregated. It would also be constructive to study Fulton County officials' attitudes and actions concerning policies designed to ensure libraries were not subject to Jim Crow laws and were accessible to all residents post-1959. Finally, this analysis takes a conservative approach to analyzing the value Black residents lost by not having access to any libraries, assigning equal per-branch value to both White and Black libraries in order to isolate an access gap rather than a quality gap. However, Black-serving libraries were also structurally underfunded.

Introduction: The Harm, 1902–1959

1902–1935: The Civic Demand for Access to Libraries

While Fulton County did not have official authority over its library system until 1935, it is important to understand the storied history of advocacy for equal access to libraries and the multitude of resources and services they offer to communities. Accordingly, in this section, we review the legacies of the leaders, librarians, and legislation the county inherited in 1935.

At the turn of the twentieth century, advocacy for public libraries increased across the South, as local governments realized the benefit of making books and other educational resources accessible to citizens. As White lawmakers campaigned to build public libraries, they adhered to existing laws, customs, and policies of denying Black residents equal access to public services paid for by their tax dollars. Consequently, it can be argued that Black taxpayers funded superior services for White taxpayers (i.e., they funded their own legal, discriminatory treatment).

Six years after the United States Supreme Court rendered its *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision granting legal sanction to racial segregation, the Carnegie Library, under the purview of the City of Atlanta, complied with the *de jure* discrimination mandate by prohibiting Black patronage of the new public library. Upon its opening in 1902, the library's exclusion of Black taxpayers was consistent with city and county laws and policies that mandated racial segregation of other public facilities, systems, and institutions (e.g., courts, jails, schools, hospitals, clinics, etc.).



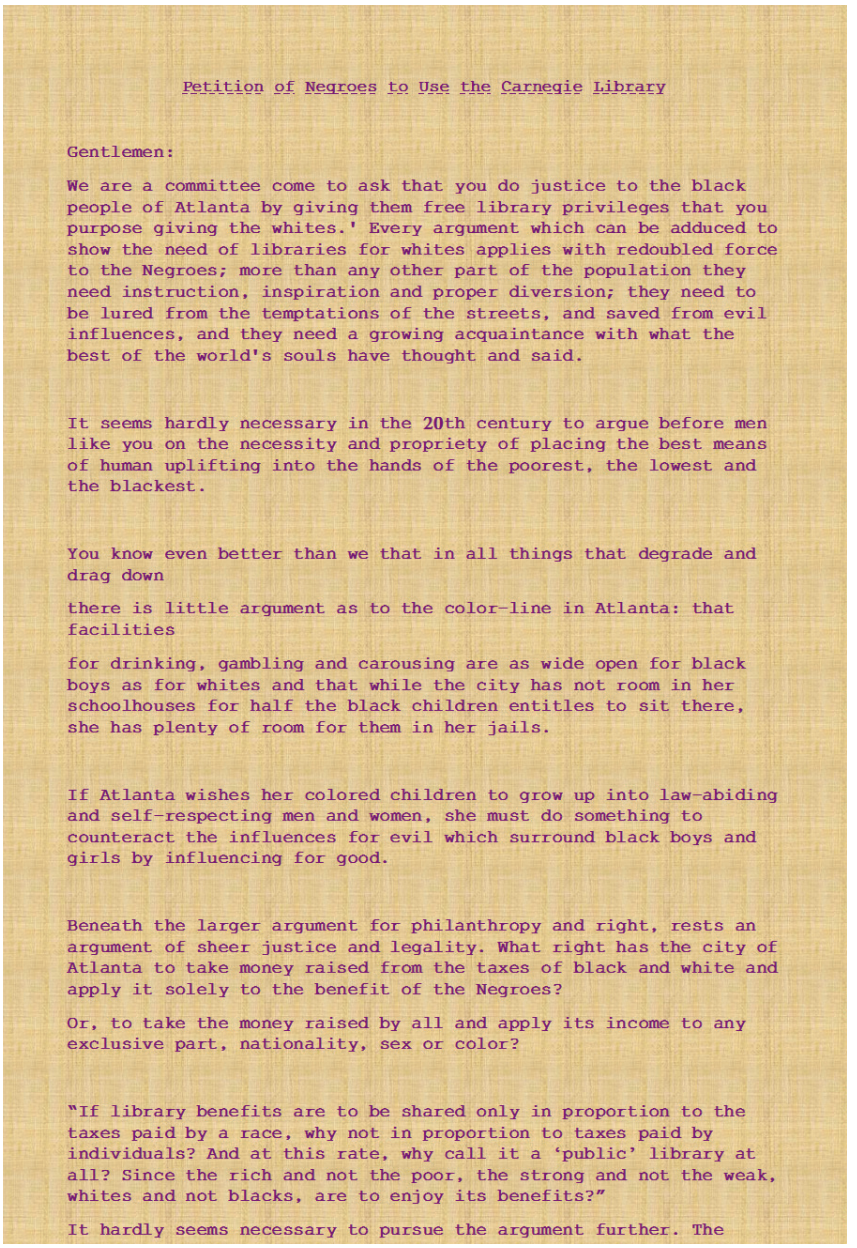
Figure 18.1 "Colored Entrance Only" cast iron sign, Atlanta, GA, August 1934. *Credit:* Personal collection of the author.

In April 1902, Atlanta University professor W. E. B. Du Bois wrote a letter to the *New York Independent* recounting his inquiry to the library Board of Trustees on whether Blacks had access to the opulent marble Carnegie Library. The young scholar, representing one-third of the city's population for whom he sought recompense, received an answer to his query from the president of the trustees, stating that

1. Negroes would not be permitted to use the Carnegie Library in Atlanta.
2. Some library facilities would be provided for them in the future.
3. To this end, the City Council would be asked to appropriate a sum proportionate to the amount of taxes paid by Negroes in the city.
4. An effort would be—and had been—made to induce Northern philanthropists to aid such a library.

He concluded by assuring Du Bois that in this way, the Blacks might eventually have a better library than the Whites.[7]

Du Bois countered by questioning how property taxes collected from Blacks on an "equal" basis could be used on a library serving only Whites.[8] As a compromise, he proposed that Blacks serve on the board, but his appeal was denied. A few months later, Du Bois and a committee of advocates submitted their "Petition of Negroes to Use the Carnegie Library" to the board.[9] The signatories expressed their position on the wasteful and illogical need to collect funds from both Black and White taxpayers only to restrict access to one race. As Du Bois and the other petitioners pointed out, a simple solution was to grant equal access to public facilities instead of collecting additional taxes from citizens for separate facilities. Unfortunately, their petition was for naught, and they were refused again based on their race.



Petition of Negroes to Use the Carnegie Library

Gentlemen:

We are a committee come to ask that you do justice to the black people of Atlanta by giving them free library privileges that you purpose giving the whites.' Every argument which can be adduced to show the need of libraries for whites applies with redoubled force to the Negroes; more than any other part of the population they need instruction, inspiration and proper diversion; they need to be lured from the temptations of the streets, and saved from evil influences, and they need a growing acquaintance with what the best of the world's souls have thought and said.

It seems hardly necessary in the 20th century to argue before men like you on the necessity and propriety of placing the best means of human uplifting into the hands of the poorest, the lowest and the blackest.

You know even better than we that in all things that degrade and drag down

there is little argument as to the color-line in Atlanta: that facilities

for drinking, gambling and carousing are as wide open for black boys as for whites and that while the city has not room in her schoolhouses for half the black children entitles to sit there, she has plenty of room for them in her jails.

If Atlanta wishes her colored children to grow up into law-abiding and self-respecting men and women, she must do something to counteract the influences for evil which surround black boys and girls by influencing for good.

Beneath the larger argument for philanthropy and right, rests an argument of sheer justice and legality. What right has the city of Atlanta to take money raised from the taxes of black and white and apply it solely to the benefit of the Negroes?

Or, to take the money raised by all and apply its income to any exclusive part, nationality, sex or color?

"If library benefits are to be shared only in proportion to the taxes paid by a race, why not in proportion to taxes paid by individuals? And at this rate, why call it a 'public' library at all? Since the rich and not the poor, the strong and not the weak, whites and not blacks, are to enjoy its benefits?"

It hardly seems necessary to pursue the argument further. The

Figure 18.2 Petition addressed to the Carnegie Library of Atlanta to allow Black residents of Fulton County access to public library privileges. *Credit:* Petition of Negroes to use the Carnegie Library, ca. 1903. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries

An opportunity to remedy this matter without using public dollars did present itself. In 1899, Andrew Carnegie donated $145,000 to build the Carnegie Library in Atlanta. After learning of the city's segregation laws, he offered $10,000 to build a Black library (the city only had one public library at that time), but municipal leaders and library trustees rejected the gift in 1904.[10]

Fortunately, Black Atlantans refused to acquiesce to the city and county's *de jure* discrimination mandate. For the next six decades, Blacks pushed to secure funds to build libraries and collections accessible to Black taxpayers, establish the Atlanta University Library Science program to produce Black

librarians, and desegregate the Atlanta and Fulton County libraries.

Racially Segregated Libraries Supported by Fulton County Property Taxes, 1935–1959:

After experiencing the Carnegie Library's legally discriminatory practices, Black Atlanta residents refused to be deprived of public services paid for by their tax dollars without protest. Surprisingly, they were not alone. When Tommie Dora Barker, a 26-year-old White librarian, was hired as the Director of the Carnegie Library in 1915, she championed building a library for Black patrons. She worked tirelessly to secure $25,000 from the Carnegie Corporation to build the Auburn Branch Library at 333 Auburn Ave NE.[11] The budget for construction and furniture was eventually increased to $50,000.[12] In 1921, the branch opened, with most of the librarians and administrators Black women. It had taken almost twenty years the 1902 opening of the Carnegie Library for Atlanta's Black residents to acquire a public library.[13]

The Auburn Branch

Legal racial segregation placed financial stress on library budgets, facilities, staff, and learning resources. When the Auburn Branch opened in 1921, it faced the challenge of providing service to the over 75,000 Blacks residing in the county. The Carnegie Library served 250,000 Whites living in Fulton County.[14] In examining the size of both libraries, we found that the Auburn Branch carried the burden of accommodating many more patrons than the Carnegie Library, which possessed a larger site, staff, and budget. Furthermore, as the Black population in Fulton County increased each succeeding decade, the budget for staff and resources at the Auburn Branch did not match patrons' needs and certainly did not offer facilities and resources comparable to those at the Carnegie Library (see Tables 1, 2 and 3).

Putting both branches' budget and size into perspective, the Carnegie Library received $25,000 to purchase library shelves and furniture, equivalent to 50 percent of the Auburn Branch's entire building and furnishing budget.[15] While the main library initially received annual funding from property taxes, paid by both Black and White residents, plus a $10,000 annual gift from the Carnegie Corporation, the budget for the Auburn branch appeared to receive much less funding, based on library trustees' suggestion that Black tax dollars should only fund "Colored" libraries.[16] Though evidence does not point to implementation of this suggestion, if it had been implemented, funding for the Auburn Branch would have been significantly less than that earmarked for the Carnegie Library because Blacks made up one-third of the county population and the percentage of Black property owners was significantly lower than that of White property owners.[17]



Figure 18.3 The Carnegie Public Library in Atlanta, GA, completed in 1902. The library was the length of one city block and restricted to White patrons only. *Credit:* Courtesy of the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/ga0119/.

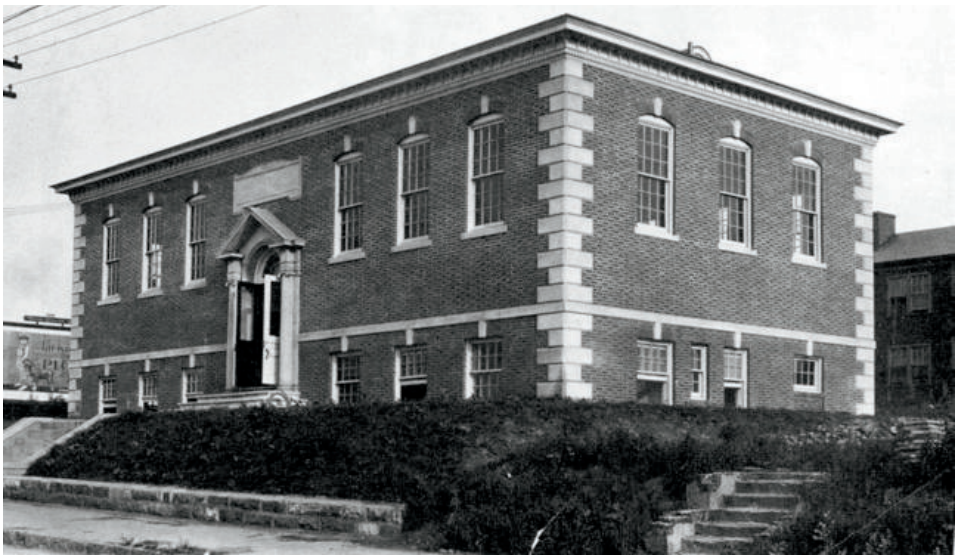


Figure 18.4 The Auburn Library Branch. *Credit:* Courtesy of Archives Division, Auburn Avenue Research Library on African American Culture and History, Atlanta-Fulton Public Library System, https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/education/auburn-avenue-research-library-on-african-american-culture-and-history/m-10954.



Figure 18.5 Interior of the Carnegie Public Library. *Credit:* Courtesy of the Library of Congress, https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/pnp/habshaer/ga/ga0100/ga0119/photos/056658pv.jpg.



Figure 18.6 Interior of the Auburn Library Branch. *Credit:* Courtesy of the Digital Libraries of Georgia, https://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/data/dlg/aaed/pdfs/dlg_aaed_aarl90.005-010-134.pdf.



Figure 18.7 Interior of the children's department at the Carnegie Public Library. Pictured is the fireplace containing illustrations from the *Uncle Remus* tales printed onto ceramic tiles. *Credit:* Courtesy of the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/hhh.ga0119.photos/?sp=16&q=carnegie+library&st=single.



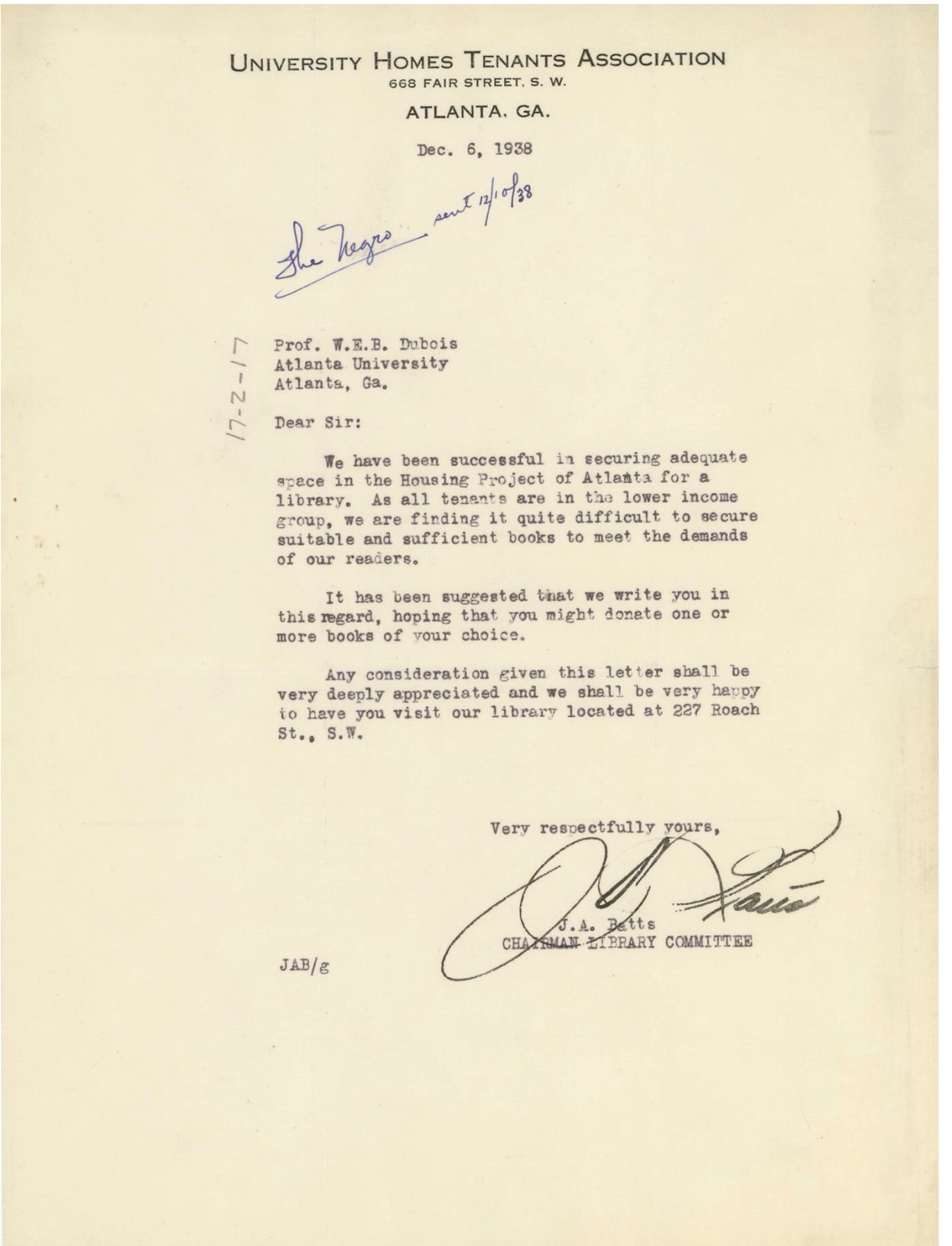
Figure 18.8 Interior of the children's department at the Auburn Library Branch. Credit: Courtesy of the Digital Libraries of Georgia, https://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/data/dlg/aaed/pdfs/dlg_aaed_aarl90.005- 010-134.pdf.

The Reading Room at University Homes

A second library branch for Blacks opened in 1941. The University Homes Reading Room, at 227 Roach SW, was established for Black families residing in the nation's first federally funded public housing project. The following year, the Reading Room acquired the branch title and joined the library system. Because of the lack of funds allocated to the small branch, members of the Tenants Committee at University Homes championed building their library's collection and providing other learning resources. Tenants courted supporters, such as Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, three years before the branch was opened to loan books (see Figure 18.9). Former assistant librarian Ethel Hawkins and her husband agreed to become tenants of University Homes and volunteered to manage the library under the Auburn Branch's supervision. After years of underfunding, the Reading Room closed its doors in 1962.[18]



Figure 18.9 Interior of the Reading Room at University Homes. Photograph 2013.00436, 1962. *Credit:* Courtesy of John Hope Homes and Villages at Castleberry Hill records, Photographs. Atlanta, GA: Atlanta Housing Archives, Atlanta Housing, https://cnatlanta.org/history/.



UNIVERSITY HOMES TENANTS ASSOCIATION
668 FAIR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GA.

Dec. 6, 1938

The Negro sent 12/10/38

17-2-17

Prof. W.E.B. Dubois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

We have been successful in securing adequate space in the Housing Project of Atlanta for a library. As all tenants are in the lower income group, we are finding it quite difficult to secure suitable and sufficient books to meet the demands of our readers.

It has been suggested that we write you in this regard, hoping that you might donate one or more books of your choice.

Any consideration given this letter shall be very deeply appreciated and we shall be very happy to have you visit our library located at 227 Roach St., S.W.

Very respectfully yours,

J.A. Betts
CHAIRMAN LIBRARY COMMITTEE

JAB/g

Figure 18.10 Letter from University Homes Tenants Association to W. E. B. Du Bois, December 6, 1938. *Credit:* Courtesy of W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

West Hunter Street Branch

In 1917, a significant fire in the Old Fourth Ward caused over 10,000 Black Atlantans to lose their homes and possessions.[19] With the city enforcing laws mandating residential segregation, much of the displaced population was forced to seek shelter in overcrowded, substandard rental properties owned by absentee (and often negligent) White property owners on the west side of Atlanta, who were beginning to take flight by this time. Two years later, Blacks began moving near the Atlanta University Center, preparing to cross Ashby Street (now Joseph E. Lowery Blvd), Atlanta's racial demarcation line, by purchasing homes around Washington Park, the first Black public park established in Atlanta.

By 1940, Black residency around the park and the Atlanta University Center had increased. Blacks became homeowners and tenants of the University Home housing projects. Middle-class professionals, religious and civic leaders, and a progressive working class were gaining an improved quality of life. High enrollment at the Ashby Street Elementary School and Booker T. Washington High School, two public schools reserved for Black children, prompted librarians, parents, and community leaders to push for a third publicly funded library. In 1949, the West Hunter Street Branch, at the corner of West Hunter Street and Morris Brown Drive, was established. Called the "main library" for Blacks, the West Hunter Street Branch became the third library to provide services for Black patrons.[20]

On March 28, 1935, the Georgia General Assembly approved an act allowing for the establishment and maintenance of public libraries.[21] That year, the City of Atlanta and Fulton County Board of Commissioners agreed to expand public libraries throughout Fulton County.[22] As residents continued to pay property taxes to fund libraries, the legal reality of maintaining racially segregated facilities placed an economic burden on *all* taxpayers, regardless of race.

"Colored" versus "Whites-Only" Libraries: A Quantitative Study

In the following decade, two of thirteen libraries (23 percent) were open to Blacks, who made up 31 percent of Fulton County's population (123,063 Black residents), and Black taxpayers also supported the eleven libraries they were legally banned from utilizing. In 1950, three of eighteen libraries (16.67 percent) served Blacks, whose population was slightly above 30 percent of Fulton County residents (144,986 Black residents), and Black taxpayers also supported the fifteen libraries they were legally banned from utilizing. Those fifteen locations exclusively served White patrons, whose population was less than 330,000 (more than double the Black population). As Figure 18.11 and Tables 18.1 to 18.3 show, Black libraries served more people per library in smaller facilities, with less staff, and limited resources.

By the time Black citizens gained access to all public libraries in 1959, the number of "Colored" libraries was reduced to two sites, while the number of "Whites-only" libraries increased to fifteen sites. Small "Colored" library branches served 96,512 Black patrons per site, compared to 24,530 White patrons per site for Whites-only branches (see Table 18.3). The patron–library ratio directly impacts user and access experiences for those visiting the sites.

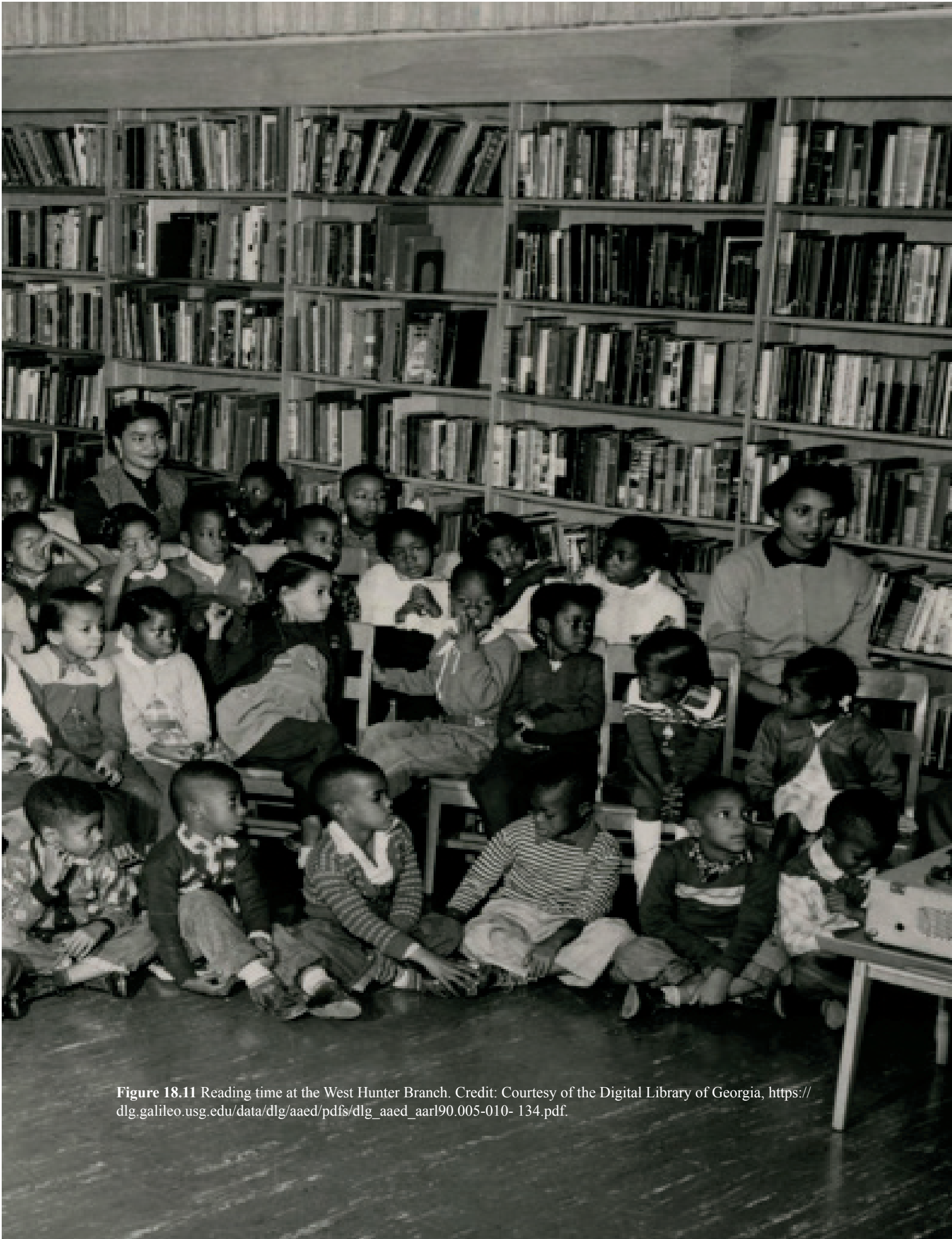


Figure 18.11 Reading time at the West Hunter Branch. Credit: Courtesy of the Digital Library of Georgia, https://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/data/dlg/aaed/pdfs/dlg_aaed_aarl90.005-010- 134.pdf.

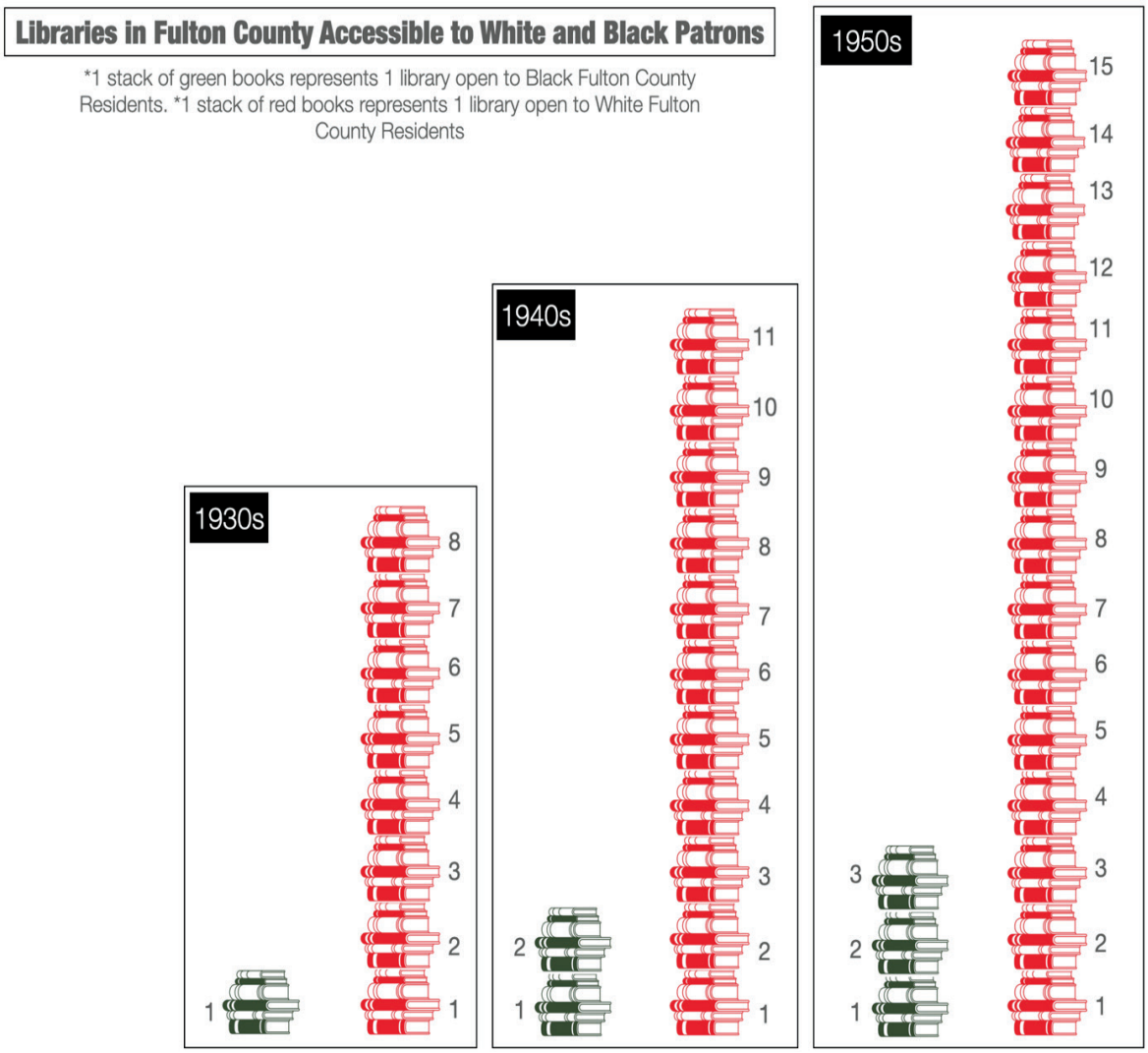


Figure 18.12 Comparative breakdown of libraries available to Black versus White patrons in Fulton County, Georgia, from 1930 to 1959.

Table 18.1 Fulton County Population According to Race, 1900–1960

Year	Black population	Percent	White population	Percent	Total population
1900	49,463	37%	84,181	63%	133,644
1910	62,319	47%	133,527	53%	195,846
1920	74,830	42%	176,370	58%	251,200
1930	104,897	31%	230,323	69%	335,220
1940	123,063	31%	269,823	69%	392,886
1950	144,986	31%	328,586	69%	473,572
1960	193,024	35%	363,302	65%	556,326

Source: United States Census, Fulton County, Georgia (1900–1960).

Table 18.2 Libraries Granting Services to Black Patrons Residing in Fulton County, 1900–1959

Year	Libraries reserved for Black patrons	Libraries reserved for White patrons	Fulton County Black population
1900	0	0	37%
1910	0	1	47%
1920	0	1	42%
1930	1	8	31%
1940	2	11	31%
1950	3	15	31%
1959	2	15	35%

Source: Atlanta City Directories (1900–1959) and "Historical Census Data," Governor's Office of Planning and Budget, accessed October 28, 2025, https://opb.georgia.gov/census-data/historical-census-data.

Table 18.3 Ratio of Legally Segregated Libraries to Patrons Residing in Fulton County, 1900–1959

Year	"Colored" libraries	"Whites-only" libraries	Total population
1900	0: 49,463	0: 84,181	133,644
1910	0: 62,319	1: 133,527	195,846
1920	0: 74,830	1: 176,370	251,200
1930	1: 104,897	1: 27,790	335,220
1940	1: 61,532	1: 24,530	392,886
1950	1: 48,329	1: 21,906	473,572
1959	1: 96,512	1: 24,220	556,326

Source: Atlanta City Directories (1900–1959) and "Historical Census Data," Governor's Office of Planning and Budget, accessed October 28, 2025, https://opb.georgia.gov/census-data/historical-census-data.

Desegregation of the Fulton County Library System, 1959

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court declared in the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* that "separate but equal" practices were unconstitutional, in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Without regard for this unanimous decision by the nation's court of last resort, the City of Atlanta and Fulton County Board of Commissioners chose not to integrate libraries and other public facilities. They continued to deny Black patrons the right to use the more well-resourced libraries reserved for White patrons.

Annie L. McPheeters, a long-serving Black librarian at the Auburn and West Hunter Street branches, refused to sit idly by and watch public libraries remain under Jim Crow rule. Following the *Brown* decision, she organized Atlanta's first Friends of the Library group and held a meeting at the Carnegie Library.[23] The Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations joined forces with Atlanta University Center faculty and students to conceive a strategic plan to desegregate the library, a feat W.E.B. Du Bois and

other activists failed to achieve in 1902. According to Mrs. McPheeters,

> [T]hey—these libraries and the branches—the 'white branches' we called them then, were closed to us. And so there came this great push on the part of several groups in our city. And one of them was a group which I organized, which was called the Friends of the Library. This Friends of the Library was the first Friends of the Library in Atlanta, it was a Carnegie Library then. It was the first group organized—we had a national Friends of the Library, but I organized this group. And one of my reasons for organizing this brand new library group was, first of all, to have these citizens work with us to get citizens interested in using the branches and also in order—in asking them to help to get the library desegregated . . . I knew that as a member of the staff, I could not fight that battle alone; but I knew that I had to have somebody to help fight that battle for us.[24]

Before the close of the academic year, Spelman professor Irene Dobbs Jackson and Interdenominational Theological Center graduate student Otis Moss, Jr., applied for library cards in their attempts to integrate the "Whites-only" Atlanta Public Library.

During a closed-door meeting in 1959, board members, including Mayor William B. Hartsfield, voted to integrate the fifty-seven-year-old racially segregated library.[25] The board members did not want to excite Whites opposed to integration. According to McPheeters, Library Director John C. Settelmeyer opposed racial segregation policies being enforced by public libraries, and he instructed the entire staff to treat Black patrons the same as White patrons.[26]

For decades, the "Colored" branches had been underfunded. These racialized funding disparities were justified by local officials who claimed that there were fewer Black residents than White residents and that Blacks paid less property tax than Whites. The push to integrate libraries—and, soon, other public facilities—meant Black Fulton County residents could benefit equally from resources supported by their taxes.

As McPheeters noted during a 1992 interview,

> I was just interested in the library being desegregated because, naturally, our citizens were paying taxes. They were taxpayers, and yet they were not receiving all of the funds, the result from their taxes—by the libraries being closed to them. And, in addition to that, citizens were becoming more interested in reading, as the years went by; they became more interested in reading and in getting materials. And our branches—we were branch libraries, and we often didn't have the type of materials, or we didn't have enough materials to furnish a citizen on whatever the citizen might be looking for. And the citizens knew that this material was in the library, the main library—or maybe in some of the other larger branches.[27]

During the same year, the Carnegie Library granted access to Black patrons, the Auburn branch, located one mile from the central library, was permanently closed, and its programming and access to learning

material were no longer available. In 1960, the branch was demolished.

AUDIO: Annie McPheeters, Librarian

Oral history interview with librarian, educator, and activist Annie L. McPheeters, who worked at the Auburn and West Hunter branches of the Atlanta Public Library from 1934 to 1966. Courtesy of the Georgia State University Libraries Special Collections via Digital Library of Georgia.[28]

Figure 18.13 Photograph of librarian Annie L. McPheeters. *Credit:* Photograph by Lane Brothers. Courtesy of the Archives Division, Auburn Avenue Research Library on African American Culture and History, Atlanta-Fulton Public Library System, https://www.fulcolibrary.org/auburn-avenue-research-library/aarl-history/.



Segregation Practices: A Burden to Taxpayers

As illustrated in Table 18.3, evidence suggests that legal, racial segregation practices placed a financial and physical strain on library staff, learning materials, services, programming, and facilities at "Colored" branches, thereby making it much more challenging to meet the needs of Black patrons compared to their White counterparts. As early as 1902, libraries serving only White patrons recognized the need to increase the quantity of branches, not just to ensure greater accessibility but also to reduce strain on staff, learning materials, services, programming, and facilities.

In the process of collecting and measuring quantitative data for this chapter in Fulton County's history of *de jure* discrimination, researchers discovered that racial segregation practices were burdensome to taxpayers. If "separate but equal" had been applied not only in theory but in practice, Blacks, comprising one-third of Fulton County's population, should have been assigned six of the eighteen total libraries in the Fulton County Library System. Those facilities, services, resources, staff, and budgets should have also been equal to those provided at the "Whites-only" libraries.

The ratio of libraries serving patrons grew from one branch for 176,730 White patrons in 1902 to one branch serving 32,725 Black *and* White patrons in 1960 (see Tables 3, 4, and 5). By 1980, equity in library services had further increased, as each branch served up to 10,534 Black and White Fulton County residents. During that period, Blacks made up 52 percent of Fulton County's population (see Tables 4 and 5). Following integration of the public library in 1959, the strain on all library branches fell significantly. A more thorough investigation of Fulton County Library System's annual budget is needed to evaluate whether the allocation of funds for the various branches and their staff salaries was equitable or reflected racial disparities. Additionally, an assessment of hiring practices at the respective branches should be researched.

Table 18.4 Fulton County Population According to Race, 1960–2000

Year	Black Population	Percent	White Population	Percent	Other populations	Percent	Total Population
1960	193,024	35%	363,302	65%	————		556,326
1970	236,467	39%	371,125	61%	————		607,592
1980	303,508	52%	286,396	48%	————		589,904
1990	325,101	50%	315,911	49%	9,685	1%	650,697
2000	363,511	45%	370,608	45%	82,071	10%	816,190

Source: "Fulton County, GA Population by Year, Race, & More." USA Facts, accessed October 28, 2025, https://usafacts.org/data/topics/people-society/population-and-demographics/our-changing-population/state/georgia/county/fulton-county/?endDate=2000-01-01&startDate=1970-01-01; and "Historical Census Data," Governor's Office of Planning and Budget, accessed October 28, 2025, https://opb.georgia.gov/census-data/historical-census-data.

Table 18.5 Ratio of Integrated Libraries to Black and White Patrons Residing in Fulton County, 1960–1990

Year	Black patrons	White patrons	Total population
1960	1: 12,868	1: 16,514	556,326
1970	1: 15,764	1: 24,742	607,592
1980	1: 10,840	1: 10,228	589,904
1990	1: 13,004	1: 12,637	650,697

Source: Atlanta City Directories, 1960-1990 and "Historical Census Data." Governor's Office of Planning and Budget, accessed October 28, 2025, https://opb.georgia.gov/census-data/historical-census-data.

The Price of Access Denied: An Economic Assessment of Segregated Library Services in Fulton County

Social scientist Amanda Meng, PhD, has conducted an important economic assessment of segregated library services in Fulton County from 1935 to 1959. Noting that Fulton County did not officially have authority over the library system until 1935, her analysis examines the number of library branches in conjunction with the estimated economic value of each branch, quantifying Black communities' economic losses due to systemic underinvestment. Dr. Meng employs inflation-adjusted figures to estimate the economic value of library services during this period. Her analysis incorporates data on collection value, facility infrastructure, annual staffing, and programming from reputable sources such as the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (CPI), the American Library Association (ALA), the Georgia State Library archives, and studies by the Urban Libraries Council on Return on Investment. Each library branch was estimated to provide between $250,000 and $300,000 in economic value over a ten-year period, factoring in books, staffing, programs, and access to knowledge and opportunities in Fulton County. These estimates reflect nominal dollars for the respective decades and represent conservative figures for mid-sized segregated libraries. The assessment is based on a principle of equal access. Accordingly, it employs the same economic value for a library available to White patrons as one available to Black patrons, even though we know this was not historically accurate, and makes the case for economic loss based on an equally resourced library.[29]

Table 18.6 Economic Value for Libraries and Estimated Value Lost to Black Patrons in Fulton County

Decade	Value per library (10-year est.)	Total value for black libraries	Equal access value (based on white branch count)	Estimated value lost
1930s	$250,000	$250,000	$2,250,000	$2,000,000
1940s	$275,000	$550,000	$3,025,000	$2,475,000
1950s	$300,000	$900,000	$4,500,000	$3,600,000

Source: TK.

Dr. Meng estimates that, in historical dollars, Black residents experienced a total loss of $8,075,000 from 1930 to 1959. The estimated value lost to Black patrons, with compound interest projected to 2024, ranges from $81,010,968.18 at 3 percent to $1,726,680,262.54 at 7 percent (see Table 18.7). These figures represent direct service gaps, such as access to books, literacy support, job assistance, and educational programming, which Black communities were denied due to systematically limited public investment. These estimates do not consider compounded downstream effects, such as reduced educational attainment, limited job mobility, and civic disenfranchisement, which likely amplified the real cost over generations.

Table 18.7 Economic Value of Libraries and Estimated Value Lost to Black Patrons in Fulton County, with Compound Interest at 3%, 5%, and 7%, Projected to 2024

Decade	Estimated value lost	Estimated value lost at 3% compound interest	Estimated value lost at 5% compound interest	Estimated value lost at 7% compound interest
1930s	$2,000,000	$27,767,897.30	$153,772,123.9	$824,491,551.17
1940s	$2,475,000	$25,569,130.22	$116,823,396.8	$518,672,999.30
1950s	$3,600,000	$27,673,940.66	$104,319,173.26	$383,515,712.07

Source: Amanda Meng, PhD, application of the "Value Lost" formula.

Limitations and Assumptions

This analysis assumes that each Black-serving library was fully funded according to national standards and conservatively assigns them equal per-branch value to isolate any access gap, rather than quality gaps. However, in reality, Black-serving libraries were structurally underfunded.

General Formula for Economic Value Lost

Let

1. V = Estimated value per library for a decade (in historical dollars), where V is calculated as

Collection Value + Facility Value + Staffing & Operations + Programming & Outreach

2. L_W = Number of libraries available to White patrons
3. L_B = Number of libraries available to Black patrons
4. $\Delta L = L_W - L_B$ = Disparity in number of libraries

The formula for historical value lost due to unequal access is

$$\text{Value Lost} = V \times (\Delta L)$$

A Step Toward Repair: 1959–Present

After 1960, a demographic shift occurred as Whites took flight to north Fulton, quickly moving beyond the city limits of Atlanta and away from Blacks. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, declaring segregation unconstitutional, and the development of Interstate 20 encouraged White resettlement in suburban areas of Fulton County.

As Blacks eagerly purchased homes in southwest and northwest Atlanta that had been vacated by Whites flocking to northern suburbs, they gained access to public libraries once designated "Whites-only." While the inventory of the brick-and-mortar library structures remained in resettled Black communities, it arguably offered an *illusion of social progress*, as new libraries were not built, and many years would pass before existing structures were properly renovated.

Expanding Library Services Throughout Fulton County

The integration of libraries in 1959 was a catalyst. The library was the first public institution within the City of Atlanta and Fulton County to begin ending racially discriminatory practices. Across the United States, the proliferation of library branches surged due to the 1962 Library Services and Construction Act, which provided funding for new library facilities in underserved areas. Pursuant to that enactment, more than 7,200 historically marginalized communities gained access to public libraries.[30] For the next three decades, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners continued to work in concert with the City of Atlanta to apply federal funds and property taxes toward building new branches, creating better library accessibility for all its citizens.

In 1982, the Fulton County System was formed, and responsibility for the library system, which had been shared with the City of Atlanta for fifty years, was transferred to Fulton County on July 1, 1983, via an amendment to the Georgia Constitution. Today, the system is officially recognized as the Fulton County Library System.[31]

By 1983, the library system comprised twenty-eight branches, twenty-two of which were within the City of Atlanta. As White residents in north Fulton advocated for and secured three new sites, newly elected Black members of the Board of Commissioners ensured the same number of libraries was built in south Fulton to serve Black patrons.

In 1994, thirty-four years after the Auburn Library Branch was demolished, the Auburn Avenue Research Library (AARL) on African American History and Culture opened. It was the first public library in the Southeast dedicated specially to the study and research of Black history and culture. In 2016, it

received a budget of $16 million to improve its facilities.[32]

Over the next decade, the Black population increased in south Fulton. As the Black and White populations increased in the northern and southern portions of the county, respectively, so too did library services. Today, the Fulton County Library System boasts thirty-four branches across the County. This includes seven branches in north Fulton, six in south Fulton, and twenty-one within the City of Atlanta.[33] For nearly 125 years, dedicated advocates have worked tirelessly to ensure equal access to library facilities and services and to challenge laws that limited library access by Black taxpayers. Their ongoing efforts have played a crucial role in creating a more equitable library system, benefiting residents across the region. This rich history stands as a testament to the power of community advocacy and commitment to public service.

Conclusion

This study provides a quantitative analysis of racial disparities in access to public libraries in Fulton County, Georgia and examines the history of racial segregation in the Fulton County Library System during the Jim Crow era. It measures the economic harm imposed on Black residents due to segregation-era policies and evaluates the extent to which subsequent reforms have repaired that harm.

I. Harm (1902–1959)

From the time the Carnegie Library (later Central Library) opened in 1902, Black residents were legally barred from using it, despite contributing to the tax base that funded its construction and maintenance. This exclusion extended to all other "Whites-only" branches until the opening of the Auburn Library Branch in 1921, nearly twenty years after the Carnegie Library opened. Even after the Auburn Branch opened, it remained one of only three public libraries available to Black patrons during segregation, with only two libraries accessible during the same period. The remaining library infrastructure—eventually fifteen branches—served only White patrons.

Fulton County did not officially have authority over the library system until 1935. However, even after that time, Black taxpayers paid into a system that denied them equal access to public services. The policy of racial exclusion was upheld through Jim Crow laws and customs and through official decisions enforced by the Fulton County Board of Commissioners and library trustees. Even after the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* declared racial segregation in public education inherently unequal and in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, public libraries—not named in the ruling—remained segregated. It would take a biracial body of librarians and supporters to desegregate the library in 1959.

This study's quantitative analysis demonstrates that segregation was an economic burden on taxpayers. By 1959, each "Colored" branch provided service to 96,000 potential county residents; each "White" branch served 24,000 potential county residents. This disproportionate ratio strained library staff, limited access to materials, and compromised educational services.

Using inflation-adjusted estimates, the economic value denied to Black residents totaled approximately $8,075,000 between the 1930s and 1950s. The estimated value lost to Black patrons with compound interest projected to 2024 ranged from $81,010,968.18 at 3 percent interest to $1,726,680,262.54 at 7 percent interest. These figures include losses in literacy support, youth programming, job readiness resources, and general civic participation opportunities. Segregation, therefore, imposed a high cost not only in terms of equity but also in terms of economic value lost—a burden that affected all taxpayers by maintaining duplicate, inefficient systems.

II. Repair (1959–Present)

The desegregation of Fulton County libraries in 1959 marked the first time a public institution in the county formally ended legal racial segregation. This change preceded and anticipated the broader public desegregation that followed the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited racial discrimination in public facilities and services. Library integration helped set a precedent for the dismantling of other Jim Crow practices in the county.

The closure and demolition of the Auburn Branch in 1960 removed a vital cultural and educational resource from the Black community. However, over time, the newly integrated library system enabled access to a broader set of resources, facilities, and services for all residents. This also had practical system-wide benefits: it reduced overcrowding at segregated branches, expanded the utility of underused formerly "Whites-only" libraries, and enabled a more efficient allocation of funding, staffing, and resources.

By the 1980s, under the reorganized Fulton County Library System, access had become more balanced, with each branch serving approximately 10,500 residents. New libraries were established in both north and south Fulton, reflecting population shifts and efforts by newly elected Black commissioners to ensure equitable development. The 1994 opening of AARL marked a renewed investment in historically excluded communities.

Desegregation expanded the educational and civic value of libraries. It created a more informed citizenry, extended the reach of library programs, and increased the return on public investment. Rather than being a zero-sum shift, integration allowed the system to operate more efficiently and serve more people more effectively.

Summary

The denial of library access to Black residents in Fulton County for fifty-seven years was both a civil rights violation and a systemic misallocation of public resources. Racial segregation in public libraries imposed disproportionate burdens on Black taxpayers and created inefficient and redundant systems that failed to serve all county residents equitably. The desegregation of libraries in 1959 reduced these burdens and marked the beginning of a broader transformation in public services.

The history documented in this report illustrates not only the structural harm caused by racial exclusion but also the measurable value of equitable investment. It affirms that racism is not only morally unjust, but irrational and expensive.

Endnotes

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Chapter Nineteen

Taxed, Underserved, and Excluded: The Racial Geography of Public School Access in Fulton County, 1871–2020

Monica Goings

The Negro race was improved by slavery . . . few have been helped by learning from books. . . . The negro child should be taught manual labor and how to live. . . . The negro school to be useful needs less books and more work.

—Governor Hoke Smith, *Inaugural Address*, 1907

Abstract

During Reconstruction, two decades after the establishment of Fulton County in the state of Georgia, two public school districts were created: Fulton County Schools (FCS) in 1871, and Atlanta Public Schools (APS) in 1872.[1] Schools at that time were racially segregated by law into White-only and Colored schools.[2] This *de jure* discriminatory practice continued for the next hundred years. In 1952, under the guidance of Atlanta Mayor William B. Hartsfield and the Fulton County Board of Commissioners, Fulton County's boundary lines expanded to include the following cities: Lakewood Heights, Buckhead, East Point, and Hapeville.[3] This Plan of Improvement included the annexation of several schools by the City of Atlanta and Atlanta Public Schools.[4] Two years later in 1954, the landmark Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* overruled the duplicitous doctrine of "separate but equal" and ordered the desegregation of public schools in the United States.[5] Slowly, Fulton County began the desegregation process, but it did not completely desegregate all of the schools in the county until the early 1970s.[6]

The Fulton County educational infrastructure can be divided into three main regions: North Fulton, South Fulton, and the City of Atlanta. North Fulton comprises Sandy Springs, Johns Creek, Alpharetta, Milton, Roswell, and Mountain Park.[7] At the opposite end of the county, South Fulton includes East Point, College Park, Union City, Chattahoochee Hills, Palmetto, Hapeville, and Fairburn.[8] The City of Atlanta occupies the middle of Fulton County. Most schools within the city limits of Atlanta are managed by Atlanta Public Schools, except fewer than a dozen schools. The following findings reflect the division of educational infrastructure in Fulton County, as set forth by the Fulton County School System description.

Methodology

To determine whether Fulton County underserved the Black population with respect to the provision of education services, we compiled a list of schools and educational facilities from 1870 to 2020. This list included only schools funded by the county through the Fulton County School District, and it did not include schools within the

Atlanta Public School System. Researchers used city directories and Fulton County Schools archives to determine schools and their location within the Fulton County School District from 1870 to 2020. We used this information to generate maps pertaining to each decade that indicate the location of each Fulton County school and the neighborhoods they served throughout their existence. We compared these maps to demographic data for these locations and neighborhoods to determine whether tax-paying Black Fulton County residents had access to county schools. We then performed an analysis using these maps to determine whether, and the extent to which, the Fulton County School system underserved Black Fulton County residents from 1870 to 2020. The unavailability of the Fulton County School System's budgets frustrated our ability to calculate the precise amount of funding each school received per decade. The unavailability of specific tax records also hindered our ability to determine how Black residents used their own resources to create schools while paying taxes to Fulton County. However, the data reflecting the number of county schools, the racial demographics of the county, and statements by Fulton County elected officials and political operatives about the provision of educational services in the county are sufficient to document and assess the extent to which Fulton County failed to provide its taxpaying Black residents with the educational services to which they were entitled.

One of the challenges in producing this report was performing calculations based upon demographics that are not included in the state census records. Researchers had to ascertain data that did not exist. Because of the history of White flight and the City of Atlanta's separation of North Fulton and South Fulton, researchers used specific demographics from the Georgia census in each city in Fulton County to determine the racial demographics of North and South Fulton.

Calculations to determine the percentage of residents according to race in Fulton County were made based on the following formula:

Percentage of White residents = (Number of White residents/Total number of residents) × 100.

Percentage of Black residents = (Number of Black residents/Total number of residents) × 100.

To determine White vs. Black population in North and South Fulton, the demographics of the townships within each part of Fulton County were gathered for the years that this census data was available (1970–2010). The total number of White residents in each North Fulton township were calculated, as well as the total number of Black residents. The same formula was used for the South Fulton townships:

Percentage of White residents =(Number of White residents/Total number of residents) × 100.

Percentage of Black residents =(Number of Black residents/Total number of residents) × 100.

Once these calculations were generated, data analysis was performed using population data and the county schools' locations and dates of existence.

Findings

The first county school to serve the young Black population was New Hope Elementary School in 1871.[9] By the close of the 1870s, Fulton County Schools had one Colored school and ten White-only schools.[10] By the turn of the century, our research shows the number of Colored schools had grown to eight facilities (33.3 percent of the district), and the number of White schools had grown to sixteen (66.7 percent of the district).[11] Shortly after the turn of the century, Michael Hoke Smith was elected Governor of Georgia. In his inaugural address on June 29, 1907, he proclaimed, "the negro race was improved by slavery . . . few have been helped by learning from books. . . . The negro child should be taught manual labor and how to live. . . . The negro school to be useful needs less books and more

work."[12] His words catalyzed the trends toward underinvestment in educating the state's Black children, which are reflected in the data collected during this time period.

Shortly after Governor Smith took office, the percentage of Colored schools managed by the Fulton County School System began to decline. His strategy of decreasing funding for the education of Black children correlated with the decline in the number of Colored schools. The research data indicates that the decline began in 1910, with the lowest percentage of Colored schools in the 1930s, when 23.6 percent of the district (thirteen schools) was sanctioned for Black students, while 76.4 percent (forty-two schools) was sanctioned for White students.[13] The 1940s showed a slight increase, with 28 percent (fourteen schools) of the district sanctioned for Black students and 72 percent (thirty-six schools) sanctioned for White students.[14] If Fulton County School budgets had been available, researchers would have been able to determine whether Fulton County also failed to adequately fund the Colored schools that were created. However, the data collected shows that from the time Governor Smith took office in 1907 through the 1940s, Fulton County failed to supply its taxpaying Black population with an adequate number of Colored schools. This failure delivered on the intentions Governor Smith expressed in his inaugural address.

Despite the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which mandated the desegregation of public schools across the nation, staunch resistance to the dismantling of Jim Crow laws by the Fulton County School System and White individuals and their communities slowed desegregation efforts.[15,16] Even as the Black population of Fulton County increased from 45,532 in 1900 to 193,024 by 1960, the county continued to underserve Black children by creating an insufficient number of schools, depriving them of the educational services to which they were entitled.[17] The Fulton County School System was not fully desegregated until the early 1970s, nearly twenty years after the US Supreme Court mandated equal educational opportunities for Black American children.

In 1970, the White population of North Fulton County was approximately 57,350 persons, and the Black population was approximately 739.[18] The White population grew exponentially in North Fulton County beginning in the 1980s, doubling to 81,272 by the 1980 census. In comparison, the Black population increased to only 956.[19] In the 1990s, Fulton County began to increase the number of schools in North Fulton, while the number of schools in South Fulton decreased. Data from the beginning of the 1980s shows thirty-eight schools in South Fulton, compared to twenty-nine in North Fulton.[20] However, the 1990s demonstrated a shift, with the number of schools in North Fulton increasing to thirty-seven and the number of schools in South Fulton decreasing to twenty-two.[21]

By 2000, the City of Atlanta contained 127,760 White residents, and North Fulton had 160,840 White residents.[22] At the same time, the City of Atlanta had 237,441 Black residents, and 19,369 Black residents lived in North Fulton.[23] This trend continued into 2010, when the White population of the City of Atlanta was 145,594, with North Fulton housing 241,589 White residents.[24] At this time, the Black population of the City of Atlanta was 215,599, and the Black population of North Fulton was 46,344.[25] The migration of White Fulton County residents to North Fulton correlates with the increased number of schools in North Fulton. According to the Fulton County school inventory, the last two decades have

shown an increase in school creation in North Fulton County, particularly Johns Creek and Alpharetta, from forty-four schools in North Fulton in 2000 to fifty-eight by 2020.[26] The incorporation of John's Creek in 2006 also added to the number of schools and resulted in newer facilities in North Fulton. Newer schools mean more contemporary facilities, equating to updated spaces, more advanced technology, improved play and extracurricular areas, and better resources for teachers and staff. In the aggregate, these factors create an enriched, high-caliber learning environment and experience for students. Because North Fulton is mostly White, this benefit is mainly enjoyed by White Fulton County students, not Black Fulton County students, whose parents also pay county taxes. In stark contrast, there are substantially fewer new facilities in South Fulton, where the school population is predominantly Black, and the technology and resources at these schools are less advanced and more outdated.

As previously noted, Fulton County schools were not desegregated when *Brown* was decided in 1954; rather, desegregation was not complete until the early 1970s, almost two decades after *Brown*'s desegregation mandate.[27] In the meantime, Fulton County continued to intentionally underserve its taxpaying Black residents. Black residents responded to the county's failure to adequately serve them by using their own resources to provide a sufficient number of fully-funded schools and pay for the education of their children, while still paying county taxes. Additional data and analysis are needed to determine the precise amount in Fulton County taxes that Black residents paid from 1871 to the early 1970s for a school system that benefited the entire county but that actually underserved their children, as well as the amount of money Black residents paid, in addition to taxes, to cover for the dearth of educational resources Fulton County provided.

Table 19.1 White vs. Black Population of Fulton County per Decade[28]

	1870	1880[29]	1890	1900	1910
White:	18,104 (54%)		49,238 (58%)	71,776 (61%)	119,663 (67%)
Black:	15,283 (46%)		35,397 (42%)	45,532 (39%)	57,985 (33%)
Total:	33,387		84,635	117,308	177,648
	1920	**1930**	**1940**	**1950**	**1960**
White:	162,404 (70%)	211,804 (68%)	259,743 (68%)	328,390 (69%)	362,903 (65%)
Black:	70,200 (30%)	101,505 (32%)	123,063 (32%)	144,986 (31%)	193,024 (35%)
Total:	232,604	313,309	382,806	473,376	555,927
	1970	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**
White:	368,524 (52%)	281,178 (48%)	309,901 (49%)	392,598 (52%)	376,014 (48%)
Black:	237,439 (48%)	303,626 (52%)	324,008 (51%)	363,656 (48%)	400,457 (52%)
Total:	605,963	584,804	633,909	756,254	776,471

Table 19.2 White vs. Black Population in North and South Fulton, 1970[30]

1970			
		White	**Black**
Atlanta	Atlanta City	223,914	255,040
North	Roswell	9,393	386
	Sandy Springs	38,883	109
	Alpharetta	9,074	244
	Total:	**57,350 (98.7%)**	**739 (1.3%)**
South	College Park	13,559	3,009
	East Point	35,921	3,291
	Hapeville	9,489	57
	Fairburn	17,231	2,357
	Palmetto	2,887	1,279
	Total:	**79,087 (88.8%)**	**9,993 (11.2%)**

Table 19.3 White vs. Black Population in North and South Fulton, 1980[31]

1980			
		White	**Black**
Atlanta	Atlanta City	138,235	283,158
North	Roswell	22,870	311
	Sandy Springs	45,972	591
	Alpharetta	3,087	41
	Mountain Park	9,343	13
	Total:	**81,272 (98.8%)**	**956 (1.2%)**
South	College Park	12,467	11,886
	East Point	21,417	15,784
	Hapeville	5,793	190
	Fairburn	2,689	727
	Total:	**42,366 (59.7%)**	**28,587 (40.3%)**

Table 19.4 White vs. Black Population in North and South Fulton, 1990[32,33]

1990			
		White	**Black**
Atlanta	Atlanta City	122,327	264,262
North	Roswell	44,162	2,327
	Sandy Springs	60,797	5,152
	Alpharetta	12,380	332
	Mountain Park	10,709	58
	Total:	**128,048 (94.2%)**	**7,869 (5.8%)**
South	College Park	4,310	15,231
	East Point	10,881	22,823
	Hapeville	4,194	570
	Union City	3,942	4,304
	Fairburn	2,606	1,312
	Palmetto	1,695	885
	Total:	**27,628 (38%)**	**45,125 (62%)**

Table 19.5 White vs. Black Population in North and South Fulton, 2000[34]

2000			
		White	**Black**
Atlanta	Atlanta City	127,762	237,441
North	Roswell	64,666	6,773
	Sandy Springs	66,519	10,332
	Alpharetta	29,150	2,256
	Mountain Park	472	8
	Total:	**160,807 (89.2%)**	**19,369 (10.8%)**
South	College Park	2,446	15,353
	East Point	6,367	30,949
	Hapeville	3,196	1,641
	Union City	2,947	8,057
	Fairburn	2,354	2,603
	Palmetto	1,435	1,397
	Total:	**18,745 (23.8%)**	**60,000 (76.2%)**

Table 19.6 White vs. Black Population in North and South Fulton, 2010[35]

2010			
		White	**Black**
Atlanta	Atlanta City	145,594	215,599
North	Roswell	66,010	10,373
	Sandy Springs	61,051	19,724
	Alpharetta	40,310	6,245
	Johns Creek	48,694	7,062
	Milton	25,012	2,936
	Mountain Park	512	4
	Total:	**241,589 (83.9%)**	**46,344 (16.1%)**
South	College Park	1,715	8,799
	East Point	5,424	24,492
	Hapeville	2,726	1,836
	Union City	2,166	16,005
	Fairburn	2,603	9,050
	Palmetto	1,321	2,477
	Chattahoochee Hills	1,632	665
	Total:	**17,587 (21.7%)**	**63,324 (78.3%)**

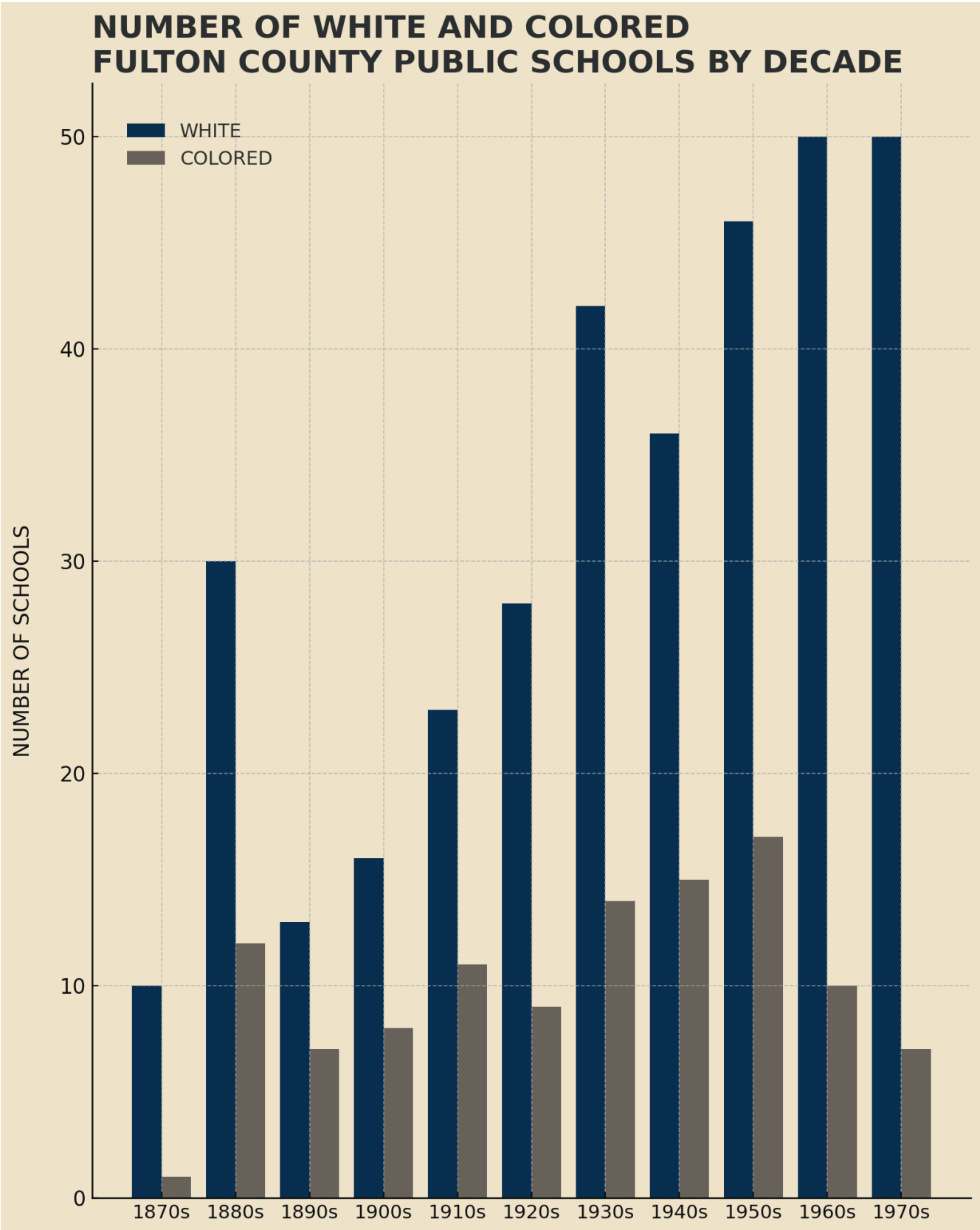


Figure 19.1 List of Fulton County public schools per decade, according to race.

Fulton County schools were classified racially, according to data retrieved from city directories. Figure 19.1 shows the disparities in the number of schools for White and Colored students in Fulton County by decade, from the 1870s to the 1970s. The visual clearly illustrates a persistent and widening gap in educational access, highlighting how Black communities were systematically underserved, despite also paying taxes. It should be noted that public schools were slow to integrate even after the US Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v Board of Education* that separating children by race in public schools was unconstitutional.[36]

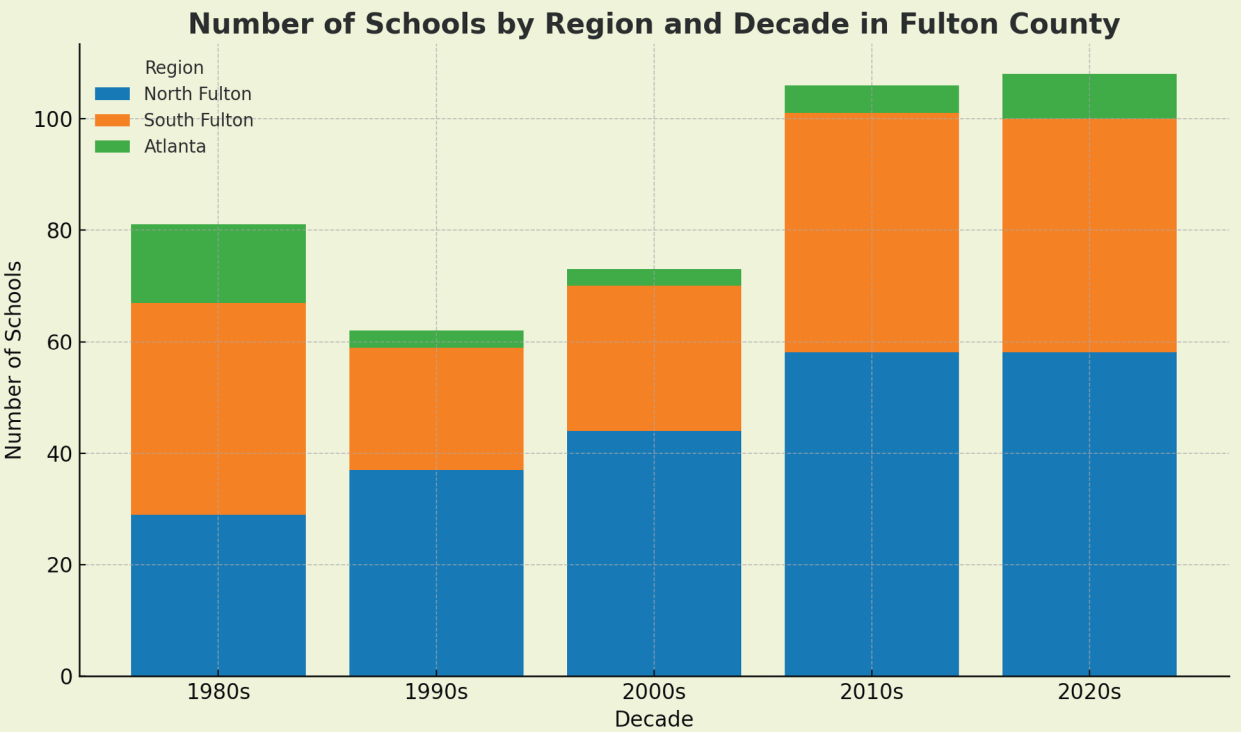


Figure 19.2 Number of schools in Fulton County by region and decade.

Figure 19.2 shows the number of public schools in Fulton County, Georgia, by decade and region. North Fulton consistently had the highest number of schools, while South Fulton and the City of Atlanta had fewer from the 1980s to the 2020s. The visual highlights how school access expanded unevenly across the county, reflecting long-standing disparities in public investment and regional development.

Conclusion: An Economic Analysis

This report can be broken down into two sections: (1) *De jure* racial discrimination before *Brown vs. Board of Education* was enforced through limited access to Colored schools (from 1870 to 1970) and (2) *De facto* racial discrimination after *Brown vs. Board of Education* was enforced through the reallocation of schools from South to North Fulton (post-1970).

Part 1: Analysis of the School-Access Gap for Black Citizens Compared to White Citizens in Fulton County (1870–1970)

Between 1870 and 1970, Fulton County's educational infrastructure reflected significant racial disparities. The number of schools designated for Black students, labeled as "Colored" schools, was consistently lower than the number of schools available for White students and was insufficient in light of the population of Black children in the county. The population figures for both racial groups make evident that Black residents had disproportionately and substantially diminished access to educational facilities. This consequential disparity highlights a racialized structural inequity in educational access that contributed to long-term educational and socioeconomic disadvantages for Black children and communities in Fulton County.

To quantify this access gap, the ratio of Black and White county residents per school by decade was calculated from 1870 to 1970.

Table 19.7 Resident-per-School Ratios, 1870–1970

Decade	Black population	Number of colored schools	Black citizens per colored school	White population	Number of white schools	White citizens per white school	Black-white school gap
1870s	15,283	1	15,283	18,104	10	1,810	13,473
1880s		12			30		
1890s	35,397	7	5,057	49,238	13	3,787	1,270
1900s	45,532	8	5,692	71,776	16	4,486	1,206
1910s	57,985	11	5,271	119,663	23	5,202	69
1920s	70,200	9	7,800	162,404	28	5,800	2,000
1930s	101,505	13	7,808	211,804	42	5,043	2,765
1940s	123,063	14	8,790	259,743	36	7,215	1,575
1950s	144,986	17	8,528	328,390	46	7,141	1,387
1960s	193,024	10	19,302	362,903	50	7,258	12,044

The access gap is particularly wide at the beginning of the sample period. In the 1870s, there was only one Colored school serving 15,283 Black residents, compared to ten White-only schools serving 18,104 White residents. This results in a ratio of 15,283 Black citizens per school, compared to 1,810 White citizens per school—a substantial access gap that advantages White children and communities. Data from 1880 was lost due to a fire. However, the access gap narrowed considerably between 1870 and 1890, with the introduction of six Colored schools (and three White-only schools) to accommodate the doubling of the Black population in the county. The access gap plateaued over the next decade, but significant progress was made between 1900 and 1910, with the addition of three more Colored schools, nearly closing the gap. At that time, there were only sixty-nine more Black residents per Colored school than White Residents per White-only school .

As previously stated, shortly after Governor Smith took office, the number of Colored schools managed by the Fulton County School System began to decline substantially relative to the growth of the county's Black community. By the 1930s, there were thirteen schools for 101,505 Black residents, resulting in an average of 7,808 Black children per school, compared to forty-two schools for 211,804 White residents, resulting in an average of 5,043 White children per school. This racialized access gap confirms that Colored schools, with fewer resources in absolute terms, were serving 150 percent the number of Black children than comparatively well-resourced White schools served.

During the 1940s and 1950s, despite overall increases in schools for both racial groups, Black Fulton County residents continued to experience a large access gap. By the 1950s, each Colored school served an average of 8,528 Black children, while each White school served an average of 7,141 White children. Although the disparity had narrowed somewhat, the ratio still significantly disadvantaged Black Fulton County residents. Despite the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, in the 1960s, there were only ten Colored schools in Fulton County, compared to fifty White schools. Although the White population had grown, the number of schools for White students increased as well, maintaining a ratio of approximately 7,258 White students per school. Conversely, the number of Colored schools decreased to ten, leading to an alarming and unmanageable ratio of 19,302 Black children per school. These statistics and disparities reflect marked educational inequities perpetuated by Fulton County's racialized decisions regarding school creation and funding. There were still only seven Colored schools in 1970, despite the *Brown* ruling over a decade before.

The data reveals a clear, systemic underinvestment in educational spaces and resources for Black residents of Fulton County. The consistently higher number of children in Black schools, which was especially stark from the 1870s to the 1900s and again in the 1960s, evinces a willful disregard for the educational needs of Black children and misappropriation of tax dollars paid by Black Fulton County residents. The lack of equitable school access and the underfunding of the schools Fulton County provided for Black children likely contributed to educational disadvantages that had lasting and adverse impacts on the socioeconomic mobility and intergenerational wealth of Fulton County's Black residents.

The data underscores the importance of researching and addressing historical inequities in educational access as part of broader reparative measures. The consequential access gaps reflect continued *de jure* segregation of public schools, even after it was outlawed by the *Brown* decision, and the disparities highlight the cumulative disadvantage experienced by taxpaying Black residents as a result of Fulton County's inadequate educational infrastructure, school creation, and funding practices.

Part 2: School Access Gap in North and South Fulton County (1980–2010)

To assess the school access gap in Fulton County, we compared the number of residents in North and South Fulton to the number of schools available in each area for the decades 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010. By dividing the population in each region by the number of schools, we calculated the number of residents per school, revealing the extent of racialized access disparities.

Table 19.8 Resident-per-School Ratios, 1980–2010

Decade	Region	White population	Black population	Total population	Number of schools	Residents per school
1980s	North Fulton	81,272 (98.8%)	956 (1.2%)	82,228	29	2,835
	South Fulton	42,366 (59.7%)	28,587 (40.3%)	70,953	38	1,867
1990s	North Fulton	128,048 (94.2%)	7,869 (5.8%)	135,917	37	3,673
	South Fulton	27,628 (38%)	45,125 (62%)	72,753	22	3,307
2000s	North Fulton	160,807 (89.2%)	19,369 (10.8%)	180,176	44	4,095
	South Fulton	18,745 (23.8%)	60,000 (76.2%)	78,745	26	3,028
2010s	North Fulton	241,589 (83.9%)	46,344 (16.1%)	287,933	58	4,964
	South Fulton	17,587 (21.7%)	63,324 (78.3%)	80,911	43	1,881

Throughout the decades, North Fulton consistently had a predominantly White population and South Fulton had a predominantly Black population. The data shows a significant difference in the number of residents per school between the two regions. In 1980, South Fulton had a lower resident-to-school ratio (1,867 residents per school) than North Fulton (2,835 residents per school). However, by 2010, North Fulton's resident-per-school ratio increased to 4,964, while South Fulton's was 1,881, highlighting a potential racial disparity in access to educational opportunity.

While both regions saw population growth from 1980 to 2010, the rate of school expansion in North Fulton generally kept pace with the population, albeit with higher resident-per-school ratios. South Fulton experienced slower population growth relative to school expansion, which may suggest lower investment in educational infrastructure despite the growing demand.

The disparity in residents per school has implications for resource distribution, class size, and access to educational opportunities. With North Fulton's higher resident-per-school ratios, resources per student may have been strained, although the region likely benefited from better-funded schools. Conversely, South Fulton's lower ratios suggest potential underfunding, as the schools may not have had the same quality of facilities or level of support as those in North Fulton.

This data underscores the need for equitable distribution of educational resources to ensure all students have access to a quality education, regardless of their geographic location within Fulton County and their race. The findings highlight the importance of addressing structural inequities to improve educational access, opportunities, and outcomes across different regions for all children in Fulton County,

without regard for their race. Importantly, this analysis is severely limited by lack of access to school funding data and information on the number of students each institution served. Future work should incorporate the data here with tax and school funding and enrollment data to arrive at conclusions about the relative amount of resources provided to White Fulton County residents versus those made available to Black residents. What existing data does confirm is that, historically, the number and quality of Fulton County schools accessible to Black students compared to those accessible to White students reflect racialized inequities, notwithstanding the fact that their parents, Black and White taxpayers, were subject to the same county tax obligations.

Endnotes

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10 See Table 19.7.

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13 See Table 19.7.

14 See Table 19.7.

15 "Brown v. Board of Education (1954)."

16 Mewborn, "Public Education."

17 See Table 19.1: White vs. Black Population of Fulton County per Decade.

18 See Table 19.2: White vs. Black Population in North and South Fulton, 1970

19 See Table 19.3: White vs. Black Population in North and South Fulton, 1980

20 See Table 19.7.

21 See Table 19.7.

22 See Table 19.5: White vs. Black Population in North and South Fulton in 2000

23 See Table 19.5.

24 Table 19.6: White vs. Black Population in North and South Fulton in 2010

25 See Table 19.6.

26 See Table 19.7.

27 "Brown v. Board of Education (1954)."

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[36] To learn names and locations of White-only and Colored schools in Fulton County from 1870 to 2010, contact Monica Goings, who is responsible for managing the data.

Chapter Twenty

Black Healthcare Access in Fulton County: Historical Context and Modern Crisis

Victoria Lemos and Amanda Meng, PhD

Abstract

This document explores the historical development of medical facilities and the professional landscape for Blacks in Fulton County, with a focus on Atlanta. A comprehensive examination of history can provide insight into the systemic racial disparities seen today. By understanding the historical context and institutional barriers that have affected Black residents of Fulton County, we can see clearly the ongoing legacy of the harm condoned or enacted by Fulton County through its own public health programming, or lack thereof, and its racialized deployment of health programming in partnership with the city of Atlanta. This chapter provides a historic account of barriers to access to public health care for Fulton County's enslaved population and for the Black residents of Fulton County during the Jim Crow era. The lasting impact of this harm is evident today, as Black residents of Fulton County are still drastically out-burdened by negative health care outcomes.

Medical Care for Enslaved Blacks

Medical care for enslaved Black residents in Fulton County, and Georgia as a whole, was severely inadequate.[1] Enslaved individuals were considered property with an attached monetary value, and while enslavers sought to protect their investment, only an estimated $3 per year was allocated for each enslaved person's medical care.[2] In spite of this lack of medical attention, White scientists and doctors frequently utilized enslaved men, women, and children in medical experiments and procedures.[3]

The formalization of medicine in Georgia began in 1804, with the establishment of the state's first hospital, the Savannah Poor House and Hospital Society, created to treat sick sailors.[4] Decades later, the region that would become Fulton County began to take shape. When Marthasville, renamed Atlanta in 1847, began growing, it followed the same segregated pattern as the rest of the state. By 1845, the city gained its first physician, Dr. Joshua Gilbert, who would ride through town blowing a whistle to alert residents of his presence. In 1854, the establishment of the Atlanta Medical College by figures like Dr. John Westmoreland marked the start of White medical education, setting the institutional tone for White exclusivity.[5] The Jackson Street Hospital, which opened in Augusta, Georgia, in 1852, was the first hospital built exclusively for the care of Black patients and was staffed entirely by White medical professionals.[6]

Determinants of Racialized Public Health Disparities

The city's rapid growth quickly exposed fatal flaws in its public health management. For example, the smallpox epidemic of 1853, the year Fulton County was formed, highlighted the urgent need for a public hospital. However, systemic neglect exacerbated health crises for Black residents: Early Atlanta lacked paved roads, city sewers, and proper waterways. Neighborhoods were physically segregated by landscape, and White settlements occupied higher ground with access to natural water sources, while Black settlements were relegated to low-lying land and alleyways where contaminated runoff naturally flowed.[7] Following Fulton County's formation, maintenance and proper sanitation services fell within its purview.

By the 1880s, the city's approach to caring for its poor was abysmal. Six city physicians were assigned to each of Atlanta's six wards for a small annual salary, but the city's lack of public transportation meant many of its poor went unseen by medical professionals. As a direct consequence of environmental and institutional neglect, the death rate for Black Atlantans was 2.5 times greater than that for Whites in the 1880s. This disparity only grew over the next decade: By 1900, the Black death rate exceeded the White rate by 69 percent, and Black babies died from preventable, waterborne diseases at horrifying rates, with 45 percent not seeing their first birthday.[8] One such baby was the first and only son of W. E. B. Du Bois, who experienced firsthand the systemic neglect and institutional racism that shaped Fulton County's health crisis as a personal tragedy.

In the spring of 1899, Du Bois, then a professor at Atlanta University, watched his two-year-old son, Burghardt Du Bois, contract diphtheria. The family had moved from Philadelphia, where care was accessible, to Atlanta, where it was not. Facing an unresponsive White medical establishment, Du Bois spent agonizing hours searching for one of Atlanta's few Black doctors, but the delay proved fatal, given the rapid decline caused by the disease.[9] This tragedy, born of institutional failure, became the core of the powerful chapter "The Passing of the First Born" in Du Bois's seminal 1903 work, *The Souls of Black Folk*. Du Bois reflected that his son "escaped" a world where Black ambition was dubbed "insolence," turning his private grief into a profound indictment of the racial "veil" that denied basic human dignity, even in matters of life and death.[10]

Advocacy and Institution-Building: The Black Medical Resistance

Faced with this crisis and their complete exclusion from White institutions, Black Atlantans were forced to build their own infrastructure. The movement began with nursing education, and the first nursing school for Black students was established at Spelman College in 1881.[11] By 1897, Dr. Eliza Ann Grier had become the first Black woman licensed to practice medicine in Georgia.[12] She began her young career as a teacher at Fisk University and began practicing medicine in Atlanta after completing her medical degree from the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania in 1897. Unfortunately, she died soon after, in 1902, at the age of thirty-eight. By 1891, a handful of Black physicians resided in Atlanta, chief among them Dr. Henry R. Butler and Dr. Thomas Slater. These Meharry Medical College graduates were pioneers, establishing a medical practice and pharmacy on Wheat Street, which later became

Auburn Avenue. Their presence was a pillar of both economic opportunity and healthcare justice and served as a crucial medical refuge against the backdrop of a segregated healthcare system.[13]



Faced with the American Medical Association's (AMA) discriminatory practice of barring them from joining, Black doctors gathered in Atlanta during the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition to formally found the National Medical Association (NMA). The move signaled that Black doctors would build their own parallel infrastructure, rather than waiting for White institutions to grant them legitimacy.[14] The NMA remains the nation's largest and oldest body for Black physicians.[15]

These doctors' struggle intensified and was legally codified in 1896, with the Supreme Court's ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which validated segregationists' "separate but equal" claim. The ruling legally sanctioned the dual medical system, ensuring Black patients were relegated to inferior and often nonexistent medical facilities. Black medical professionals were effectively shut out of mainstream medical societies, unable to secure hospital staff positions, and forced to operate out of tiny, underequipped offices.

Figure 20.1 Dr. Eliza Ann Grier, the first Black woman licensed to practice medicine in Georgia. Public Domain. Frame is AI generated by Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, PhD.

The Gradies and the Rise of Private and Community-Led Institutions, 1908–1965

Initially following its formation in 1853, Fulton County did not have a dedicated public health department. The county's health responsibilities were largely managed by the state and city health departments in Atlanta. The central symbol of Atlanta's segregated care was Grady Memorial Hospital (Grady). Though its cornerstone was laid in 1890 to honor Henry Grady, the hospital's design was discriminatory from the start. Upon its official opening in 1892, the hospital designated three wards for Black residents facing Jenkins Street in the back, intended to be temporary until a "real" Black hospital could be built.[16] The institution was often referred to in the plural as "the Gradies" due to its separate and unequal spaces.[17] This segregation extended to staff, with Black physicians and nurses largely excluded from the main hospital's professional life. The very first "real" patient of Grady was a Black railroad employee named Allen Kimball, who was hired as an orderly and ambulance driver after being treated.[18] While Fulton County benefited greatly from the chain-gang and convict labor that built the infrastructure its economy relied on, it failed deeply by not providing adequate healthcare to these laborers, much to its own peril.

Beyond private institutions, community-led initiatives also emerged to address the public health crisis. The Neighborhood Union, founded in 1908 by social reformer Lugenia Burns Hope and a group of middle-class Black women, was a pioneering organization dedicated to improving living conditions in Black neighborhoods.[19] The union divided Atlanta into districts and conducted house-to-house surveys to identify community needs, which ranged from housing and sanitation to education and healthcare.[20]

Black Fulton County residents' healthcare crisis reached its peak in the early 1910s. The Black wards at Grady were constantly at capacity and in terrible condition, described as having bad lighting and falling ceilings. In addition, its women's section had no maternity ward, leading to reports of Black women giving birth in the alleyways behind the hospital.[21] By 1911, twenty Black people per day were being turned away due to lack of space.[22] This disparity was further illustrated by the 1911 purchase of

Grady's first motorized ambulance, driven by Kimball. On its inaugural run, the vehicle became stuck on railroad tracks in Kirkwood and was destroyed by a train.[23] In 1912, the city approved a new building creating two hospitals in one: "White Grady" and "Black Grady," physically and operationally separate until desegregation. Everything was segregated except the operating room, where the fast-paced, emergency nature of surgery often saw Black and White patients side by side.[24]

In 1915, the Neighborhood Union established a brick-and-mortar health center to serve the underserved Black community in West Atlanta, including the Vine City neighborhood.[25] The Union provided essential services and was a critical resource, with more than four thousand people using its services annually during the Great Depression.[26] This grassroots effort provided a model for self-help and social service that aimed to fill the gaps left by segregated and discriminatory public services.

Within Fulton County, the scarcity of medical facilities for the Black community led to the further proliferation of privately held institutions. In the 1920s, Sadye E. Powell, a graduate of the Spelman Seminary nursing program, moved to the Fulton County/Atlanta area and served as head nurse at Fair Haven Hospital.[27] In 1918 or 1919, she married surgeon Charles W. Powell, and together they opened one of the few privately held hospitals for Black residents of Fulton County, founded in 1928 or the early 1930s.[28] Dr. Powell performed the surgeries, and Sadye served as the superintendent. Following Dr. Powell's death in 1939 after a week-long bout with the flu, the hospital was closed.[29]

Grady was a key public hospital in Fulton County but remained segregated from its opening in 1892 until the mid-1960s. In 1941, the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority was established to address the unmet health needs of residents in both counties.[30] This body played a crucial role in overseeing Grady and worked to provide quality healthcare access regardless of circumstances. During this period, Georgia's Jim Crow laws mandated the segregation of public facilities, and hospitals were no exception. The hospital's physical layout reflected this systemic discrimination, with separate facilities, wards, and even emergency rooms for Black and White patients.

From 1945 to 1946, available beds for Blacks were significantly scarce.[31] Only forty-four beds were available in the city for the one hundred thousand Black people who did not qualify as charity cases at Grady Hospital.[32] In response, in 1946, McLendon Hospital opened in the Mozley Park/Hunter Hills neighborhood of Fulton County.[33] Its founder, Dr. Frederick Earl McLendon, a native of Washington, Georgia, attended Morehouse College and Meharry College medical schools.[34] McLendon Hospital was established to serve the Black community, which was in desperate need of beds. The hospital started with just four beds but expanded to seventy-five and served as a training hospital for fifty Black doctors and four hundred White doctors.[35] It was considered a hospital for middle-to-upper-class Blacks, and its patients included Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, the president of Morehouse College.[36]

Grady finally hired its first Black doctor, Dr. Asa Yancey, in 1962, only after a Supreme Court ruling on desegregation.[37] Desegregation of patient care was only fully implemented in 1965, after the federal government pressured the hospital to comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act to remain eligible for Medicare and Medicaid funding.[38]

Grady's failure to adequately treat its Black patients made the creation of Black-owned hospitals a matter of survival. These included the following institutions:

- MacVicar Hospital opened at Spelman College in 1900 as a public, thirty-bed facility and training school where Spelman's 1881 nursing school graduates practiced what they had learned.[39]
- Fair Haven Infirmary was established in 1909 by six Black doctors, including Henry Butler, on the campus of Morris Brown College. With a small twelve-bed capacity, it became the only place in Atlanta where Black surgeons and physicians could hospitalize and treat their patients.[40]
- William Harris Memorial Hospital opened in 1928, founded by the husband-and-wife team of hospital superintendent Sadye Harris Powell, who trained at Fair Haven, and her surgeon husband, Charles W. Powell.[41]
- McLendon Hospital opened in 1945 to serve the tens of thousands of Black residents who did not qualify for charity care at Grady. It was a seventy-five-bed private institution for the Black middle and upper-middle class, operating under the motto "Good health is an envied and priceless possession."[42]

These examples illustrate the persistent efforts to create a more equitable system for the county's Black community. Whether through private hospitals, professional associations, or national legislation, individuals and organizations actively worked for change within Fulton County and beyond. Their reliance on private and grassroots initiatives was a direct result of systemic underinvestment. Historically, public funding for healthcare was disproportionately allocated to facilities serving White communities, a pattern seen across the nation. The Hill-Burton Act of 1946, a federal law intended to improve hospital infrastructure, allowed for "separate but equal" facilities, which, in practice, perpetuated disparities in funding and quality of care between Black and White hospitals.[43] Public and private philanthropic funding, such as that received by Grady, often bypassed Black institutions, leaving them to rely on smaller-scale donations and community support.[44] This unequal investment created a two-tiered system where private, often under-resourced Black hospitals and clinics bore the burden of caring for a large, underserved population.

Jim Crow and Black Nursing, 1907–1948

The Georgia Board of Nursing was formed in 1907 through legislation passed by the Georgia General Assembly.[45] Its first meeting was called in October of that year, and by 1916, the board regulated nine nursing education programs in the state.[46] However, the struggle for Black professional recognition and institutional care also extended to nursing. In response, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses formed in 1908.[47] In 1917, when a shortage of White nurses forced Grady to open the Municipal Training School for Colored Nurses, the Black nurses it produced were restricted to the hospital's Black wards, and no Black doctors were permitted on staff.[48] The Atlanta chapter of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, active within Fulton County, was established in 1921 and led by Ludie

Clay Andrews.[49] Later, in the 1940s, it was led by nurse Frances "Fannie" Belcher.[50] Belcher was Atlanta's first Black public health nurse and worked at the Dwelle Clinic and the Baby Health Center.[51] The Georgia State Colored Nurses Association, also in existence during this period, was described as the only professional nurses registry for private-duty Black nurses.[52] This remained the case until 1962, when the Georgia State Nurses Association admitted its first Black nurses to state membership.[53] The same fight for representation played out on the national stage. Prior to World War II, only a handful of Black nurses were permitted to serve in the Army Nurse Corps, but by 1941, fifty-six had been called to serve, and that number had risen to 160 by 1943.[54] The Bolton Act of 1943 was a key piece of legislation, forbidding discrimination and increasing the number of Black nursing students nationwide.[55] By the end of the war, over fifty-nine thousand women served in the Army Nurse Corps and around eleven thousand in the Navy Nurse Corps.[56]

Modern Public Health Crises

The HIV/AIDS Crisis: 1980s–Present

Decades after the fight for desegregation and equal employment, systemic health disparities tragically reemerged with the arrival of HIV/AIDS. The Fulton County Board of Health (FCBOH), as the largest local public health district, holds the institutional mandate to prevent and suppress communicable disease within the region, but it failed to adequately meet this mandate during the HIV/AIDS crisis.[57] Starting in the early 1980s, the epidemic struck the Black community across the U.S., particularly the Southeast, with acute and disproportionate force. Black gay, bisexual, and transgender residents felt this impact acutely, and their intersectional experiences of racism, homophobia, and transphobia created compounded structural barriers to prevention and care.[58] Research conducted in the Atlanta area demonstrated that Black men who have sex with men (MSM) and had HIV were highly concentrated in census tracts marked by high poverty and high perceived gay stigma, directly linking marginalization to disease burden.[59] Furthermore, stigma and mistrust in health care providers often delayed or fragmented essential HIV prevention and treatment services, exacerbating the epidemic's severity.[60]

Facing this acute crisis—and, crucially, an initial failure on the part of government and public health officials to prioritize affected communities—Black organizations and churches stepped into the void to provide essential treatment, care, and education.[61] This grassroots intervention was a matter of survival for residents facing systemic neglect and the stigma associated with the disease. Atlanta's response was thus heavily community-driven from the start, with groups like AID Atlanta forming as early as 1983.

The Fulton County-led public health system's delayed action, coupled with persistent social stigma, meant that many affected Black residents were not diagnosed until they had already progressed to late-stage AIDS.[62] Atlanta's response to the crisis gained national visibility when civil rights icon Coretta Scott King became personally involved, leveraging her moral authority to draw attention to the epidemic's devastating impact on Black families and ensure that affected residents received compassionate care and resources. Atlanta's public health authorities finally began to meet the need in 1986, with the opening of the Ponce de Leon Center, which began as an infectious disease clinic at Grady. It provided

comprehensive services to a patient population that was overwhelmingly poor and minoritized, and it co-located essential onsite community services like Project Open Hand, which provided meals, and AID Atlanta, which managed cases, to address the complex, nonmedical barriers its patients faced.

By the late 1990s, Black Americans accounted for nearly half (49 percent) of all U.S. AIDS-related deaths,[63] with mortality rates almost ten times that of White individuals. Research conducted by the CDC in the mid-2010s was alarming, suggesting that if current trends persisted, one in two Black gay or bisexual men in the region would be diagnosed with HIV in their lifetime.[64]

For Georgia, the current disparity is most acutely visible in Fulton County, which maintains the state's highest HIV burden. The county's HIV prevalence rate was 1,579.6 per 100,000 residents in 2022[65] and it ranks as the sixth-highest county in the U.S. for new HIV diagnoses.[66] Moreover, while Black residents make up approximately 44 percent of Fulton County's population, they account for over 70 percent of people living with HIV in the city of Atlanta.[67] For Black women in Atlanta, the rate of living with diagnosed HIV is fifteen times that of White women,[68] clearly illustrating how historical inequities continue to fuel the crisis today. As such, the county's medical centers, such as the Ponce de Leon Center at Grady Hospital, became crucial hubs during the height of the crisis for comprehensive care for the disproportionately affected population.

The FCBOH has thus become the lead institutional voice in the regional fight against HIV/AIDS. Its Department for HIV Elimination (DHE) serves as administrative lead for the twenty-county Atlanta Eligible Metropolitan Area (EMA), managing critical federal grant funding, including the Ryan White Part A program, which ensures comprehensive medical and support services for low-income and uninsured residents living with HIV.[69] In alignment with national goals, the FCBOH adopted the "End AIDS by 2030" initiative. Its direct services include free or low-cost opt-out HIV testing, access to Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis (PrEP) through its dedicated clinic, and targeted linkage programs like CLASS, which focuses on connecting highly affected populations—specifically Black and Latino MSM and transgender individuals—with treatment and essential wrap-around services.[70]

COVID-19 and Structural Disparity

While funding and programming for residents living with HIV/AIDS show a step in the right direction toward equity in health care provisioning, the COVID-19 pandemic demonstrates the ongoing historical pattern of health disparity in Fulton County, rooted in structural racism. When the virus first spread across Georgia, it exposed how underlying social and economic factors left the Black community highly vulnerable. Despite representing 42.1 percent of Fulton County's residents in the 2020 census, Black residents accounted for 59.9 percent of COVID-19 deaths during the early phase of the pandemic.[71]

Researchers from the Morehouse School of Medicine found that counties with a larger percentage of Black residents consistently exhibited higher confirmed COVID-19 case rates, independent of poverty rates or uninsured status.[72] This finding suggested that race itself acted as an independent risk factor, driven by deeply entrenched structural inequities. These factors included a higher percentage of Black residents working in essential, in-person jobs with increased exposure risk; the impacts of residential

segregation and housing density; and the physiological toll of chronic stress and racism, often referred to as *weathering*, which contributes to higher rates of underlying health conditions like diabetes and hypertension. Collectively, the COVID-19 crisis reaffirmed that historical inequities in access to care and economic opportunity keep Black residents in Fulton County disproportionately susceptible to public health crises.

Today's Fulton County Healthcare Access Crisis

Today's discourse around inadequate public health investment for Fulton County residents is primarily driven by the 2022 closure of two key facilities operated by Wellstar Health System: Wellstar Atlanta Medical Center (AMC) downtown and Wellstar Atlanta Medical Center South in East Point.[73] These closures removed over five hundred hospital beds and two major emergency departments from the county, including a critical Level I trauma center, severely destabilizing healthcare capacity in the metro area, particularly south of Interstate 20 (I-20). Wellstar cited inflation, 2022 losses over $100 million, and a lack of partnership as reasons for the closures.[74]

Impact on Emergency Services

The closure of AMC, which served a large population of low-income and minority residents, immediately created a significant strain on remaining safety-net hospitals. Grady, the city's sole remaining Level I trauma center, absorbed a massive influx of patients, with its emergency department seeing a dramatic fifty-visit increase overnight when AMC South closed, and overall trauma volume increasing by 35 to 40 percent.[75] This shift has resulted in frequent overcrowding, long patient wait times, and increased stress on medical staff.

Furthermore, the loss of AMC South created a "healthcare desert" south of I-20,[76] leading to an emergency medical services (EMS) crisis in South Fulton. Ambulance response times suffered, with residents waiting an average of twenty-eight minutes for a Grady ambulance to arrive in the first half of 2022.[77] This delay was primarily caused by crews waiting to offload patients being detained outside overcrowded emergency rooms. The decreased access to both emergency and routine primary care contributes to worsened health outcomes and a widening health disparity.[78] Fulton County's own Project Care studies indicate a seven-year difference in life expectancy between residents of North and South Fulton.[79]

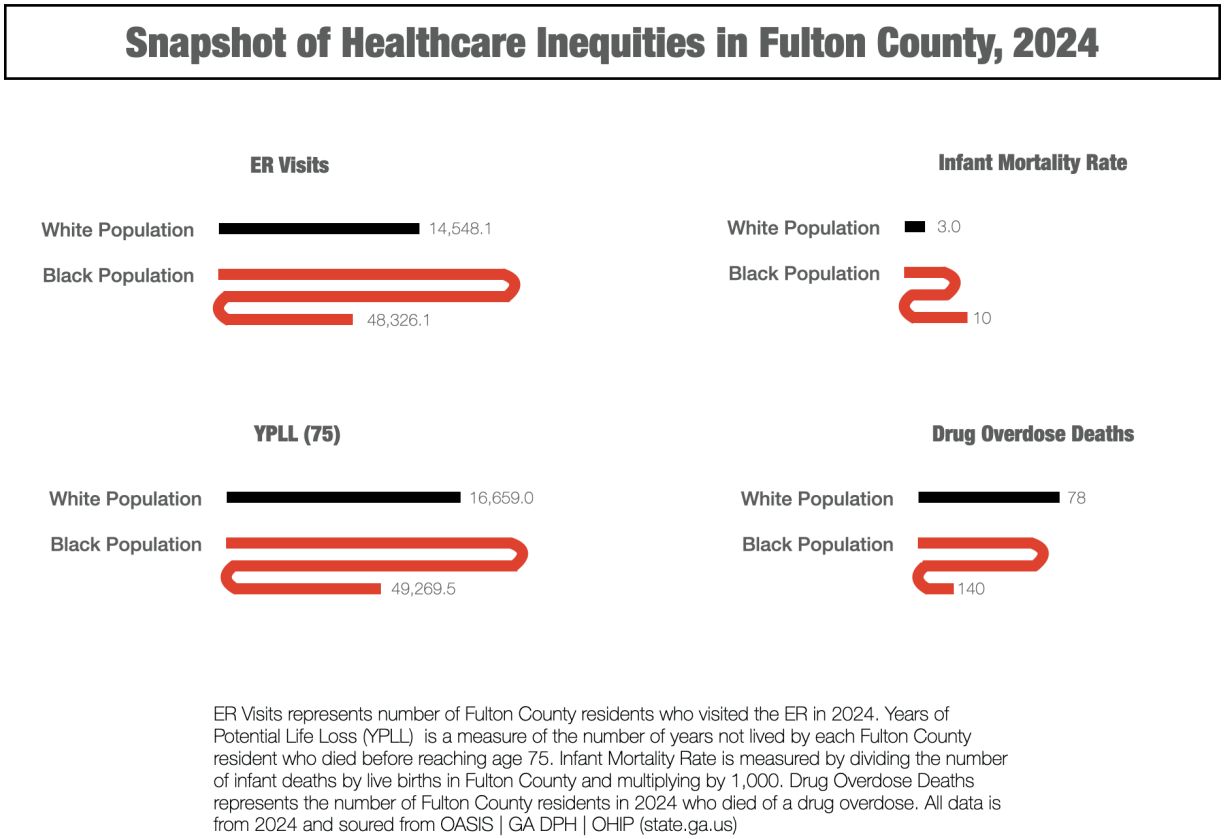


Figure 20.2 Snapshot of healthcare inequities in Fulton County, 2024, represented by the serpentine bar charts.

Political and Community Response

The Wellstar hospital closures sparked immediate political condemnation and calls for investigation. Critics, including local and state lawmakers, leveled accusations of redlining against Wellstar, arguing the closures abandoned communities of color, violated the Civil Rights Act, and disproportionately impacted Black and other underserved populations.[80] In response, the government intervened. Georgia Governor Brian Kemp allocated over $130 million in federal American Rescue Plan Act funds to help Grady Health System expand its facilities and capacity to handle the increased patient volume.[81] Additionally, aiming to understand the gaps, Fulton County collaborated with the Morehouse School of Medicine on Project Care, which formally confirmed the existence of a severe healthcare desert in South Fulton and identified the community's specific needs for primary and urgent care.[82] A continuity in sustained and adequate action is needed.

Addressing the Void: Current Solutions

Today, Fulton County and Grady Health System are actively collaborating to mitigate access gaps through new infrastructure. They are planning to build a 24/7 freestanding emergency department (FSED) in Union City, located in South Fulton, with approximately $19 million in financial support

from Fulton County.[83] This sixteen-bay facility will provide essential emergency care, aiming to drastically reduce travel times for residents south of I-20. The project broke ground in early 2025 and the facility is expected to open in 2026.[84] Beyond emergency services, other initiatives include the opening of outpatient and primary care centers, such as a Morehouse School of Medicine clinic in East Point, designed to capture non-emergency patients and manage chronic diseases like diabetes and hypertension, thereby reducing pressure on hospital emergency rooms.[85]

In summary, the two Wellstar hospitals' recent closure has intensified a deep-seated healthcare access crisis in Fulton County, leading to significant capacity issues at Grady. The current public health discussion is dominated by efforts to fund and build replacement infrastructure to restore essential emergency and primary care services to the most affected communities.

Conclusion: A Persistent Legacy of Public Neglect

The crises facing Black residents in Fulton County today, from the disproportionate burden of HIV/AIDS[86] to the emergence of profound healthcare deserts following recent hospital closures,[87] are not isolated events. They are the predictable consequences of a deeply entrenched historical pattern: the systemic and often state-sanctioned lack of public health resources and sustained investment in Black communities. From the negligible medical budget allocated to enslaved persons[88] and blatant segregation of public institutions like Grady Hospital[89] to the discriminatory practices allowed under federal laws like the Hill-Burton Act,[90] the public sector has repeatedly failed to serve its Black citizens. This forced communities to rely on under-resourced, private, and grassroots efforts, such as the Neighborhood Union[91] and private Black hospitals,[92] simply to survive and gain professional recognition.[93]

In modern times, this legacy of public neglect manifests as structural racism, creating the conditions that allowed both the HIV/AIDS epidemic[94] and the COVID-19 pandemic[95] to inflict devastating, unequal harm. The recent financially-driven closures of Wellstar's facilities have merely intensified the long-term crisis, leaving Atlanta's remaining safety net system, especially Grady, critically strained.[96] While current public-private partnerships aim to restore access, the fact remains that Black residents, who rely heavily on these services, continue to suffer widened health disparities, as evidenced by the dramatic difference in life expectancy between North and South Fulton.[97] Ultimately, achieving true health equity requires more than just replacing beds; it demands a long-overdue public commitment to dismantling structural barriers and initiating the sustained, substantial investment historically denied to Black citizens of Fulton County.

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Part Seven:

Statutes

Codifying Race: Georgia Race Laws on Black Status, Slavery, and Segregation, 1751–1947

Jobena Khalill

Table 21.1 Land

Year	*Law Summary*	*Law*
1783	Headright Grants	Beginning in 1783 a head of household living in Georgia could be granted 200 acres of land on his own head-right and fifty acres for each additional family member, including slaves, up to 1000 acres. To acquire a land grant, an applicant obtained a warrant of survey from the land court in the county in which he wanted land. The county surveyor then surveyed the land, made a plat of survey, and forwarded a copy of the plat to the Surveyor General to be recorded. The applicant then applied to the Governor's office for the grant after he paid all office fees. The grant was then issued and recorded.[1]

Table 21.2 Taxation

Year	*Law Summary*	*Law*
1799	White males 21+yrs pay 31 & a quarter cents a year Free male Negroes, mulattos and mestizos 21+ yrs pay 50 cents a year.	And be it further enacted, That the sum of thirty one and a quarter cents shall be levied on all free male white persons, resident within this State, of the age of twenty one years or upwards; and the sum of thirty one and a quarter cents on all negroes and other slaves, under the age of sixty years, within the limits of the same; and the sum of thirty one and a quarter cents for every hundred dollars value of every lot, wharfs or other land not particularly estimated in the act before recited, and on all building within the limits of any town, village, borough or city, within the same; the sum of fifty cents on all free male negroes, mulattoes and mestizos of the age of twenty one years or upwards, over and above the taxable property they may be possessed of; the sum of twenty cents on every hundred dollars value of all persons' stock in trade, merchants, shopkeepers, and others to be computed at prime cost, and the return to be made on oath that the stock in trade so returned is the highest estimation of the stock in such persons' possession, at any time not exceeding three months preceding the time appointed for such stock in trade to be estimated and returned.[2]

1843	White people living in Cassville pay poll-tax of 50 cents a year and free persons of color over the age of 21, living in Cassville pay a poll-tax of $2.00 a year.	And be it further enacted, That all white persons residing in said town on the first day of February, eighteen hundred and forty-four, and on the same day in each year succeeding, who are subject by the laws of this State, to the payment of a poll-tox, shall pay a poll-tax to said town, of fifty cents, every year; and all owners of slaves, held or employed in said town, and all owners of other taxable property, of every description, in said town, shall pay a tax on the same to the said town, equal in amount to one-third of the State tax upon the same; and all free persons of color residing, or who may hereafter reside in said town, over the age of twenty-one years, shall in like manner pay a town tax of two dollars[3]
1851	Imposed annual $5.00 per capital tax on free person of color—every male 21–60 taxed 25 cents a year	And be it further enacted, That each and every free person of color in this State, between the ages of eighteen and fifty, shall be taxed annually the sum of five dollars. And be it further enacted, That each and every male citizen between the ages of twenty-one and sixty years, shall be taxed annually thereafter Twenty-Five Cents.[4]
1873	Taxation of every person 21–60 years old.	Besides the ad valorem tax, the following specific taxes shall be assessed per annum, and estimated in fixing the rate per cent. 3. Every person between the ages of twenty-one and sixty years, one dollar[5]
1938	Taxpayers names listed in white and colored digests	Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that from and after the passage of this Act the tax-receivers of all counties in this State having a population of not less than 70,000 and not more than 100,000 by the United States Census of 1930, or any future United States Census, be, and they are hereby required to list in the white and colored digests respectively the names of the taxpayers in continuous alphabetical order in said digests according to the names of the taxpayers, without segregation by militia districts or other local subdivisions.[6]

Table 21.3 Manumission

Year	*Law Summary*	*Law*
1801	Law banning manumission of Negro slaves	AN ACT Prescribing the mode of manumitting Slaves in this State. SEC. I. BE it enacted by the Senate and House of [Illegible Text], in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of [Illegible Text] Act, it shall not be lawful for any person or [Illegible Text], to manumit or set free any negro slave or slaves, [Illegible Text] mulatto, mestizo, or any other person or persons of colour, who may be deemed slaves at the time of the [Illegible Text] of this Act, in any other manner or form, than by an application to the Legislature for that purpose.[7]
1859	Illegal to free a slave on the death of the master w/in or w/out the state. Supreme Ct. decision states that a slave can be removed to another state by the executor of the will providing all estate debts of the later owner are settled.	Any and every clause in any deed, will, or other instrument made for the purpose of conferring freedom on slaves, directly or indirectly, within or without the State, to take effect after the death of the owner, shall be absolutely null and void. Assented to, Dec. 14th, 1859. SUPREME COURT DECISION.A will directing the Executor, after the payment of the debts of the testator, which were small, and the estate, independent of the negro property, ample to discharge them, to remove the testator's slaves to some free State to be selected by the Executor, and there to set them free, is not contrary to the laws of this State, nor within the Acts of 1801 and 1818, prohibiting manumission in this State, except by the sanction of the Legislature, (Benning, J. dissenting,) XXV, Ga. Rep. 109. (No. 92.)[8]

Table 21.4 Race

Year	*Law Summary*	*Law*
1866	Persons of color defined.	That all negroes, mulattoes, mestizos, and their descendants, having one-eighth negro, or African blood, in their veins, shall be known in this State as "persons of color".[9]
1867	One-eighth or more of Negro blood means you are not white.	Persons having one-eighth or more of negro or African blood in their veins, are not white persons in the meaning of this Code.[10]
1867	Defining Persons of Color	All negroes, mulattoes, mestizos, and their descendants, having one-eighth negro or African blood in their veins, shall be known in this State as persons of color.[11]
1927	Definition of Colored Person	All negroes, mulattoes, mestizos, and their descendants, having any ascertainable trace of either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in their veins, and all descendants of any person having either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in his or her veins, shall be known in this State as persons of color.[12]

1927	Registration of race process and requirements to register	Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, that upon the passage of this Act the State Registrar of Vital Statistics, under the supervision of the State Board of Health, shall prepare a form for the registration of individuals, whereon shall be given the racial composition of such individual, as Caucasian, Negro, Mongolian, West Indian, Asiatic Indian, Malay, or any mixture thereof, or any other non-Caucasic strains, and if there be any mixture, then the racial composition of the parents and other ancestors in so far as ascertainable, so as to show in what generation such mixture occurred. Said form shall also give the date and place of birth of the registrant, name, race, and color of the parents of registrant, together with their place of birth if known, name of husband or wife of registrant, with his or her place of birth, names of children of registrant with their ages and place of residence, place of residence of registrant for the five years immediately preceding registration, and such other information as may be prescribed for identification by the State Registrar of Vital Statistics. Sec. 5. If the local registrar have reason to believe that any statement made by any registrant is not true, he shall so write upon such certificate before forwarding the same to the State registrar or ordinary, giving his reason therefor. Sec. 6. It shall be unlawful for any person to refuse to execute said registration certificate as provided in this Act, or to refuse to give the information required in the execution of the same; and any person who shall refuse to execute such certificate, or who shall refuse to give the information required in the execution of the same, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punished as prescribed in section 1065 of the Penal Code of Georgia of 1910. Each such refusal shall constitute a separate offense. Sec. 8. Be it further enacted, that it shall be a felony for any person to willfully or knowingly make or cause to be made a registration certificate false as to color or race, and upon conviction thereof such person shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than one year and not more than two years. In such case the State registrar is authorized to change the registration certificate so that it will conform to the truth.[13]
1927	False registration of race is a felony	Be it further enacted, that it shall be a felony for any person to willfully or knowingly make or cause to be made a registration certificate false as to color or race, and upon conviction thereof such person shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than one year and not more than two years. In such case the State registrar is authorized to change the registration certificate so that it will conform to the truth.[14]

Table 21.5 Voting

Year	*Law Summary*	*Law*
1867	Qualifications of voters	The qualification of voters for members of the General Assembly is contained in the following oath, which must be taken when the managers of an election require it: [" I swear that I have attained to the age of twenty-one years ; that I am a citizen of the United States, and have resided for the last two years in this State, and for the last six months in this County, and have considered and claimed it as my home, and have paid all legal taxes which have been required of me and which I have had an opportunity of paying, agreeable to law, for the year preceding this election. So help me God."] (a)[15]
1868	No poll tax except for educational purposes and only for $1 or less.	No Poll Tax shall be levied except for Educational Purposes, and such Tax shall not exceed One Dollar annually on each Poll.[16]
1868	When someone can be disenfranchised	The General Assembly may provide, from time to time, for the Registration of all Electors, but the following Classes of Persons shall not be permitted to Register, Vote, or hold Office: First-Those who shall have been convicted of Treason, Embezzlement of Public of Funds, Malfeasance in Office, Crime punishable by Law with Imprisonment in the Penitentiary, or Bribery. Second-Idiots or Insane Persons.[17]
1868	Eligibility to vote and oath	Every Male Person born in the United States, and every Male Person who has been naturalized, or who has legally declared his intention to become a Citizen of the United States, twenty-one years old, or upward, who shall have resided in this State six months next preceding the Election, and shall have resided thirty days in the County in which he offers to vote, and shall have paid all Taxes which may have been required of him, and which he may have had an opportunity of paying, agreeably to Law, for the year next preceding the Election, (except as hereinafter provided), shall be deemed an Elector; and every Male Citizen of the United States, of the Age aforesaid, (except as hereinafter provided), who may be a Resident of the State at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be deemed an Elector, and shall have all the Rights of an Elector, as afore said . . . and no Person shall vote, who, if challenged, shall refuse to take the following Oath: " I do swear that I have not given, or received, nor do I expect to give, or receive, any Money, Treat, or other Thing of Value, by which my Vote, or any Vote, is affected, or expected to be affected, at this Election; nor have I given, or promised any Reward, or made any Threat, by which to prevent any Person from voting at this Election."[18]
1869	Preservation of peace on election days	That in order to promote the more efficient preservation of peace and good order on all days of election in this State, the managers of all such elections shall be authorized to employ, when deemed necessary, a sufficient number of temporary police in order to carry out the objects aforesaid, whose duty it shall be to guarantee all legal voters, irrespective of race or color, the free exercise of the right of franchise; Provided , That this act shall not refer to cities and towns having a legalized police force.[19]

1869	Preserving peace and good order on election day	An act for the more efficient preservation of peace and good order on election days in this State. Section 1. Be it enacted, c. , That in order to promote the more efficient preservation of peace and good order on all days of election in this State, the managers of all such elections shall be authorized to employ, when deemed necessary, a sufficient number of temporary police in order to carry out the objects aforesaid, whose duty it shall be to guarantee all legal voters, irrespective of race or color, the free exercise of the right of franchise; Provided , That this act shall not refer to cities and towns having a legalized police force.[20]
1877	Eligibility to vote and oath	Every male citizen of the United States, (except as hereinafter provided) twenty-one years of age, who shalt have resided in this State one year next preceding the election, and shall have resided six months in the county in which he offers to vote, and shall have paid all taxes which may hereafter be required of him, and which he may have had an opportunity of paying, agreeably to law, except for the year of the election, shall be deemed an elector : Provided, that no soldier, sailor or marine in the military or naval service of the United States, shall acquire the rights of an elector, by reason of being stationed on duty in this State ; and no person shall vote who, if challenged, shall refuse to take the following oath, or affirmation : " I do swear (or affirm) that I am twenty-one years of age, have resided in this State one year, and in this county six months, next preceding this election. I have paid all taxes which, since the adoption of the present Constitution of this State, have been required of me previous to this year, and which I have had an opportunity to pay, and I have not voted at this election."[21]
1908	Disenfranchisement	The General Assembly may provide, from time to time, for the registration of all electors, but the following classes of persons shall not be permitted to register, vote, or hold any office, or appointment of honor or trust in this State, to. wit: (1) Those who shall have been convicted, in any court of competent jurisdiction, of treason against the State, of embezzlement of public funds, malfeasance in office, bribery, or larceny, or of any crime involving moral turpitude, punishable by the laws of this State with imprisonment in the penitentiary, unless such persons shall have been pardoned.; (2) idiots and insane persons.[22]

1908	Literacy Test and Grandfather Clause introduced to voting eligibility requirements Requirements for being eligible to register to vote	Every male citizen of this State shall be entitled to register as an elector, and to vote in all elections in said State, who is not disqualified under the provisions of Section 2 of Article 2 of this Constitution, and who possesses the qualifications prescribed in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Section or who will possess them at the date of the election occurring next after his registration, and who in addition thereto comes within either of the classes provided for in the five following subdivisions of this paragraph. 1. All persons who have honorably served in the land or naval forces of the United States in the Revolutionary War, or in the War of 1812, or in the War with Mexico, or in any War with the Indians or in the War between the States, or in the War with Spain, or who honorably served in the land or naval forces of the Confederate States or of the State of Georgia in the War between the States; or, 2. All persons lawfully descended from those embraced in the classes enumerated in the subdivision next above; or, 3. All persons who are of good character and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government; or, 4. All persons who can correctly read in the English language any paragraph of the Constitution of the United States or of this State and correctly write the same in the English language when read to them by any one of the registrars, and all persons who solely because of physical disability are unable to comply with the above requirements but who can understand and give a reasonable interpretation of any paragraph of the Constitution of the United States or of this State that may be read to them by any one of the registrars; or, 5. Any person who is the owner in good faith in his own right of at least forty acres of land situated in this State, upon which he resides, or is the owner in good faith in his own right of property situated in this State and assessed for taxation at the value of $500.00[23]
1908	Electors not subject to arrest on election except for certain circumstances.	Privilege of electors. Electors shall, in all cases except for treason, felony, larceny, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance on elections, and in going to and returning from the same.[24]
1915	Grandfather Clause Removed Grandfather Clause removed but a list of individuals registered under the grandfather clause prior to 1915 should be sent to the Secretary of State and permanently recorded so they shall be permitted to vote in the future regardless of literacy status.	The right to register under sub-divisions 1 and 2 of paragraph 4 shall continue only until January 1st, 1915. But the registrars shall prepare a roster of all persons who register under sub-divisions 1 and 2 of paragraph 4, and shall return the same to the clerk's office of the superior court of their counties, and the clerks of the superior court shall send copies of the same to the secretary of State, and it shall be the duty of these officers to record and permanently preserve these rosters. Any person who has been once registered under either of the subdivisions 1 or 2 of paragraph 4 shall thereafter be permitted to vote: Provided, he meets the requirements of paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Section.[25]

1917	The Neill Primary Act Created a county unit system for conducting primary elections - it was created to ensure that the rural areas of the state held the most power and that Fulton County (an urban area), although it held 6 units, had less power	Whenever any political party shall hold primary elections for nomination of candidates for United States Senator, Governor, Statehouse officers, Justices of the Supreme Court, and Judges of the Court of Appeals, such party or its authorities shall cause all candidates for nominations for said offices to be voted for on one and the same day throughout the State, which is hereby fixed as the second Wednesday in September of each year in which there is a regular general election. Candidates for nominations to the above-named offices who receive, respectively, the highest number of popular votes in any given county shall be considered to have carried such county, and shall be entitled to the full vote of such county on the county unit basis, that is to say, two votes for each representative to which such county is entitled in the lower House of the General Assembly. If in any county any two or more candidates shall tie for the highest number of popular votes received, the county unit vote of such county shall be equally divided between the candidates so tying. All such county unit votes shall within 10 days after such primary be accurately consolidated by the chairman and secretary of the State committee of the political party holding such primary, and published in a newspaper published at the capital, within three days after the completion of the consolidation, certified under the hands and seals of said chairman and secretary; and the candidates for said offices, respectively, who shall receive a majority of all the county unit votes, throughout the entire slate, upon the basis above set forth, shall be declared by the State convention of the party holding such primary, or the permanent chairman thereof, or other party authority, without the necessity of a formal ballot, to be the nominees of such party for the above-named offices, respectively, and it shall be the duty of the State executive committee elected or appointed at such convention, or by its authority, or the chairman or secretary thereof, or other authority of such party, to see to it that the names of all such successful candidates shall be placed upon the tickets or ballots of such party at the general election following such primary, and such successful candidates shall be considered, deemed and held as the duly nominated candidates of such party for the offices named: Provided, that in the event there are only two candidates for any particular office referred to in this section, and it shall appear, after the consolidation of all of the county unit votes throughout the State, that said candidates have received an equal number of county unit votes, the one who shall have received a majority of the popular votes shall be declared by the State convention of the party holding such primary, or the permanent chairman thereof, or other party authority, without the necessity of a formal ballot, to be the nominee of such party for such office; and it shall be the duty of the State executive committee elected or appointed at such convention, or by its authority, or the chairman or secretary thereof, or other authority of such party, to see to it that the name of such successful candidate shall be placed upon the tickets or ballots of such party at the general election following such primary, and such successful candidate shall be considered, deemed and held as the duly nominated candidate of such party for the office named : Provided, further, that if no convention of such party shall be called or held, the declaration of the result shall be made in such manner as may be prescribed by the State committee or other authority of such party. (Acts 1917, pp. 183, 184.)[26]

1931	Payment of all taxes not a prerequisite to registering and voting.	To entitle a person to register and vote at any election by the people, he shall have resided in the State one year next preceding the election, and in the county in which he offers to vote six months next preceding the election, and shall have paid all poll-taxes that he may have had an opportunity of paying agreeably to law. Such payment must have been made at least six months prior to the election at which he offers to vote, except when such elections are held within six months from the expiration of the time fixed by law for the payment of such taxes.[27]
1945	Eligibility to vote. Poll taxes requirement removed.	Paragraph II. Who shall be an elector entitled to register and vote. Every citizen of this State who is a citizen of the United States, eighteen years old or upwards, not laboring under any of the disabilities named in this Article, and possessing the qualifications provided by it, shall be an elector and entitled to register and vote at any election by the people: Provided, that no soldier, sailor or marine in the military or naval services of the United States shall acquire the rights of an elector by reason of being stationed on duty in this State. Paragraph III. Who entitled to register and vote. To entitle a person to register and vote at any election by the people, he shall have resided in the State one year next preceding the election, and in the county in which he offers to vote six months next preceding the election. Paragraph IV. Qualifications of electors. Every citizen of this State shall be entitled to register as an elector, and to vote in all elections in said State, who is not disqualified under the provisions of Section II of Article II of this Constitution, and who possesses the qualifications prescribed in Paragraphs II and III of this Section or who will possess them at the date of the election occurring next after his registration, and who in addition thereto comes within either of the classes provided for in the two following subdivisions of this paragraph. 1. All persons who are of good character and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government; or, 2. All persons who can correctly read in the English language any paragraph of the Constitution of the United States or of this State and correctly write the same in the English language when read to them by any one of the registrars, and all persons who solely because of physical disability are unable to comply with the above requirements but who can understand and give a reasonable interpretation of any paragraph of the Constitution of the United States or of this State that may be read to them by any one of the registrars[28]
1945	Removal of poll tax requirement for eligibility to vote.	Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Georgia: Section 1. That Section 92-108 of the Code of Georgia of 1933, relating to the levy and collection of a poll tax for educational purposes, which reads as follows: There shall be levied and collected each year upon every inhabitant of the State between the ages of 21 and 60 years, on the day fixed for the return of property for taxation, a poll tax of $1, which shall be used for educational purposes in instructing children in the elementary branches of an English education only: Provided, that this tax shall not be demanded of blind persons, or female inhabitants of the State who do not register for voting. (Acts 1918, p. 44; 1921, p 39; 1923, Extra Sess., p. 21; 1927, p. 57; 1935, p 12.) be, and it is, hereby repealed in its entirety. Code 92-108 repealed. Section 2. That the payment of a poll tax shall not hereafter be a requisite for the exercise of the privilege of voting in any primary or election by the people. Payment of poll tax not requisite to voting.[29]

1947	Neil Primary Act repealed.	Section 22. The Code of Georgia is hereby amended as follows: 34-3212 stricken. 1. By striking therefrom in its entirety Section 34-3212 which reads as follows: 34-3212. County unit vote. Whenever any political party shall hold primary elections for nomination of candidates for United States Senator, Governor, State-house officers, Justices of the Supreme Court, and Judges of the Court of Appeals, such party or its authorities shall cause all candidates for nominations for said offices to be voted for on one and the same day throughout the State, which is hereby fixed as the second Wednesday in September of each year in which there is a regular general election. Candidates for nominations to the above-named offices who receive, respectively, the highest number of popular votes in any given county shall be considered to have carried such county, and shall be entitled to the full vote of such county on the county unit basis, that is to say, two votes for each representative to which such county is entitled in the lower House of the General Assembly. If in any county any two or more candidates shall tie for the highest number of popular votes received, the county unit vote of such county shall be equally divided between the candidates so tying. All such county unit votes shall within 10 days after such primary be accurately consolidated by the chairman and secretary of the State committee of the political party holding such primary, and published in a newspaper published at the Capitol, within three days after the completion of the consolidation, certified under the hands and seals of said chairman and secretary; and the candidates for said offices, respectively, who shall receive a majority of all the county unit votes, throughout the entire state, upon the basis above set forth, shall be declared by the State convention of the party holding such primary, or the permanent chairman thereof, or other party authority, without the necessity of a formal ballot, to be the nominees of such party for the above-named offices, respectively, and it shall be the duty of the state executive committee elected or appointed at such convention, or by its authority, or the chairman or secretary thereof, or other authority of such party, to see to it that the names of all such successful candidates shall be placed upon the tickets or ballots of such party at the general election following such primary, and such successful candidates shall be considered, deemed and held as the duly nominated candidates of such party for the offices named; Provided, that in the event there are only two candidates for any particular office referred to in this section, and it shall appear, after the consolidation of all of the county unit votes throughout the State, that said candidates have received an equal number of county unit votes, the one who shall have received a majority of the popular votes shall be declared by the State convention of the party holding such primary, or the permanent chairman thereof, or other party authority, without the necessity of a formal ballot, to be the nominee of such party for such office; and it shall be the duty of the State executive committee elected or appointed at such convention, or by its authority, or the chairman or secretary thereof, or other authority of such party, to see to it that the name of such successful candidate shall be placed upon the tickets or ballots of such party at the general election following such primary, and such successful candidate shall be considered, deemed and held as the duly nominated candidate of such party for the office named: Provided, further, that if no convention of such party shall be called or held, the declaration of the result shall be made in such manner as may be prescribed by the State committee or other authority of such party.[30]

1958	Literacy test/citizenship test	When an applicant appears before the board of registrars for examination, the board shall proceed as hereinafter provided. (a) If the applicant applies for registration and seeks to qualify on the basis of literacy, the board shall submit to him a section of the Constitution of Georgia or of the United States and the applicant shall be required to read it aloud and write it in the English language. If the applicant reads the section intelligibly and writes it legibly, possesses the other necessary qualifications and is not disqualified for any reason, the card shall be marked approved and the applicant shall be considered a registered voter. Otherwise, the registration card shall be marked rejected. If the applicant states that solely because of physically disability, he is unable to read or write, the section shall be read to him by any member of the board and he shall be called upon to give a reasonable interpretation thereof. The interpretation shall be in the applicant's own words, giving words the significance ordinarily attached to them by a layman of average intellect and attainments. If, in the opinion of the board, the applicant gives such a reasonable interpretation, possesses the other necessary qualifications and is not disqualified for any reason, the card shall be marked approved and the applicant shall be considered a registered voter. Otherwise, the registration card shall be marked rejected. Examinations. (b) If the applicant applies for registration and seeks to qualify on the basis of his good character and his understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government, he shall be given an examination based upon a standard list of questions as hereinafter provided.[31]
1958	Example of Literacy test/citizenship test	https://dlg.usg.edu/record/gaarchives_adhoc_552

Table 21.6 Personal Freedoms

Year	*Law Summary*	*Law*
1816	No white person shall buy or receive from a slave cotton, tobacco, wheat, rye, oats, corn, rice, or other article, without a ticket authorizing him to do so.	That from and after the first day of January next, if any person or persons shall buy or receive from any slave or slaves, any Money, Cotton, Tobacco, Wheat, Rye, Oats or Corn, without a ticket authorizing such slave or slaves, to dispose of such money, specially specifying the sum so intended to be laid out, the quantity of Cotton, Tobacco, Wheat, Rye, Oats or Corn, which such slave or slaves may intend to dispose of, from his, [Illegible Text] their owner or overseer or overseers, as the case may be[32]
1833	Buying or receiving goods from a slave without permission is prohibited.	If any person shall buy or receive from any slave, any amount of money exceeding one dollar, or any cotton, tobacco, wheat, rye, oats, corn, rice, or poultry of any description whatever, or any other article, commodity or thing (except brooms, baskets, foot and bed mats, shuck collars, and such other thing or things, article or articles, as are usually manufactured or vended by slaves, for their own use only) without written permission from the owner, overseer, or employer of such slave, or some other person authorized to give such permission; authorizing such slave to sell and dispose of said money or other article or articles; such person so offending shall be guilty of a misdemeanor; and on conviction, be punished by fine, or imprisonment in the common jail of the county, or both, at the discretion of the court.[33]

1833	Teaching a slave or free person of color to read or write is illegal.	If any person shall teach any slave, negro, or free person of colour, to read or write, either written or printed characters, or shall procure, suffer, or permit, a slave, negro, or person of colour, to transact business for him in writing, such person so offending, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction, shall be punished by fine, or imprisonment in the common jail of the county, or both, at the discretion of the court.[34]
1833	Free Person of Colour prohibited from carrying a firearm.	That from and after the passage of this act, it shall not be lawful for any free person of colour in this state, to own, use, or carry fire arms of any description whatever.[35]
1833	No person of color, free or slave, shall be allowed to preach or join in any religious exercise with any person of color, free or slave, where more than 7 persons of color are present.	And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no person of colour, whether free or slave, shall be allowed to preach to, exhort or join in any religious exercise, with any persons of colour, either free or slave, there being more than seven persons of colour present. They shall first obtain a written certificate from three ordained ministers of the gospel of their own order, in which certificate shall be set forth the good, moral character of the applicant, his pious deportment, and his ability to teach the gospel; having a due respect to the character of those persons to whom he is to be licensed to preach, said ministers to be members of the Conference, Presbytery, Synod, or Association to which the Churches belongs in which said coloured preachers may be so licensed to preach, and also the written permission of the justices of the inferior court of the county, and in counties in which the county town is incorporated, in addition thereto, the permission of the mayor, or chief officer, or commissioners of such incorporation, such license not to be for a longer term than six months, and to be revocable at any time by the persons granting it. Any free person of colour offending against this provision, to be liable on conviction, for the first offence, to imprisonment at the discretion of the court, and to a penalty not exceeding five hundred dollars, to be levied on the property of the person of colour, if this is insufficient, he shall be sentenced to be whipped and imprisoned at the discretion of the court: Provided, such imprisonment shall not exceed six months, and no whipping shall exceed thirty-nine lashes.[36]

1835	Work/Trade: Slaves and Free Negroes prohibited from working in druggist and apothecary stores	Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of January next, any person or persons having in his, her or their employment any slave or free person of colour in any apothecary shop or druggist store in this State, in the apothecary branch of their business, in putting up, compounding or dispensing, purchasing or vending any drug or drugs, medicines of any description, kind or sort whatsoever, shall be guilty of a high misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof in any court having cognizance of the same, shall be fined the sum of one hundred dollars for the first offence, and for every subsequent offence shall be fined in the sum of five hundred dollars, one half of said fine to go to the informer, and the other half into the county treasury for county purposes. Sec. 2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid , That every druggist or apothecary, or any other person or persons vending any medicines of a poisonous quality, shall not vend the same to any person or persons of colour under the penalties aforesaid. Sec. 3. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid , That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent druggists and apothecaries from employing any negro or free person of colour in that branch of their business which does not require them to open their drugs or medicines, or compound or dispense the same, but they may be permitted to employ said persons to perform the laborious part of their work under the immediate direction and control of some white person.[37]
1854	Free Negroes employed on a vessel must have a passport from the Mayor, Chief Magistrate, or competent authority of the place of arrival for them to come on land. If found on shore without the passport, the Free Negro will be imprisoned until the departure of the vessel and the master/owner of the vessel must pay $1,000 per free person of color.	That in case a free person of color so descended as aforesaid, so arriving as aforesaid, shall be found on shore without such passport, or in contravention of the laws of this State, he shall be imprisoned until the departure of said vessel; and the master and owners of such vessel shall be come jointly and severally responsible in the sum of one thousand dollars for each such free person of color, to be recovered in any Court in this State, at the instance of such Mayor or other authority. Penalty, imprisonment until vessel leave.[38]
1854	Free persons of color must register themselves in the county where they reside or have their guardians register them.	That from and immediately after the passage of this Act, that it shall be the duty of all free persons of color in this State who are subject to taxation to register their names as such annually in the county where their guardian resides; and in case of their absence it shall be the duty of their guardians to register for them. 11. SECTION II. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the Clerk to furnish each free person of color, after having registered himself as such, a written certificate of the same, officially signed, and the production of such certificate shall be sufficient evidence to relieve such free person of color from any charge that may be preferred against him for neglect or refusal to register himself in any other county than the one in which his guardian may reside.[39]
1854	Free persons of color 14 yrs and older must register themselves or be subject to arrest and fine.	That if any free negro of the age of fourteen years shall hereafter neglect to have his or her name registered agreeable to law, he or she shall not be compelled to depart this State, but shall nevertheless be subject to be arrested, tried, convicted and fined, and be compelled to pay the same, agreeable to the provisions of the second section of an Act.[40]

1854	Unlawful to conduct any type of trade or sales with slaves or free person of color behind closed doors. Misdemeanor and fine of $100-$200.	(No. 74.) An Act to add an additional Section to the thirteenth Division of the Penal Code. 3. SECTION I. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the passage of this Act, it shall not be lawful for any Merchant, Tradesman or Shopkeeper, by himself, his Clerk | Clerks | or Agent to have closed the front door or doors of his store or shop whilst engaged in selling to, buying from, or in any wise trading with a slave or slaves, free persons of color; and any person guilty of a violation of the provisions of this Section, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on indictment and conviction thereof shall pay a fine of not less than one hundred, nor more than two hundred dollars, one half of said fine to be paid to the informer, and on failure of the person committed (convicted?) to pay said fine, he shall be imprisoned in the common jail of the county at the discretion of the Court.[41]
1854	Unlawful for any free person of color to sell or dispose of spirits/liquor. Violation of this law is a Misdemeanor with a fine of $100-$200. White people who violate this act by allowing a free person of color to partner with them in maintaining an establishment that sells or disposes of spirits/liquor are subject to a fine of $100-$200. Failure to pay fine: White person - 6months imprisonment in county jail Free person of color - 39 lashes	It shall not be lawful for any free person of color to sell or dispose of any spirituous liquors, cordials, wines, ale, beer or porter or any other intoxicating liquors, or to keep open any house, shantee or any other place for the sale or disposal of such liquors, either in his, her or their own name or in the name of his, her, or their guardian, or in the name of any white person or persons, as partner, clerk, agent or assistant in such business, or as agent or assistant to any white person or persons. 7. SEC. II. And be it further enacted, That each and every free person of color and each and every white person, who shall violate the first Section of this Act shall, whether principal or only agent or assistant, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be tried therefor as hereinafter directed, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not less than one hundred dollars, and upon failure to pay such fine shall be imprisoned in the common jail of the county, for six months if a white person, or if a free person of color, shall receive thirty-nine lashes. A white violating, penalty $100 or jail.[42]
1854	Free person of color or slave not to sell to slaves, will be whipped and fined. First offense - 39 lashes and fined $50 (or imprisoned until the fine is paid) Subsequent offenses - 50 lashes and fines $100 (or imprisoned until fine paid - if fine not paid w/in 3 months shall be sold into slavery for length of time necessary to pay off fine.	Any free person of color or slave acting for himself or for any other person or persons, white or colored, who shall sell or furnish to any slave or slaves, any goods, wares or produce, except such articles as slaves are permitted by law to trade in, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof, shall for the first offence, receive thirty-nine lashes and be fined fifty dollars and imprisoned until said fine is paid, and for the second or any subsequent offence shall receive fifty lashes and be fined one hundred dollars and be imprisoned until said fine is paid, and if the same is not paid within three months, shall be sold for such length of time as will produce a sum sufficient to pay such fine and cost.[43]
1856	In certain counties, Free Negroes and slaves, 16–45 years old, subject to road duty in the district where they live.	And be it further enacted, That all male slaves and all free negroes and mulattoes between the age of sixteen and forty-five, shall be subject to, and perform road duty in the district where they may live.[44]

1857	In certain counties, Free Negroes and slaves could not live separate from their masters or their guardians.	That it shall not be lawful for any slave or free person of color to reside on a separate lot from their owner or owners, employers or guardians within the limits of the county of Warren. 3. Sec. II. Be it further enacted, That any slave or free person of color violating the provisions of this Act, may be arrested and taken before the Magistrate or Magistrates of said county of either district, and whipped, not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding one hundred dollars, if it be a free person of color, and sold by the Constable of said district, for the shortest period of time, to the person or persons paying said sum, one half of which shall go to and belong to the informant or prosecutor, and if said person of color be a slave, the owner shall and may be indicted in the Superior Court of the county aforesaid, for a misdemeanor, and on conviction, shall be fined in the sum of one hundred dollars, half of which sum shall be paid to the informant or prosecutor, and the other half be paid into the county treasury.[45]
1859	Slaves and Free Negroes in Crawfordville & Warrenton not allowed to have a business that buys, sells, or ships chickens, butter, eggs, ducks, or turkeys.	That it shall not be lawful for any negro slave or free person of color, within the corporate limits of the town of Crawfordville, or of the town of Warrenton, to keep any eating house or public table, or to buy or sell, or cause the same to be done, or ship or cause the same to be done, or in any manner traffic in chickens, butter, eggs, ducks, turkeys, c., and for any violation of this, or any portion of this section, said slave or slaves, or free person or persons of color, may be arrested by warrant, issued by any Justice of the Peace in the county, and on conviction before said Justices, who shall have full power to try said negroes or free persons of color, if it be a free person of color, shall and may be fined, for the first offence one hundred dollars, and for the second offence two hundred dollars, and on failure to pay, may be sold by the Sheriff, for the shortest time, to pay said sum, at public outcry on next Constable's or Sheriff's sale day thereafter, the purchaser paying the fine and cost, and if it be a slave, on conviction, shall be imprisoned until the owner or hirer shall have paid all cost which may have accrued on the trial.[46]
1859	Free persons of color cannot be brought into the state. Penalty is to be sold back into slavery.	That from and after the passage of this act, it shall not be lawful for any free person or persons of color, commonly known as free negroes, now residing, or who shall reside after the passage of this act in any State of this Confederacy, or foreign country, to come, or be brought into this State; and any and all free person or persons of color who shall come or be brought into this State, after the passage of this act, in violation thereof, shall, on conviction of said violation, be sold as a slave or slaves, by the Sheriff of the county in which said conviction shall be made.[47]
1860	Slaves and Free Negroes may be given bail in certain cases.	In all cases when slaves, or free persons of color, are charged with offences not punishable by loss of life or limbs, and in all cases when the sentence of the Magistrates trying a slave, or free person of color, for any offence, does not extend to loss of life or limbs, and a Certiorari has been procured to such sentence, it shall be lawful for the owner, agent, employer, or guardian, of such slave or free person of color, to bail such slave or free person of color, by giving a bail bond, in the usual form, with sufficient securities, in a sum equal to twice the value of such slave, or free person of color, to the Magistrates issuing the warrant against such slave, or free person of color[48]

1860	Boat Captains belonging to or coming from a non-slaveholding State prohibited from bringing free Negroes within the county limits of Camden, Bryan, McIntosh, and Glynn, penalty of $100 for each Negro brought into those counties.	Be it enacted, c., That from and after the first day of March next, no captain, owner, or other person having the control of any vessel, steamer, or other water-craft, belonging to or coming from any non-slaveholding State, shall bring into any harbor, river, bay, or creek within the limits of the counties of Camden, Bryan, McIntosh and Glynn, any free negro in any capacity whatever, under the penalty of one hundred dollars for each free negro brought in said counties as aforesaid.[49]
1861	Slaves and Free Negroes may return from the Army to Georgia	An Act to allow all Slaves and Free Persons of Color, who may leave this State in the service of any person in, or connected with the Military Service, to return to the State of Georgia. SECTION I. The General Assembly of the State of Georgia do enact, That all slaves and free persons of color, who may leave this State in the service of any person, in or connected with the military service, may return to the State of Georgia, and shall not be held liable to the pains or penalties of any law now existing prohibiting their leaving or returning to Georgia.[50]
1866	Persons of color rights to contract, sue, etc.	That persons of color shall have the right to make, and enforce contracts, to sue, be sued; to be parties, and give evidence; to inherit; to purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey, real, and personal property, and to have full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings, for the security of person and estate, and shall not be subjected to any other or different punishment, pain or penalty for the commission of any act or offence, than such as are prescribed for white persons, committing like acts or offences.[51]
1866	Persons of color competent witnesses.	That from and after the passage of this Act, free persons of color shall be competent witnesses in all the Courts of this State, in civil cases, whereto a free person of color is a party, and in all criminal cases wherein a free person of color is defendant, or wherein the offence charged is a crime or misdemeanor, against the person or property of a free person of color, any law, usage, or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding.[52]
1867	Family: Legitimation of a child	§1667. Among persons of color the parent shall be required to maintain his or her children, whether legitimate or illegitimate. § 1668. Children shall be subjected to the same obligations in relation to their parents as those which exist in relation to white persons, and in all cases when the parents have separated and the children remain with the mother, she shall have control of such children during their minority. § 1669. Every colored child born before the 9th day of March, 1866, is hereby declared to be the legitimate child of his mother; but such child is the legitimate child of his colored father only when born within what was regarded as a state of wedlock, or when the parents were living together as husband and wife.[53]
1867	Contractual rights of Persons of Color	Persons of color shall have the right to make and enforce contracts, to sue and be sued, to be parties and give evidence, to inherit, to purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to have full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and estate, and shall not be subjected to any other or different punishment, pain or penalty for the commission of any act or offense than such as are prescribed for white persons committing like acts or offenses.[54]

1867	When a Person of Color is a competent witness	Persons of color shall be competent witnesses in all the Courts of this State in civil cases whereto a person of color is a party, and in all criminal cases wherein a person of color is defendant, or wherein the offense charged is a crime or misdemeanor against the person or property of a person of color.[55]
1867	When a marriage must be established between Persons of Color living together.	Persons of color living together on the 9th day of March, 1866, as husband and wife, are hereby declared to sustain that legal relation to each other, unless a man shall have two or more reputed wives, or a woman two or more reputed husbands. In such event, the man shall immediately select one of his reputed wives, with her consent, or the woman one of her reputed husbands, with his consent, and the ceremony of marriage between these two shall be performed. If such man, thus living with more than one woman, or such woman living with more than one man, shall fail or refuse to comply with the provisions of this Section, he or she shall be prosecuted for the offense of fornication, or fornication or adultery, or fornication and adultery, and punished accordingly.[56]
1867	Interracial marriage prohibited	The marriage relation between white persons and persons of African descent is forever prohibited, and such marriages shall be null and void.[57]
1870	Equal accommodations on common carriers	Be it enacted, etc., That, from and after the passage of this act, all common carriers of passengers for hire in the State of Georgia shall furnish like and equal accommodations for all persons, without distinction of race, color or previous condition. Common carriers furnish equal accommodations. Sec. 2. That any officer, employee or agent of any railroad company, steamboat company, or any incorporated company who are common carriers of passengers for hire, or any person or persons who are common carriers, violating the provisions of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and subject to indictment by the grand jury, and tried in the county where the offense was committed, and on conviction be punished by fine not less than two hundred dollars or exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding twelve months, or both, in the discretion of the court.[58]
1875	Civil Rights Act of 1875	Barred discrimination in public facilities such as inns, trains, ferries, and theaters[59]
1899	Sleeping-car companies to separate white and colored passengers. Colored nurses or servants traveling with their white employer are exempt.	Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, That from and after the passage of this Act sleeping-car companies and railroad companies operating sleeping-cars in this State shall have the right to assign all passengers to seats and berths under their charge, and shall separate the white and colored races in making said assignments, and the conductor and other employees on the train of cars to which said sleeping-car or cars may be attached, shall not permit white and colored passengers to occupy the same compartment. And any passenger remaining in any compartment other than to which he may be assigned shall be guilty of and punished as for a misdemeanor; provided, that nothing in this Act shall be construed to compel sleeping-car companies or railroads operating sleeping-cars to carry persons of color in sleeping or parlor-cars; provided, that this Act shall not apply to colored nurses or servants traveling with their employers.[60]

1925	Obtaining license for and operating a billiard room.	No license to operate a Billiard Room shall be issued to any person, who is not twenty-one (21) years of age and a citizen of the United States; or, who has been convicted of a felony; or to any person of the White or Caucasian race to operate a Billiard Room to be used by, frequented or patronized by persons of the Negro race; or to any person of the Negro race to operate a Billiard Room to be used by, frequented or patronized by persons of the White or Caucasian race. Application for license to operate a Billiard Room shall be first made to the Tax Collector of the County in which the applicant proposes to conduct said business in the form hereinafter provided, and no license shall be issued by any city or town to any person to engage in such business until after such person has made application to and has been granted a license by the Tax Collector of the County in which such city or town is located. Qualification. Every application for license shall be accompanied by the affidavit of the applicant, sworn to before an officer authorized by law to administer oaths, stating that the applicant is a citizen of the United States; that he has not been convicted of a felony; and that, if a White person, he will not permit Negroes to congregate or play in his place of business; and, if a Negro, he will not permit any White person to remain or play in his place of business; that he will not permit vagrants, or persons under the influence of intoxicating liquors, to enter or play in his place; that the applicant will have personal charge and management of said business; that he will not permit gambling, or the above described tables to be used in any manner other than as provided by law.[61]
1931	Transporting white and colored passengers	Motor common carriers may confine themselves to carrying either white or colored passengers, or they may provide different motor-vehicles for carrying white and colored passengers; and they may carry white and colored passengers in the same vehicle but only under such conditions of separation of the races as the Commission may prescribe.[62]
1935	Establishing and maintaining public libraries.	An Act to provide for the establishment and maintenance of public libraries; and for other purposes. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Georgia, and it is hereby enacted by authority of the same: Section 1. Under the provisions of this Act political subdivisions, other than municipal corporations, are hereby authorized to establish and maintain public libraries for purposes of education and to support the same by current revenue or by donations or bequests which they are authorized to receive for that purpose; and such political subdivisions may contract with each other and with such municipal corporations as may be already maintaining libraries within the counties in which such municipal corporations are situated, or in adjoining counties, and may enter into cooperative agreements in the establishment and maintenance of such libraries upon such terms as may be agreed on between their respective governing bodies. Public libraries outside municipalities, authority to maintain.[63]

Table 21.7 Peonage/Involuntary Servitude

Year	*Law Summary*	*Law*
1854	Free Negroes ages 5–21 can be bound out by the courts to a person that provide bond and sufficient security that they will treat the Negro good. **Only takes 2 or more respectable persons providing evidence that they are not being raised in a becoming or proper manner**	It shall be the duty of the Inferior Courts of the several counties in this State to bind out to some fit and proper person all free negroes or other free persons of color between the ages of five and twenty-one years, upon its appearing to the Court, upon the evidence of two or more respectable persons, that such free negroes or persons of color are not being raised in a becoming and proper manner; and upon the person to whom said negroes or free persons of color are bound giving bond and sufficient security to said Court for their good treatment, and not to move them out of the limits of this State, and to discharge them from his or her service at the age of twenty-one years.[64]
1859	Free Negroes considered Vagrant shall be sold into slavery for a period of time (1st offense) or in perpetuity (2nd offense).	That any free person of color wandering or strolling about, or leading an idle, immoral or profligate course of life, shall be deemed and considered a Vagrant, and shall be indicted as such, as in other cases, and upon conviction shall be punished by being sold into slavery, for any given time, in the discretion of the Judge of the Superior Court…such term of slavery shall not exceed two years, for the first offence, and upon conviction of the second offence, such free person of color so offending, shall be sold into perpetual slavery. When a free person of color is convicted of the offence of Vagrancy, the Judge shall pass an order requiring the Sheriff to advertise in some public Gazette of the State, the length of time for which such free person of color is to be sold, also the place and time of sale; and the rules and regulations which now govern Sheriff sales of slaves, shall also govern sales of free persons of color, except in such respects as are particularly provided for in this act; the sale shall always be for cash, and the amount of such sales, after deducting cost of trial, jail fees, if any, and advertising, shall become a part of the public school fund of the county where the free person of color convicted of Vagrancy has been tried and condemned; the Sheriff shall make the purchaser of such convicted free person of color, a title for the time through which his purchase extends, and shall recite in the title, the order under which such convicted free person of color was sold, also the price paid, and the time when sold; and the purchaser at any such sale at public outcry, shall make an affidavit before some judicial officer in this State, which shall be recorded with the proceedings in the case, that such purchaser has purchased said free negro, for the purpose of reducing him into absolute, and not nominal bondage.[65]
1866	Minors may be bound out as apprentices	The General Assembly of this State, do enact, From and after the passage of this act, that all minors may, by whichever parent has the legal control of them, be bound out as apprentices to any respectable person, until they attain the age of twenty-one, or for a shorter period. Parents may bind out minor children. 2. SEC. II. It shall be the duty of the Judge of the County Court, or the Ordinary, to bind out, in like manner, all minors, whose parents are dead, or whose parents reside out of the county, the profits of whose estate are insufficient for their support and maintenance; also, all minors whose parents, from age, infirmity or poverty, are unable to support them.[66]

1866	Dissolution of the apprentice relation	DISSOLUTION OF THE RELATION. By consent of the parties, the Judge of the County Court, or the Ordinary, may dissolve the relation at any time; and on the death of the master, the said Judge or the Ordinary, may either dissolve it, or substitute in place of the deceased, his legal representative, or some member of his family; in which event, the person substituted, by filing a written acceptance, shall thenceforth have all the rights, and be bound for all the duties of the original master. Dissolution by consent, or for the death of master, shall be subject to the sound discretion of the Judge of the County Court, or of the Ordinary, as also shall be the selection of a successor to the master, as above mentioned; but if no successor be designated, and his acceptance filed within three months after death of the master, then the relation shall no longer exist. 7. SEC. VII. The Judge of the County Court, or the Ordinary, may also dissolve the relation, at the instance of the master, for gross misconduct in the apprentice; or at the instance of the apprentice, or any friend of his, for cruelty in the master, or for failure to furnish food, clothing, medicine, or medical attendance, or for jeopardy of the good morals of the apprentice, by reason of the master's depraved conduct.[67]
1866	Duties of master in apprentice relationship	The master shall teach the apprentice the business of husbandry, house service, or some other useful trade or occupation, which shall be specified in the instrument of apprenticeship; shall furnish him with wholesome food, suitable clothing, and necessary medicine and medical attendance; shall teach him habits of industry, honesty and morality; shall cause him to be taught to read English; and shall govern him with humanity, using only the same degree of force to compel his obedience as a father may use with his minor child. 5. SEC. V. CONTROVERSIES PENDING THE RELATION. In all controversies between the master and his apprentice, pending the existence of the relation, the Judge of the County Court, or the Ordinary, may exercise jurisdiction, and on complaint of either party, and notice to the other, may cause justice to be done in a summary manner. If the master be in default, he shall be fined at the discretion of the Court, not exceeding fifty dollars, and if the apprentice, the Court may order such correction as the circumstances may demand, not extending to cruelty.[68]
1866	Proceeds of Apprentice's labor	To the master shall belong the proceeds of the apprentice's labor; but at the expiration of his term of service, a faithful apprentice shall be entitled to a small allowance from the master, with which to begin, life; the amount to be left in the first instance, to the master's generosity. If the master offer less than one hundred dollars, the apprentice may decline it, and cite the master before the Judge of the County Court, or the Ordinary; and after hearing both parties and their witnesses, if any, the said Judge, or the Ordinary, shall fix the sum to be paid, increasing or diminishing the amount offered, according to the merits of the apprentice, the means of the master and the length and fidelity of the service. 9. SEC. IX. The master shall have a right of action against any person employing his apprentice, with notice of the fact, and the damages recovered shall not be less than twenty-five dollars.[69]

1866	Contracts of apprenticeship made with Freedmen's Bureau	An Act to make valid contracts of apprenticeship made by citizens of Georgia with agents of the Freedmen's Bureau. Whereas, The commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for this State has heretofore authorized the various agents of that bureau in all the counties of this State, to bind out to suitable persons minor colored persons of African descent, of both sexes, until they attain the age of twenty-one years; and whereas , many of the citizens of this State have entered into these contracts of indenture and apprenticeship in accordance with the regulations of said bureau; therefore, 17. Section I. Be it enacted, etc., That these contracts shall be good and valid as if made agreeably to the statutory provisions of this State, and that no citizen of this State shall be deprived of his apprentice by reason of the informality of the contract, when the provisions and regulations of the bureau have been substantially met.[70]
1866	An Act to make the employment of a servant during his term of service, illegal, and make it a misdemeanor.	That from and after the passage of this act, it shall not be lawful for any person to employ any servant in the employment of another, for and during his term of service; and if any person, by himself or agent, shall be guilty of employing the servant of another during the term for which he, she or they may be employed, knowing that such servant was so employed, and that his term of service was not expired, or if any person or persons shall entice, persuade or decoy, or attempt to entice, persuade or decoy, any servant to leave his employer, either by offering higher wages, or in any other way whatever, during the term of service, knowing that said servant was so employed, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined any sum not more than two hundred dollars, or confinement in the common jail of the county, in the discretion of the court, and not to exceed three months.[71]
1875	A minor may be bound out.	12. SECTION I. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That section 1876 of the Revised Code, be, and the same is hereby amended, by adding the following words to the same: Provided, that before the Judge of the County Court of Ordinary shall bind out any such minor, such Judge or Ordinary shall give fifteen days' notice, by a plainly written citation, calling upon all persons interested, to show cause why such minor should not be bound out, and specifying the time and place when he will pass upon the same, one of which citations shall be posted on the court house door of the county, and the other at some public place in the militia district in which said minor may then be, and shall also cause copies of said citation to be served upon the next of kin of said minor, if any be found in said county, at least ten days before the hearing, and if no next of kin are found in the county, then the citation to be published once a week for four weeks in the paper in which the legal advertisements are published; and in all such cases the Judge or Ordinary shall appoint for such minor a guardian ad litem, before binding him or her out, which guardian ad litem shall not be the applicant, nor any relative of his. After a full hearing, such Judge or Ordinary may bind out such minor or minors, if no blood kin of said minor or minors appear, who are willing and competent to undertake his support and maintenance, and if no other good cause to the contrary be shown by such guardian ad litem, or any other person.[72]

1903	Contract law often used to enforce peonage and prevent laborers from leaving their employers.	PROCURING MONEY ON CONTRACT FOR SERVICE. No. 345. An Act to make it illegal for any person to procure money, or other thing of value, on a contract to perform services with intent to defraud, and to fix the punishment therefor, and for other purposes. Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by authority of the same, That from and after the passage of this Act if any person shall contract with another to perform for him services of any kind with intent to procure money, or other thing of value thereby, and not to perform the service contracted for, to the loss and damage of the hirer; or after having so contracted, shall procure from the hirer money, or other thing of value, with intent not to perform such service, to the loss and damage of the hirer, he shall be deemed a common cheat and swindler, and upon conviction shall be punished as prescribed in section 1039 of the Code.[73]
1927	Unlawful for whites to marry other than white.	Be it further enacted, that from and after the passage of this Act it shall be unlawful for a white person to marry any save a white person. Any person, white or otherwise, who shall marry or go through a marriage ceremony in violation of this provision shall be guilty of a felony, and shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than one nor more than two years, and such marriage shall be utterly void. Sec. 16. Be it further enacted, that any person who shall make or cause to be made a false statement as to race or color of himself or parents, in any application for marriage license, shall be guilty of a felony, and shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than five years.[74]
1927	Birth of legitimate child of white parent and colored parent	Be it further enacted that when any birth certificate is forwarded to the Bureau of Vital Statistics, showing the birth of a legitimate child to parents one of whom is white and one of whom is colored, it shall be the duty of the State Registrar of Vital Statistics to report the same to the Attorney-General of the State, with full information concerning the same. Thereupon it shall be the duty of the Attorney-General to institute criminal proceedings against the parents of such child, for any violation of the provisions of this Act which may have been committed.[75]

Table 21.8 Criminal Laws

Year	*Law Summary*	*Law*
1798	Cruel treatment of slaves is prohibited.	Any person who shall maliciously dismember or deprive a slave of life shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on the like proof, except in case of insurrection by such slave, and unless such death should happen by accident in giving such slave moderate correction.[76]
1817	Cruel treatment of slaves not allowed	Any owner or owners of a slave or slaves, who shall cruelly beat such slave or slaves, by unnecessary and excessive whipping, by withholding proper food and sustenance, by requiring greater labor from such slave or slaves than he or she or they are able to perform, by not affording proper clothing, whereby the health of such slave or slaves may be injured and impaired, every such owner or owners, shall, upon sufficient information being laid before the Grand Jury, be, by said Grand Jury, presented, whereupon it shall be the duty of the Attorney or Solicitor General to prosecute said owner or owners, who on conviction, shall be sentenced to pay a fine or be imprisoned, or both, at the discretion of the court.[77]
1833	Cruel treatment of slaves by employer or owner prohibited.	Any owner or employer of a slave or slaves, who shall cruelly treat such slave or slaves, by unnecessary and excessive whipping, by withholding proper food and sustenance, by requiring greater labour from such slave or slaves than he, she, or they are able to perform, or by not affording proper clothing, whereby the health of such slave or slaves may be injured and impaired, or cause or permit the same to be done: every such owner or employer shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction, shall be punished by fine, or imprisonment in the common jail of the county, or both, at the discretion of the court.[78]
1850	Exciting Insurrection of slaves or free persons of color is illegal and punished by death.	Exciting Insurrection of Slaves. 23. SEC. IV. Exciting an insurrection or revolt of slaves, or any attempt by writing, speaking, or otherwise, to excite an insurrection or revolt of slaves, shall be punished with death. 24. SEC. V. If any person shall bring, introduce, or circulate, or cause to be brought, introduced, or circulated ; or aid or assist, or be in any manner, instrumental in bringing, introducing, or circulating, within this State, any printed or written paper, pamphlet, or circular, for the purpose of exciting insurrection, revolt, conspiracy, or resistance, on the part of the slaves, negroes, or free persons of color, in this State, against the citizens of this State, or any part of them, such person so offending shall be guilty of a high misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished with death.[79]
1850	Harboring or concealing Slaves is illegal.	Any person who shall conceal, harbor, hide, or employ, in their own, or in the service of any other person or persons, any slave, to the injury of the owner thereof, shall be guilty of a High Misdemeanor ; and on conviction thereof, shall be punished by imprisonment and labor in the penitentiary of this State, for a time not exceeding three years, nor less than one year, at the discretion of the court.[80]

1850	Carrying off Slaves from their state or county is illegal	Any person who shall remove or carry, or cause to be removed or carried away out of this State, or any county thereof, any slave, being the property of another pel-son, without the consent of the owner, or other, person having authority to give such consent, and without any intention or design, on the part of the offender, to sell or otherwise appropriate the said slave to his own use, or to deprive the owner of his property is said slave, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and be punished by fine or imprisonment in the common jail of the county, or both, at the discretion of the court.[81]
1850	Unprovoked beating or wounding of Slaves or Free Person of Color.	Any person except the owner, overseer, or employer of a slave, who shall beat, whip, or wound such slave ; or any person who shall beat, whip, or wound a free person of color, without sufficient cause or provocation being first given by such slave or free person of color; such person so offending, may be indicted for a Mis demeanor, and on conviction, shall be punished by fine or imprisonment in the common jail of the county, or both, at the discretion of the court; and the owner of such slave, or guardian of such free person of color, may, notwithstanding such conviction, recover in a civil suit, damages for the injury done to such slave or free person of color.[82]
1850	Cruel treatment of Slaves by their owner.	Any owner or employer of a slave or slaves, who shall cruelly treat such slave or slaves, by unnecessary and excessive whipping; by withholding proper food and sustenance; by requiring greater labor from such slave or slaves, than he, she, or they, are able to perform ; or by not affording proper clothing, whereby the health of such slave or slaves may be injured and impaired; or cause or permit the same to be done; every such owner or employer shall be guilty of a Misdemeanor, and on conviction, shall be punished by fine or imprisonment in the common jail of the county, or both, at the discretion of the court.[83]
1850	Purchasing from Slaves without a permit.	If any person shall buy or receive from any slave, any amount of money exceeding one dollar; or any cotton, tobacco, wheat, rye, oats, corn, rice, or poultry of any description whatever; or any other article, commodity, or thing, (except brooms, baskets, foot and bed mats, shuck collars, and such other thing or things, article or articles, as are usually manufactured or vended by slaves, for their own use only) without written permission from the owner, over seer, or employer of such slave, or some other person authorized to give such permission, authorizing such slave to sell and dispose of said money or other article or articles; such person so offending, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction, be punished by fine or imprisonment in the common jail of the county, or both, at the discretion of the court.[84]

1850	Selling spirituous or intoxicating liquors to slaves or free Negroes is illegal.	If any owner, overseer, employer, shop-keeper, store-keeper, or any other person whatsoever, shall sell to or furnish any slave or slaves, or free person of color, with spirituous liquor, wines, cider, or any intoxicating liquors, for his own use, or for the purpose of sale; such person so offending shall, upon conviction thereof, pay a fine of not less than ten dollars, nor more than fifty dollars, for the first offence, and upon a second conviction, to be subject to fine and imprisonment in the common jail of the county, at the discretion of the court, not to exceed sixty days imprisonment and five hundred dollars fine: Provided, nothing herein contained shall prevent the owner, overseer or employer, from furnishing their slaves, or those under their care, with such quantity of spirits as they may believe is for the benefit of such slave or slaves, but in no case to permit them, in any way, to furnish others therewith.[85]
1850	Delivering goods to Slaves.	If any person shall sell or deliver to any slave or slaves, any goods, wares, or merchandise, or any other thing or things, unless it be in exchange for some article or articles, which the owner, overseer, or employer, of such slave or slaves, may have authorized such slave or slaves to trade or deal in, according to the provisions of the thirteenth section of this Division, such person so offending shall be guilty of a Misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished by fine or imprisonment in the common jail of the county, or both, at the discretion of the court.[86]
1850	Teaching to read or write.	If any person shall teach any slave, negro, or free person of color, to read or write, either written or printed characters; or shall procure, suffer, or permit a slave, negro, or person of color, to transact business for him in writing, such person so offending shall be guilty of a Misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished by fine or imprisonment in the common jail of the county, or both, at the discretion of the court.[87]

1859	Vagrancy in Free Negroes defined and punishment	That any free person of color wandering or strolling about, or leading an idle, immoral or profligate course of life, shall be deemed and considered a Vagrant, and shall be indicted as such, as in other cases, and upon conviction shall be punished by being sold into slavery, for any given time, in the discretion of the Judge of the Superior Court…such term of slavery shall not exceed two years, for the first offence, and upon conviction of the second offence, such free person of color so offending, shall be sold into perpetual slavery. When a free person of color is convicted of the offence of Vagrancy, the Judge shall pass an order requiring the Sheriff to advertise in some public Gazette of the State, the length of time for which such free person of color is to be sold, also the place and time of sale; and the rules and regulations which now govern Sheriff sales of slaves, shall also govern sales of free persons of color, except in such respects as are particularly provided for in this act; the sale shall always be for cash, and the amount of such sales, after deducting cost of trial, jail fees, if any, and advertising, shall become a part of the public school fund of the county where the free person of color convicted of Vagrancy has been tried and condemned; the Sheriff shall make the purchaser of such convicted free person of color, a title for the time through which his purchase extends, and shall recite in the title, the order under which such convicted free person of color was sold, also the price paid, and the time when sold; and the purchaser at any such sale at public outcry, shall make an affidavit before some judicial officer in this State, which shall be recorded with the proceedings in the case, that such purchaser has purchased said free negro, for the purpose of reducing him into absolute, and not nominal bondage.[88]
1861	Slave or Free Negroes that willfully damage railroad property shall be punished with death.	That if any slave, or free person of color, shall willfully destroy, or in any manner hurt, damage, injure, or obstruct, or shall aid and assist in any way whatever, to hurt, damage, injure, or obstruct, any Railroad bridge in this State, or any branch thereof, or any bridge connected therewith, or any vehicle, edifice, car, carriage, or engine, of any of said Railroads; or shall, without the consent of the Company, move, or interfere or meddle with any gate, switch, sidling, or other appurtenance to any such Railroad, such slave or free person of color so offending, shall and may be indicted; and on conviction, shall be punished by death.[89]
1863	Slave or Free Negroes that provide information to the enemy shall be punished.	That any slave, or free person of color, who shall go to the enemy, with the intention of giving them information of any kind, shall on conviction of the same, suffer such punishment as the Court trying said offence, may in its discretion inflict, not extending to life or limb, or as the jury may recommend by their verdict.[90]
1863	Slaves leaving their owners or employer and joins the enemy shall be punished. Does not apply to slaves that voluntarily return to their owner or employer.	That any slave who shall leave the service of his owner or employer, and go over to the enemy, or shall leave the service of his owner or employer with the intention of going over to the enemy; or shall attempt to leave the service of his owner or employer for the purpose of going over to the enemy, shall, on conviction of the same, suffer such punishment as the Court trying said offence, may inflict in its discretion, not extending to life or limb, or as the jury may recommend by their verdict; provided, that this Act shall not apply to a slave who voluntarily and bona fide returns to the service of his or her owner or employer[91]

1863	Slaves or Free Negroes enticing slaves to leave their owner shall be punished.	That any slave or free person of color, who shall, by promises of freedom or liberty, or by any kind of incitement, entice or induce any slave to leave the service of his master, or shall attempt to induce or entice said slave, shall on conviction thereof, suffer the punishment of death, or such other punishment as the jury may recommend in their verdict, and in case of no such recommendation, such punishment as the Judge presiding, in his discretion, may inflict.[92]
1866	Vagrancy definition amended	All persons wandering or strolling about in idleness, who are able to work, and who have no property to support them; all persons leading an idle, immoral or profligate life, who have no property to support them, and are able to work, and do not work; all persons able to work, having no property to support them, and who have not some visible and known means of a fair, honest and reputable livelihood; all persons having a fixed abode who have no visible property to support them, and who live by stealing or by trading in, bartering for, or buying stolen property; and all professional gamblers, living in idleness, shall be deemed and considered vagrants, and shall be indicted as such; and it shall be lawful for any person to arrest said vagrants, and have them bound over for trial to the next term of the County Court, and upon conviction they shall be fined or imprisoned, or sentenced to work on the public works or roads, for not longer than a year, or shall, in the discretion of the Court, be bound out to some person for a time not longer than one year, upon such valuable consideration as the Court may prescribe, the person giving bond, in a sum not exceeding three hundred dollars, payable to said Court, and conditioned to clothe and feed, and provide said convict with medical attendance for and during said time, Provided, that the defendant may, at any time before conviction, be discharged upon paying costs, and giving bond and security in a sum not exceeding two hundred dollars, payable to said Court, and conditioned for the good behavior and industry of defendant for one year.[93]

1867	Vagrancy defined and punishment	All persons wandering or strolling about in idleness, who are able to work and have no property to support them ; all persons leading an idle, immoral, or profligate life, who have no property to support them, and who are able to work, and who do not work ; all persons able to work, having no property to support them, and who have not some visible and known means of a fair, honest, and reputable livelihood ; all persons having a fixed abode, who have no visible property to support them, and who live by stealing, or by trading in, bartering for, or buying, stolen property, and all professional gamblers living in idleness, shall be deemed and considered vagrants, and shall be indicted as such ; and it shall be lawful for any person to arrest said vagrants, and have them bound over for trial to the next term of the County Court, and, upon conviction, they shall be fined or imprisoned, or sentenced to work on the public works or roads for not longer than a year, or shall, in the discretion of the Court, be bound out to some person for a time not longer than one year, upon such valuable consideration as the Court may prescribe — the person giving bond in a sum not exceeding three hundred dollars, payable to said Court, and conditioned to clothe and feed, and provide said convict with medical attendance for and during said time ;* provided, that the defendant may, at any time before conviction. Proviso, be discharged upon paying costs and giving bond and security in a sum not exceeding two hundred dollars, payable to said Court, and conditioned for the good behavior and industry of the defendant for one year.[94]
1867	Adultery with a Negro is a crime.	Any white man and woman of color, [or any white woman and male person of color] (b) who shall live together in a state of adultery or fornication, or adultery and fornication, such [persons so offending] (b) shall be guilty of the crime of living in such state, and on conviction shall be [punished as prescribed in Section 4245 of this Code.][95]
1867	Interracial marriage is a crime.	If any officer shall knowingly issue any marriage license to parties, either of whom is of African descent, and the other a white person, or if any officer or minister of the gospel shall marry such persons together, such officer or minister of the gospel shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished as prescribed in Section 4245 of this Code.[96]
1875	Punishment for stealing hogs	The General Assembly of the State of Georgia do enact, That section 4401, of the Code of Georgia, be so amended as to strike out so much of said section as defines the punishment of hog-stealing, and that the penalty for the said offense shall be the same as is now prescribed in section 4399 for the offense of cattle stealing.[97]

Table 21.9 Convict Labor

Year	*Law Summary*	*Law*
1866	Resolution requesting Georgia Governor provide the Georgia General Assembly with information regarding the practicability of using inmate labor for infrastructure needs (roads, bridges, etc.).	Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, That his Excellency, the Governor, be requested to furnish the Legislature as soon as may be practicable, information upon the following points: 1st. Is it practicable to use the inmates of the Penitentiary in building bridges, water tanks and freight cars for the State road; and if so, what saving of expense can be effected thereby? 2d. Can the same force be used in rolling the iron on said road, and other heavy manual labor connected therewith? Also a foundry for castings. 3d. Can water power be obtained near the present site and can it be used for driving the necessary machinery, together with estimates of the cost of the same? 4th. Is there an abundance of granite near the Penitentiary; and if so is it practical to employ the convicts in quarrying and dressing the same?[98]
1866	An Act regulating the management of the penitentiary and allowing for the farming out of convicts.	An Act to regulate the manner in which the Penitentiary shall be managed, and to provide for farming out the same. 1. Section I. Be it enacted, etc. , That the Governor shall cause to be advertised, for sixty days, in two or more newspapers in the State of Georgia, for proposals to farm out the Penitentiary; and the same shall be farmed out to such persons as shall take it on the best terms, and give such bond as the Governor may require, to secure the comfort and security of the prisoners: provided , that the same shall not be leased unless a lease can be made relieving the State from all further expense, during the term of the lease, in keeping up the same: and provided, also , that said lease shall not be for a longer term than five years.[99]
1871	An Act allowing Governor to farm out convicts 1–2 years	An Act for farming out the convicts of the Penitentiary, of the State of Georgia, and for other purposes. 1. Sec. I. The General Assembly of the State of Georgia do enact , That the Governor is hereby authorized and directed, to farm out the convicts of the Penitentiary for a term of years not less than one nor more than two years, and in such numbers as in his discretion he may see proper, to any one person or company of persons, as shall take them at a consideration not less than twenty-five dollars, (except in cases where the term of service of any convict expires, or is pardoned before a year, then a pro rata proportion of said twenty-five dollars, for the time so rendered by said convict) per capita , annually, and give sufficient bond and security, as the Governor, in his discretion, may require, for the faithful and full compliance with their contract with the State, and which contract shall require the humane treatment of the convicts, their security and management, in accordance with the rules and regulations now in force for the control of the convicts, in so far as the same may be consistent with the working of the convicts on any public works in the State of Georgia, and the Governor is hereby authorized and directed, to turn over to the lessee or lessees, hereafter contracting under this Act, such convicts as may hereafter be sentenced to the Penitentiary, having due regard to the rights of contractors, and the priority of date of their contracts: Provided , no contract shall be made which shall not relieve the State from all expenses except the salary of the Principal Keeper.[100]

1874	Convicts may be hired out to private citizens.	An Act to authorize the hiring of a certain class of Convicts to private citizens, to prescribe the conditions thereof, and to regulate the relations between the parties. 13. SECTION I. Be it enacted, etc., That when any person is convicted of any crime or misdemeanor, the punishment whereof, according to the sentence of the Court under the law, is fine or fine and costs, or costs with an alternative imprisonment for a certain term, in default of payment, it shall be lawful for such convict to hire himself or herself to any citizen of this State, who pays the amount of said sentence, for said prescribed term, by an agreement in writing signed by the parties in the presence of and with the written approval of the presiding Judge, which agreement shall express the kind of labor to be performed, and the place of performance, and when thus executed, expressed and approved, shall be entered on the minutes of the Court. 14. SEC. II. That during the term of said hiring, said hirer shall sustain to said convict the relation of bail on recognizance, and if such convict, before the expiration of such term, shall abandon his hirer or in any way substantially refuse to perform his said contract, he, the said hirer, shall have the right and power to surrender said convict, as prescribed by law in cases of bail on recognizance. 15. SEC. III. That, when surrender shall thus be made, the convict shall, by the officer to whom surrendered, be at once taken before the Judge of the Court wherein the sentence was passed, if in the county, and if not, then before the Ordinary of the county, who shall summarily hear the facts, as in cases of habcas corpus; and if, after such hearing, he shall adjudge the convict in fault, he shall remand him to serve out so much of the term as may be unexpired from the date of his violation of his contract; but, if the hirer is adjudged in fault, by ill treatment or other violation of his contract or duty, said convict shall be fully and finally discharged from the penalty of such sentence.[101]
1874	An Act allowing Governor to farm out convicts 1–5 years	SECTION 1. Be it enacted, etc:, That the Governor is hereby authorized and directed to farm or lease out the convicts of the Penitentiary for a term of years, not less than one nor more than five years, and in such numbers as in his discretion he may deem proper, to any person or persons, or company of persons, as shall take the said convicts at a consideration to be agreed upon with the Governor, and give sufficient bond and security, as the Governor in his discretion may require, for the faithful and full compliance with their contract with the State, and which contract shall require the humane treatment of the convicts, their security and management, in accordance with the rules and regulations now in force for the control of the convicts, in so far as the same may be consistent with the working of the convicts on any public or private works in the State of Georgia, and the Governor is hereby authorized and directed to turn over to the lessee or lessees hereafter contracting under this Act, such convicts as may hereafter be sentenced to the Penitentiary, having due regard to the rights of contractors, and the priority of date of their contracts: Provided, no contract shall be made which shall not relieve the State from all expenses, except the salary of the Principal Keeper; and provided, the lease herein provided for shall not go into effect and operation until the present lease of the convicts shall expire.[102]
1891	White and colored convicts must be kept separate.	Be it enacted by the General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the passage of this Act, it shall be unlawful for any person or firm leasing or controlling any convicts in this State to confine white and colored convicts together, or to work them chained together, nor shall they be chained together going to or from their work, or at any other time.[103]

1903	An Act to make it illegal for any person to procure money, or other thing of value, on a contract to perform services with intent to defraud, and the punishment for such actions	No. 345. An Act to make it illegal for any person to procure money, or other thing of value, on a contract to perform services with intent to defraud, and to fix the punishment therefor, and for other purposes. Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by authority of the same, That from and after the passage of this Act if any person shall contract with another to perform for him services of any kind with intent to procure money, or other thing of value thereby, and not to perform the service contracted for, to the loss and damage of the hirer; or after having so contracted, shall procure from the hirer money, or other thing of value, with intent not to perform such service, to the loss and damage of the hirer, he shall be deemed a common cheat and swindler, and upon conviction shall be punished as prescribed in section 1039 of the Code. Procuring money fraudulently on contract for service. Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That satisfactory proof of the contract, the procuring thereon of money or other thing of value, the failure to perform the services so contracted for, or failure to return the money so advanced with interest thereon at the time said labor was to be performed, without good and sufficient cause and loss or damage to the hirer, shall be deemed presumptive evidence of the intent referred to in the preceding section.[104]

1943	Act creating the State Department of Corrections	BE IT ENACTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF GEORGIA: Section 1. There is created a State Department of Corrections, the office of Director of Corrections, and a Commission of Corrections. Section 2. The Department of Corrections shall be under the exclusive control of the Director and all the duties, powers, and rights heretofore imposed by law upon the State Board of Prisons be and the same are hereby transferred and delegated to the Director of Corrections. Section 3. The Director of Corrections shall be appointed by the Governor. His tenure shall be at the pleasure of the Governor and his compensation shall be fixed by the Governor at a sum not to exceed seven Thousand ($7,000.00) Dollars per annum. Section 4. The Director of Corrections shall institute immediately a program of wise, humane and intelligent prison administration which will have for its underlying purpose the rehabilitation and reclamation of the inmates and the making of the correctional institutions as self-supporting as possible. Section 5. The Director of Corrections is hereby delegated complete and absolute authority in as full and complete a manner as is necessary to make all rules, regulations and orders which will effectuate a modern program of progressive penal administration in this State. Section 6. The Director of Corrections is authorized, empowered and directed to promulgate and issue rules, regulations, provisions and procedures which may be deemed helpful in the establishment of a wise, intelligent and humane prison system. The Director of Corrections is authorized and directed to institute, among other reforms, the following: (1) All shackles, manicles, picks, leg irons and chains shall be immediately removed from every inmate within the State correctional system. (2) Whipping of inmates shall be prohibited. (3) The wearing of stripes shall be required only as punishment for violation of prison rules and regulations, provided, however, that in those counties where stripes have been worn by prisoners in the past, the authorities can continue the practice of the wearing of stripes by prisoners for a period of time not later than June 1, 1944. (4) State Highway Road Camps shall be abolished as soon as practical. (4a) County camps shall not be abolished provided they meet the minimum requirements of the rules and regulations promulgated by the Director of Corrections. Each county maintaining a county camp shall receive their quota of convicts as now provided by law and shall have the preference of prisoners sent up from such county in making up such quota provided the said prisoners are not needed to operate the State Prison. (5) Women inmates of the correctional system shall be removed from proximity to the men's prison. (6) Central receiving stations for prisoners sentenced to the penitentiary shall be provided and established. All transportation expenses of prisoners to and from such receiving stations shall be paid by the State. (7) A program of rehabilitation shall be instituted, which said program shall include industrial, mechanical, agricultural and vocational training. This subsection shall not apply to county camps. (8) Industrial equipment shall be installed and utilized for the purpose of providing equipment and supplies to the State but the theory of prison work shall be based on occupational and vocational training and not on business conducted for profit or in competition with private enterprise and free labor. The provisions of this subsection shall not apply to county camps. (9) Juveniles, first offenders and youthful offenders shall be carefully separated from inmates who are hardened in their vicious ways. (10) Standard qualifications for wardens, guards and correctional officials shall be established. The various wardens, guards, and other employees in county correctional institutions coming under the provisions of this act shall be chosen by the proper county officials, subject to the approval of the Director of Corrections, and the salaries of all such employees shall be fixed by the proper county authorities. (11) Opportunity for religious activities shall be afforded to such inmates of the institutions as may desire them.[105]

1949	State Highway Department must complete contracts for roadwork using convict labor.	The State Highway Board is hereby empowered to contract with the counties for the construction of rural post roads and bridges upon such terms as they are empowered to contract for the construction of any roads on the State highway system. That all such contracts made by the State Highway Department with the counties shall not be sublet or transferred to any other person, firm or corporation, but shall be performed by the counties with convict labor or county forces, and not otherwise. That the State Highway Department will not be liable and will not be authorized to pay o\ut any funds upon a contract for construction executed between the State Highway Department and the counties unless the work is performed by convict labor, or county forces. This provision shall apply to and give authority for construction of roads and bridges on the State highway system on the same terms and conditions as for the construction of rural post roads and bridges.[106]
1953	Repealing of certain laws regarding convict camps and enacting laws to provide for county convict farms and housing and employment of overseers and guards.	Section 1. Section 77-202 of the Code of Georgia, which reads as follows: The county authorities having control of convicts shall provide suitable places for their safe-keeping and their support by the county, and shall employ necessary overseers and guards for their safe-keeping and constant and diligent employment upon the public works., is hereby repealed in its entirety. Code 77-202 repealed. Section 2. Section 77-338 of the Code of Georgia, which reads as follows: Any county may purchase, rent, and maintain a farm upon which to work any number of its convicts in connection with working its convicts upon its public roads, bridges, and other public works; and all products and supplies arising from said farm shall be used in the support of the convicts, improvement of its public roads, bridges, and other public works, and in support of the county institutions., is hereby repealed in its entirety. 77-338 repealed. Section 3. Any county may purchase, rent, and maintain a farm and housing upon which to work any number of convicts assigned it in connection with working its public roads, bridges, and other public works, and the county authorities having control of convicts assigned it shall provide suitable places for their safe-keeping and their support by the county and shall employ the necessary overseers and guards for their safe-keeping and constant and diligent employment upon the public works. All products and supplies arising from said farm shall be used in the support of the convicts, for improvement of the public roads, bridges and other public works, and in support of the county institutions. County work camps. Section 4. County authorities in acquiring future sites for the location of public works camps, or county authorities who construct in the future buildings for the housing of prisoners on such public works camps, shall not construct any buildings for the housing of prisoners within a mile from the city limits of any incorporated city or town with a population of 20,000 people or less, according to the 1950 census or any future census. This restriction shall not apply to those counties now owning property for public works camps within said mile limit nor to any county where construction has been begun at the time of the passage of this bill. Location. Constitutionality.[107]

Table 21.10 Education

Year	*Law Summary*	*Law*
1870	Segregation of Schools	That it shall be the duty of the trustees, in their respective districts, to make all necessary arrangements for the instruction of the white and colored youth of the district in separate schools. They shall provide the same facilities for each, both as regards school-houses and fixtures, and the attainments and abilities of teachers, length of term-time, etc.; but the children of the white and colored races shall not be taught together in any sub-district of the State.[108]
1872	Board of Education in each district required to create a school system for the children in their district. Segregation required within the school system.	That it shall be the duty of said boards of education, in their respective districts, to make all necessary arrangements for the instruction of the white and colored youths of said districts in separate schools; they shall provide the same facilities for each, both as regards school-houses and fixtures, attainments and abilities of teachers, and length of term time, but the children of the white and colored races shall not be taught together in any school of this State.[109]
1874	$8,000 to Atlanta University for free tuition for colored students in lieu of the colored populations claim for the Agricultural Land Scrip donated by Congress.	That the sum of eight thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby, annually appropriated to the Atlanta University, upon condition that said Institution shall admit for instruction in the same as many colored pupils from each county in the State, free of charge for tuition, as there are or may be members of the House of Representatives of this State from such county, to be nominated by said members, respectively, so long as said appropriation continues: Provided, the Governor shall not draw his warrant for the said sum until the Trustees of said Institution shall have submitted a plan, for the expenditure of said sum, to a Board of Commissioners, consisting of the Chancellor of the State University, and two members of the Faculty of the same to be selected by him, and until such plan, upon such modification as may be required by said Commissioners shall be approved by them, or a majority of them, each year in writing and filed in the Executive office, and said Commissioners shall at all times have authority to exercise all power necessary to see that said fund is faithfully applied according to said plan of expenditure. Appropriation to Atlanta University Condition. Proviso. Power of Commissioners. 9. SEC. II. That the appropriation herein provided for, shall be in lieu of any claim of the colored population of this State upon the proceeds of the Agricultural Land Scrip donated by the Congress of the United States, and the course of instruction in said Institution shall be so far modified as may be necessary to adapt the same to the objects of said grant.[110]
1877	Free segregated education.	There shall be a thorough system of common schools for the education of children in the elementary branches of an English education only, as nearly uniform as practicable, the expenses of which shall be provided for by taxation, or otherwise. The schools shall be free to all children of the State, but separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races[111]

1879	Unclaimed bounties of colored soldiers to be used for tuition to Atlanta University.	There is a large sum of money made up of unclaimed bounties of colored soldiers, now lying idle in the United States Treasury; and, WHEREAS, It seems just and fitting that such money should be used to promote, in the most effective way, the interests of the race to which said soldiers belonged; and, WHEREAS, In the present condition of the race, no disposition of the money seems likely to be so directly and widely productive of good as its use in promoting their education; and, WHEREAS, The advantages of such contemplated disposition of the fund should be available to the largest number; and, WHEREAS, Georgia, by her situation in the midst of the region most densely populated by this race, and by her great railroad facilities, meets this condition; therefore, be it Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of Georgia, in General Assembly met, That the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of Congress, from Georgia, be respectfully requested to urge the early passage of such legislation as will secure a large portion of this fund to the Atlanta University, an institution already founded and aided by the Peabody Fund, and by the State of Georgia; be it Atlanta University.[112]
1883	Amendment to Act re: Free tuition for colored students to Atlanta University	Provided further, that in case any member or members of the House of Representatives shall, upon application being made to the respective representatives to make said appointment, and refusal to appoint or nominate a pupil or pupils for admission in said university, on or before the first day of each term, then it shall be lawful for the county school commissioner of such county to nominate, from each county from which no appointment has been made, as many colored pupils to said university as such county has representatives.[113]
1883	Taxes collected from Negroes will fund their schools.	That the white and colored children of said city shall be taught in separate schools, and the money derived from the taxation of the white population shall be appropriated solely to the establishment and maintenance of schools for the white children, and that derived from the taxation of the colored population, shall in like manner be appropriated solely to the establishment and maintenance of schools for the colored children.[114]
1911	The state is to set up a free school system for all the children in the State. Segregation within the school systems required.	There shall be a thorough system of common schools for the education of the children, as nearly uniform as practicable, the expense of which shall be provided for by taxation, or otherwise. The schools shall be free to all children of the State, but separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races.[115]
1917	School to train colored teachers.	Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the course of study in said school shall emphasize the elementary branches of an English education, thorough training in agriculture, domestic science, and the mechanical arts, and in general all those studies which in the opinion of the trustees would be most suitable for the training of colored teachers for the schools of Georgia.[116]
1945	Teachers that teach whites and Negroes students together will not receive compensation from the common school fund.	Colored and white children shall not attend the same schools; and no teacher receiving or teaching white and colored pupils in the same schools shall be allowed any compensation out of the common school fund.[117]

1960	Municipal corporations allowing integration of school system are stripped of power to levy taxes for the support and maintenance of that public school system.	1959 Act amended. Section 2. The authority hereby conferred upon municipal corporations to levy taxes may be exercised only for the purpose of levying such taxes for the support of separate public schools for the white and colored races. Whenever any public school system operated by any municipal corporation of this State shall admit any member of the colored race to any school maintained by said school system for members of the white race, or shall admit any member of the white race to any school maintained by said school system for members of the colored race, or shall otherwise admit members of the white and colored races to the same school, then all power conferred upon any such municipal corporation by this Act shall immediately terminate and cease to be effective and no such municipal corporation shall thereafter have power or authority to levy any tax, ad valorem or otherwise, for the support and maintenance of public schools[118]

Table 21.11 Case Law

Year	*Law Summary*	*Law*
1871	Peonage	Bryan v. State 44 Ga. 328 (1871)
1872	Peonage	Ryan v. State 45 Ga. 128 (1872)
1883	Civil Rights cases that struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875	United States v. Stanley (The Civil Rights Cases), 109 U.S. 3 (1883).
1904	Voting	Jamison v. Wimbish, 130 F. 351, 355 (S.D. Ga. 1904), rev'd, 199 U.S. 599 (1905)
1905	Voting	Clyatt v. United States, 197 U.S. 207 (1905)
1906	Peonage	Hudgins v. State 126 Ga. 630 (1906)
1907	Peonage	McBride v. O'Neal 128 Ga. 473 (1907)
1942	Voting	Taylor v. State of Ga., 315 U.S. 25 (1942)
1945	Ended the white primary	King v. Chapman, 62 F. Supp. 639 (M.D. Ga. 1945)
1955	Ruled segregation in public recreational facilities was unconstitutional	Holmes v. Atlanta, November 7, 1955, 350 U. S. 879
1963	Voting	*Gray v. Sanders*, 372 U.S. 368 (1963)
1964	Voting	*Wesberry v. Sanders*, 376 U.S. 1 (1964)

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Appendix I:
Resolution 2021-0277

A RESOLUTION CREATING AND ESTABLISHING THE FULTON COUNTY REPARATIONS TASK FORCE TO RESEARCH THE FEASIBILITY OF SLAVERY REPARATIONS FOR BLACKS WHO LIVE IN FULTON COUNTY, GEORGIA; AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

WHEREAS, the institution of slavery existed in the United States from its founding in 1776 and ended in 1865 with the end of the American Civil War and the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, freeing an estimated four million Black/African American people; and

WHEREAS, the prolonged enslavement of Black/African-American people, including the various forms of continued involuntary solitude after the abolishment of slavery, has had a detrimental effect on Black/African-American people to this day United States; and

WHEREAS, the remnants of slavery have resulted in Black/African-American people being denied fair, adequate, and safe housing through redlining policies; being grouped into public housing projects; being denied mortgages; being steering to less desirable neighborhoods; gentrification practices; and intentionally being located next to environmentally toxic industries which have adversely impacted their health; and

WHEREAS, the vestiges of slavery have resulted in Black/African-American people experiencing disproportionately low employment rates, reduced opportunities to fully participate in the local job market, unfair denial of business loans, inadequate health care, food deserts, disproportionate imprisonment, and poor schools and educational opportunities, among other things; and

WHEREAS, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners recognizes that like most, if not all, communities in the United States, the Fulton County

community and its various local governments have allowed and perpetuated endemic racial disparities through the use of many regulatory and policy-oriented tools; and

WHEREAS, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners desire to take action to begin to address the historical wealth and opportunity gaps that the Black/African-American residents of Fulton County have experienced; and

WHEREAS, generally defined, reparations for slavery are the compensation in various forms to victims of slavery and/or their descendants; and

WHEREAS, reparations are also defined as the making of amends for a wrong one has done, by paying money to or otherwise helping those who have been wronged; and

WHEREAS, reparations can take numerous forms, including: individual monetary payments, settlements, scholarships, waiving of fees, systemic initiatives to offset injustices, land-based compensation related to independence, apologies and acknowledgements of the injustices, token measures such as naming a building after someone, or the removal of monuments and renaming of streets that honor slave owners and defenders of slavery; and

WHEREAS, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners seeks to explore the feasibility of reparations to Black/African-American residents of Fulton County residents by creating a taskforce to research the feasibility of slavery reparations for Black/African-American who live in Fulton County; and

WHEREAS, this taskforce would include an examination into how slavery helped both public and private businesses that resulted in lasting disparities in Black/African-American communities; and

WHEREAS, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners believes that it will be beneficial to all citizens of Fulton County to create the Fulton County Reparations Task Force to study the feasibility of reparations for slavery to Black/African-American residents of Fulton County.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Board of Commissioners of Fulton County hereby creates and establishes the Fulton County Reparations Task Force (the "Reparations Task Force").

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Reparations Task Force shall, among other things, function to analyze the feasibility of slavery reparations for Black/African-American Fulton County residents.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Reparations Task Force shall serve as an advisory body to the Board of Commissioners to investigate and provide recommendations to the Board of Commissioners regarding priorities, objectives, and policies which will support the revitalization, preservation, and stabilization of the Black/African-American population in Fulton County in the form of reparations.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Reparations Task Force shall have the following members: Each Commissioner shall appoint one (1) member. Each member shall be a resident of Fulton County at the time of the appointment. A member shall serve for a two year term and subject to removal

by the appointing Commissioner for cause. No member's term shall exceed that of the appointing Commissioner, but shall remain as a voting member until replaced or reappointed by the successive Commissioner.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that monetary compensation will not be provided to appointed members or other volunteers for participation on the Reparations Task Force.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the County Attorney is hereby authorized to assist the Reparations Task Force with the drafting of its bylaws, consistent with the requirements of Fulton County, to include conflict of interest safeguards.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the County Manager or his/her designee will make meeting space and accommodations for the Reparations Task Force as needed, and the Reparations Task Force shall report on the findings and proceedings of its meetings to the Board of Commissioners after the meeting occurs and annually through the Clerk to the Commission.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Reparations Task Force shall sunset on December 31, 2025, unless continued by action of the Board of Commissioners.

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that this Resolution shall become effective upon its adoption, and that all resolutions and parts of resolutions in conflict with this Resolution are hereby repealed to the extent of the conflict.

SO PASSED AND ADOPTED, this 14th day of April, 2021.

FULTON COUNTY BOARD
OF COMMISSIONERS

SPONSORED BY:

By: _____
Marvin S. Arrington, Jr., Esq.
Commissioner, District 5

By: _____
Natalie Hall
Vice-Chair, District 4

By: _____
Khadijah Abdur-Rahman
District 6

ATTEST:

_____
Tonya R. Grier
Clerk to the Commission

APPROVED AS TO FORM:

_____
Kaye W. Burwell
Interim County Attorney

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ITEM # 2021-0277 RM 4.14.21
REGULAR MEETING

Appendix II:
Resolution 2022-0544

A RESOLUTION TO AMEND RESOLUTION NO. 21-0277 CREATING AND ESTABLISHING THE FULTON COUNTY REPARATIONS TASK FORCE TO MODIFY THE NUMBER OF APPOINTEES ALLOWED BY EACH MEMBER OF THE FULTON COUNTY BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS AND TO DEFINE THE QUORUM NEEDED FOR THE REPARATIONS TASK FORCE TO TRANSACT BUSINESS; AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

WHEREAS, on April 14, 2021, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners approved a Resolution (Agenda Item #21-0277) creating and establishing the Fulton County Reparations Task Force (the "Reparations Task Force") to research and explore the feasibility of slavery reparations for Blacks/African-Americans who live in Fulton County, Georgia; and

WHEREAS, the Reparations Task Force serves as an advisory body to the County and charged to investigate and provide recommendations to the Board of Commissioners regarding priorities, objectives, and policies which will support the revitalization, preservation, and stabilization of the Black/African-American population in Fulton County in the form of reparations; and

WHEREAS, under Resolution No. 21-0277, the Reparations Task Force shall have the following members: "Each Commissioner shall appoint one (1) member. Each member shall be a resident of Fulton County at the time of the appointment; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Commissioners desires more participation in the Reparations Task Force and believes that adding more members to the Reparations Task Force would help facilitate productive discussions on various viewpoints, augment its researching capabilities, to enhance that recommendations that the Reparations Task Force will provide to the Board of Commissioners; and

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 21-0277 creating the Reparations Task Force is silent on what constitutes a quorum for the Reparations Task Force to transact business; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Commissioners seeks to clarify what constitutes a quorum for the Reparations Task Force to conduct business; and

WHEREAS, Fulton County Code of Laws ("FCC") § 1-117 give the Board of Commissioners exclusive authority over the affairs of the County.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Board of Commissioners of Fulton County hereby amends Resolution No. 21-0277 establishing the Reparations Task Force to provide that each Commissioner shall appoint two (2) members, for a total of 14 members.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that Resolution No. 21-0277 is further amended to provide that a quorum for the purposes of the Reparations Task Force transacting business shall be a majority of members duly appointed by Commissioners without regard to any vacancies or non-appointments by any Commissioner.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, except for amending the membership and quorum provisions of Resolution 21-0277 establishing the Reparations Task Force, all other provisions of Resolution 21-0277 shall remain unchanged.

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that this Resolution shall become effective upon its adoption, and that all resolutions and parts of resolutions in conflict with the provisions of this Resolution are hereby repealed to the extent of the conflict.

SO PASSED AND ADOPTED, this 3rd day of August, 2022.

FULTON COUNTY BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS

SPONSORED BY:

By: _____
Marvin S. Arrington, Jr., Esq.
Commissioner, District 5

ATTEST:

_____
Tonya R. Grier
Clerk to the Commission

APPROVED AS TO FORM:

_____
Y. Soo Jo
County Attorney

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ITEM # 22-0544 RM 8.3.22
REGULAR MEETING

Conclusion:
A Path Toward Restorative Justice and Repair

The *Fulton County Reparations Harm Report* is not merely a moral or philosophical argument for reparations. It is grounded in documented, measurable facts. This report demonstrates that Fulton County's prosperity was built on a racialized economy that first taxed enslaved people as property and later overtaxed their citizen descendants. Enslaved Black people were assessed as assets whose appraised value financed the county's earliest infrastructure and private fortunes. After emancipation, the same fiscal logic persisted: Black residents paid higher property taxes, received inferior or no public services, and watched as their neighborhoods were systematically undervalued and underdeveloped.

Generations of Black families endured segregation, imprisonment, disenfranchisement, and dispossession. They were denied the very opportunities and protections their taxes helped sustain. These findings make clear that acknowledgment of past wrongs alone is insufficient. True equity requires restitution, structural reform, and sustained investment in the communities whose unpaid labor, unfair taxation, and civic exclusion financed the county's growth. This Harm Report stands as both an indictment of systemic exploitation and a blueprint for transformation. It serves as a roadmap for transforming historical truth into actionable justice.

By confronting its own history, Fulton County has taken the first step toward restitution and reconciliation. The next phase is repair. This step demands a full and unwavering commitment from the Fulton County Board of Commissioners to acknowledge and fulfill the moral and economic debt owed to the Black people whose value, labor, taxes, and suffering built the county's foundation.