



April 29, 2021

Thomas Nanninga

VIA EMAIL – tning70@yahoo.com

Re: FOIA request dated & received 4/26/21

Subject: All communication within the district between school administrators, teachers, the school board and outside groups or government agencies from June 1, 2020 to the date of this request that mentions the 1619 Project as it relates to curriculum, teacher training, and future planning related to the 1619 Project. Clarification 4/28/21: Omit any emails from vendors about the 1619 project unless it relates to the District contracting the vendor for curriculum, training, or future planning relating to the 1619 Project.

This letter will serve as Oswego Community Unit School District 308's response to your April 26, 2021 request under the Freedom of Information Act (5 ILCS 140/1 et seq.), in which you asked for the above referenced information. The information regarding your request is attached.

To promote district transparency and assist others who may have a similar question, this responsive document will be posted online on the district's website. To access it, go to [www.sd308.org](http://www.sd308.org) and select *Our District > Freedom of Information Act Request > FOIA Request Responses > FOIA Requests Responses -2021 > then select FOIA ID #21-24*.

Please let me know if you have additional questions. Thank you.

*Carrie Szambelan*

Carrie Szambelan  
Freedom of Information Officer

SUBJECT: 7th grade curriculum team - resource  
FROM: Kelli Springsteen <kspringsteen@sd308.org>  
TO: Beth Gray <bgray@sd308.org>, Katherine Barry <kbarry@sd308.org>, James Morrison <jmorrison@sd308.org>, Shanda Apple <sapple@sd308.org>, Joseph Mann <jmann@sd308.org>  
DATE: 28/09/2020 13:32

Sharing a possible resource.

**1619 project from the NYTimes.**

"The goal of The 1619 Project is to reframe American history by considering what it would mean to regard 1619 as our nation's birth year. Doing so requires us to place the consequences of slavery and the contributions of black Americans at the very center of the story we tell ourselves about who we are as a country."

Mrs. K. Springsteen  
Social Studies  
Thompson Junior High School

SUBJECT: Sunday Series: View our latest Black History Month Text Sets and lessons  
FROM: Newsela <hello@newsela.com>  
TO: kbarry@sd308.org  
DATE: 14/02/2021 12:17



This Black History Month, commit to centering Black narratives across subjects, all year round

Welcome back to "Sunday Series," a curated digest that provides you with timely, relevant content and resources to prepare for upcoming lessons.



For this Sunday Series, we're continuing to honor **Black History Month** by featuring empowering narratives. See below for leveled texts, ready-to-go lessons, and curated content—including our brand new **"Being Seen: Black Artists & Writers"** and **"Trailblazing Women"** Text Sets—that you can implement immediately into your classroom.

No matter which subjects or grade levels you teach, the culturally relevant resources below will help you center Black voices, drive anti-racism and anti-bias in the classroom, and help students reflect on their own identities and experiences—not just this month, but all year long.

We want all students and teachers to be able to access Newsela's robust resources during Black History Month. If you don't have a license to Newsela's curricular products, click the button below to get complimentary access throughout the month of February.

[GET COMPLIMENTARY ACCESS](#)

#### NEW TEXT SET

## Being Seen: Black Artists & Writers



These texts explore the ways in which Black art and literature have left their imprint on American society, through stories of Black artists and writers who have offered meaningful insight into the experience of being Black in America.

[EXPLORE THIS CONTENT](#)

#### TEXT SETS BY SUBJECT

## Celebrate Black contributions to literature and art throughout history



TEACHER-CURATED TEXT SET: ELA

**The Cultural  
Explosion of the  
Harlem Renaissance**



TEXT SET: SOCIAL STUDIES

## The Future is Black



TEXT SET: SOCIAL STUDIES

## Celebrating Black Musicians and Artists

NEW TEXT SET

## Trailblazing Women



This new Text Set teaches students about Black women past and present who have overcome significant odds and forged a new path for Black youth to be their own trailblazers around the world.

[SHARE THESE STORIES](#)

TEXT SETS BY SUBJECT

## Understand the legacy of Black trailblazers in the arts, in our communities, and beyond



TEXT SET: ELA

## Black Women Poets



TEXT SET: SOCIAL STUDIES

## Celebrating Black Community and Political Activists



TEXT SET: SCIENCE

## STEAM and the Black Experience

FEATURED TEXT SET

## Resistance and Liberation



These texts highlight Black Americans' active roles in fighting for their own freedom throughout history, connecting past and present to celebrate their push for liberty in all areas of life.

EXPLORE PAST & PRESENT

TEXT SETS BY SUBJECT

## Examine culture-shifting resistance movements and their impacts on society



TEXT SET: SOCIAL STUDIES

## The New York Times: The 1619 Project



TEACHER-CURATED TEXT SET: ELA

## Exploring Resistance Movements in the United States

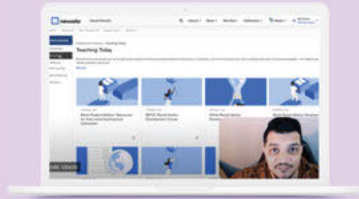


TEXT SET: SOCIAL STUDIES

## Celebrating Black Leaders in STEM

FEBRUARY COMMUNITY CROWDSOURCE

## New anti-bias, anti-racist sample lessons and educator resources throughout February



All month long, model educators will be sharing sample lessons, how-to videos, and other valuable teacher resources in the Newsela Community. If you're not a member yet, join today.

[ACCESS NEW RESOURCES](#)

We want all students and teachers to be able to access Newsela's robust resources during Black History Month. If you don't have a license to Newsela's curricular products, click the button below to get complimentary access throughout the month of February.

[GET COMPLIMENTARY ACCESS](#)



620 8th Avenue, 21st Floor  
New York, NY 10018

[Email Preferences](#)



This email was sent to [kbarry@sd308.org](mailto:kbarry@sd308.org)

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SUBJECT: Fwd: We stand with educators, students, and families against racial inequity  
FROM: Anna Gibson <agibson01@sd308.org>  
TO: Katrina Beedle <kbeedle@sd308.org>  
DATE: 04/06/2020 07:14

----- Forwarded message -----

From: **Terry from ReadWorks** <[engagement@readworks.org](mailto:engagement@readworks.org)>  
Date: Wed, Jun 3, 2020 at 4:06 PM  
Subject: We stand with educators, students, and families against racial inequity  
To: Anna Gibson <[agibson01@sd308.org](mailto:agibson01@sd308.org)>

# ReadWorks

The Solution to Reading Comprehension

Dear Anna,

At this pivotal moment for our country, we stand with educators, students, and families against racial inequity.

At ReadWorks, we are a community dedicated to helping all students become successful readers. The ability to read successfully by 4th grade can change an individual's trajectory for life, lowering both the chance of falling into abject poverty and the risk of being imprisoned, as well as improving chances of graduation. Yet access to a strong reading education is one of the many structural inequities facing Black communities in our country. While only 35% of all 4th graders in the US can read at grade level, only 18% of African American 4th graders\*, a devastatingly worse rate, are reaching that goal.

We believe that equitable access to education can transform communities and our nation. We can and we must do better to provide our Black students with the education they deserve.

Yet while we continue our work, education will not bring back the lives we've lost. In light of the ongoing acts of police brutality and violence against the Black community, including the recent killings of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Ahmaud Arbery, our hearts go out to their families and loved ones, and we want to express that we stand in solidarity with peaceful protestors exercising their constitutional right to have their justified anger heard.



To the educators grappling with how to handle this moment of pain and trauma with your students, we have compiled a few free resources that may offer you guidance:

- The National Museum of African American History & Culture provides guides for talking about race for educators, families, and others: <https://nmaahc.si.edu/learn/talking-about-race>
- The 1619 Project provides reading guides, activities, and other resources for reframing U.S. history from the date when the first enslaved Africans arrived on Virginia soil: <https://pulitzercenter.org/lesson-plan-grouping/1619-project-curriculum>
- PBS Newshour provides lessons for 6th-12th graders around the murder of George Floyd and ensuing protests: <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/daily-videos/the-death-of-george-floyd-sets-off-massive-protests/>
- Teaching Tolerance provides a package on teaching about race, racism, and police violence: <https://www.tolerance.org/moment/racism-and-police-violence>
- Facing History and Ourselves provides resources for educators on the history of racism in our country along with this specific teaching idea to reflect on George Floyd's death: <https://www.facinghistory.org/educator-resources/current-events/reflecting-george-floyds-death-police-violence-towards-black-americans>

There is a lot more that we at ReadWorks can and must do. Before the next school year begins, we will commit to specific goals to do more to dismantle historic inequity through these initiatives:

- Develop new and expanded ways that our content and curriculum can work to tackle the inequitable ways American history and other stories are told, along with specific goals to amplify Black stories and Black voices
- Formalize and recommit to our own diversity, equity, and inclusion at an organizational level
- Listen as much as possible, particularly increasing channels for input and feedback from the Black community, to learn how we can better serve our educators and students of color

We are grateful for the trust so many educators have put in ReadWorks over the years, and we remain committed to doing all we can to help usher in a brighter future for all Americans. We look forward to continuing the conversation.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Terry".

Terry Bowman  
Executive Director, ReadWorks

\*<https://www.nationsreportcard.gov/reading/nation/achievement/?grade=4>



**Terry Bowman**  
Executive Director

**ReadWorks.org**

[Donate Now](#)

As a nonprofit, we rely on support from individuals like you. If you like what we do, please consider supporting us—every dollar counts!



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You are receiving this email because you opted in via our website.

Sent to: [agibson01@sd308.org](mailto:agibson01@sd308.org)

[Unsubscribe](#)

ReadWorks, 68 Jay Street , Suite 426 , Brooklyn, NY 11201, United States

SUBJECT: Re: We stand with educators, students, and families against racial inequity  
FROM: Katrina Beedle <[kbeedle@sd308.org](mailto:kbeedle@sd308.org)>  
TO: Anna Gibson <[agibson01@sd308.org](mailto:agibson01@sd308.org)>  
DATE: 05/06/2020 11:02

We need to get some money from PTA to purchase diverse books to share. Do you think we can order them this summer?

I'm watching an ig live between 2 slp's on the topic.

They're giving strategies and great book recs.

I'll share more info later!

All the specialists could rotate and volunteer to read in a different class each week. That way every student is being exposed to a new book each month.

Maybe we could work this into our schedule.

**Katrina Beedle, M.S., CCC-SLP**  
**Old Post Elementary**  
**630-636-3430**

On Thu, Jun 4, 2020 at 7:14 AM Anna Gibson <[agibson01@sd308.org](mailto:agibson01@sd308.org)> wrote:

SUBJECT: Re: Grant possibility  
FROM: Amy Howerton <ahowerton@sd308.org>  
TO: Katherine Conant <kconant@sd308.org>  
DATE: 03/02/2021 07:55

Thanks, Katie! I'll check it out!  
-Amy

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Amy Howerton, she/her  
English Department Chair, English educator  
EdD & National Board Certified Teacher  
Oswego High School  
630-636-2088  
[Educator Website](#)

Currently reading: *Me and White Supremacy* by Layla F. Saad  
[One Book, One School](#): *Born a Crime* by Trevor Noah

On Tue, Feb 2, 2021 at 8:29 PM Katherine Conant <[kconant@sd308.org](mailto:kconant@sd308.org)> wrote:  
Hello!

I just came across this and thought maybe some of the department might want to try for this . . .

P. S. - It's an awesome podcast if you haven't listened to it yet!

[https://pulitzercenter.org/blog/announcing-1619-project-education-network?  
fbclid=IwAR02dYG07oLlgrJAq8GRlAxm\\_PDbu46PNeka2z6723YM0dhe2LPnERj0Oi8](https://pulitzercenter.org/blog/announcing-1619-project-education-network?fbclid=IwAR02dYG07oLlgrJAq8GRlAxm_PDbu46PNeka2z6723YM0dhe2LPnERj0Oi8)



SUBJECT: Fwd: Fw: Fwd: THE 1776 REPORT VS THE 1619 PROJECT AND THE CANCEL CULTURE (critically important!)

FROM: [REDACTED] >

TO: Matthew Engelhardt <mengelhardt@sd308.org>

DATE: 07/03/2021 15:27

ATTACHMENTS (20210307-152722-0000000): "[The Presidents Advisory-1776-Commission-Final-Report.pdf](#)", "[Shedding Sunlight on the Insane and Phony.docx](#)", "[Rossi.docx](#)"

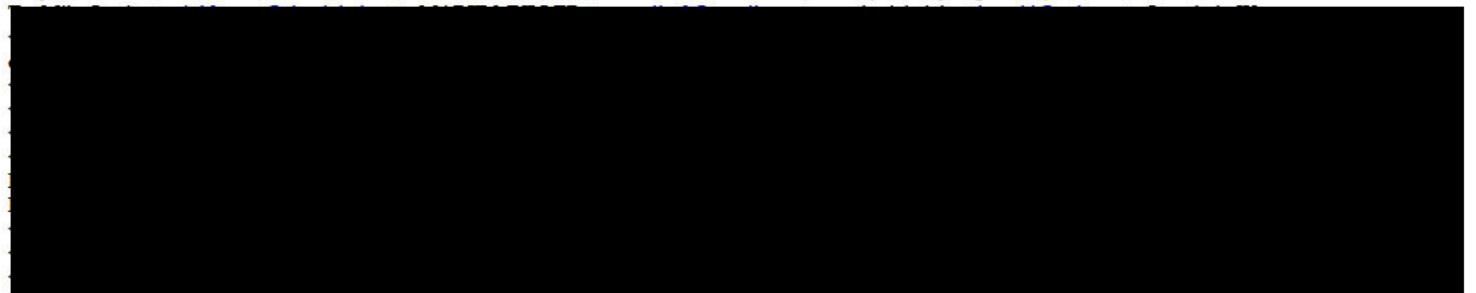
Sometime I would like your opinion on this article that was sent to me. I have my thoughts, but I would love to hear your comments. I hope you know that I love to hear your insights and opinions.

----- Forwarded message -----

From: Bill Lay [REDACTED]

Date: Sun, Mar 7, 2021 at 2:12 PM

Subject: Fw: Fwd: THE 1776 REPORT VS THE 1619 PROJECT AND THE CANCEL CULTURE (critically important!)



If nothing else, read the section on slavery in the report.

[Sent from Yahoo](#)

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Below is a great and important email from a good friend whose two grand-children were poisoned with the horrible "1619 Project" that teaches our kids that America is evil and based on slavery. He sent this to a long list of his friends and family to help them all protect their kids from this treasonous attack on our great country. Included in his email (attached) is a copy of the great "1776 Commission" done by President Trump and his team to spread the truth about our great nation's history which everyone should read to remind them of what we used to be taught in school. I am honored that he also included two emails I did that also defend our great republic's history (also attached).

If every loyal American spread this word to their friends and family as my friend has, we can easily protect our kids and grandkids from this evil "1619 Project" that attacks our great republic. I hope that you share this with all your friends and family!!

Regards,

Randy Rossi

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**From:** Bill Jacobs

**Subject:** THE 1776 REPORT VS THE 1619 PROJECT AND THE CANCEL CULTURE

Recently two of my grand children tried to tell me that the United States was a terrible country and was founded on slavery and most of our revered historical figures had to be wiped out and removed from history. Also, that Columbus was a racist and the devil incarnate. Where is this coming from? Part of it is from our admittedly biased media but unfortunately it also comes from some of our schools and teachers who have adopted the preachings of the 1619 Project promoted by the NY Times. This program unfortunately describes a totally fraudulent history and has lent support to the current Cancel Culture.

To address this rewrite of history and effort to destroy the greatness of our basic foundations The President's Advisory 1776 Commission undertook to draft a document entitled the 1776 Report. I find this a very scholarly document that should be mandatory reading for every citizen. Even if you do not agree with all of it, you owe it to yourself, your children and grandchildren to understand and articulate the true history and background of our founding and exceptionalism. Unfortunately in January this commission was disbanded and the report was removed from government web sites. I can only ask WHY?

The below paragraphs are lifted from the beginning of the introduction: Read them and I hope you are intrigued enough to read the entire report which I have attached.

" In the course of human events there have always been those who deny or reject human freedom, but Americans will never falter in defending the fundamental truths of human liberty proclaimed on July 4, 1776. We will—we must—always hold these truths. The declared purpose of the President's Advisory 1776 Commission is to "enable a rising generation to understand the history and principles of the founding of the United States in 1776 and to strive to form a more perfect Union." This requires a restoration of American education, which can only be grounded on a history of those principles that is "accurate, honest, unifying, inspiring, and ennobling." And a rediscovery of our shared identity rooted in our founding principles is the path to a renewed American unity and a confident American future.

The Commission's first responsibility is to produce a report summarizing the principles of the American founding and how those principles have shaped our country. That can only be done by truthfully recounting the aspirations and actions of the men and women who sought to build America as a shining "city on a hill"—an exemplary nation, one that protects the safety and promotes the happiness of its people, as an example to be admired and emulated by nations of the world that wish to steer their government toward greater liberty and justice. The record of our founders' striving and the nation they built is our shared inheritance and remains a beacon, as Abraham Lincoln said, "not for one people or one time, but for all people for all time." Today, however, Americans are deeply divided about the meaning of their country, its history, and how it should be governed....

I have also attached two emails from my good friend Randy Rossi that express some of his concerns about the 1619 project also. Thought you might be interested in his observations also.

Like I said, if you have children or grand children you owe it to them to read and understand this report.

God Bless you All

Bill Jacobs





## Begin Your Anti-Racism Journey

The televised murder of an unarmed black man, George Floyd, has sparked something inside all Americans. Many have mourned, others have marched, and some have shown solidarity through monetary donations. The sheer number of individuals that are feeling called to act is historic and frankly, awe-inspiring. As a black woman and mother to 3 black children, I've never been seen in this way before. It is heartening to know that others are waking up to the injustices that have plagued our nation for centuries and that the status quo is no longer acceptable.

As educators, we see this tragedy, the renewed social justice movement and think, What can I do? Our hearts ache for our students, many of whom have not been able to process their feelings with peers and trusted adults at school. We want to understand, offer support, and make sustainable changes. Many educators I've connected with have been seeking resources that they can draw on over the summer to build their knowledge of the roots of systemic racism, white supremacy, white privilege, and social justice movements like Black Lives Matter. They are in desperate need of guidance on how to start these courageous conversations with colleagues and students that lead to real systemic change.

We hope the list of resources we've gathered below can offer you a pathway towards personal understanding and guide your planning as you dig into this important work for and with your students.

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### Systemic Racism

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#### UNDERSTAND:

- [When Educators Understand Race and Racism](#)-- Examines what becomes possible when educators understand race and racism.
- [Segregated by Design](#)-- This eye-opening short film examines the forgotten history of how our federal, state and local governments unconstitutionally segregated every major metropolitan area in America through law and policy.



- [10 Things Every White Teacher Should Know When Talking About Race](#)- Blogger and Author Angela Watson breaks down her 10 suggestions to help white teachers navigate tough conversations about race.

ACT:

- [The Concept of Race Lesson from Facing History](#)-- In this lesson, students define and analyze the socially constructed meaning of race, examining how that concept has been used to justify exclusion, inequality, and violence throughout history.
- [Teaching Strategies to Support Critical Thinking and Dialogue](#)-- These activity ideas can be applied to any topic to support deeper thinking and constructive discussions.

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## White Privilege and White Supremacy

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UNDERSTAND:

- [Why Talk About Whiteness?](#)-- Directed at white readers, this article stimulates dialogue about whiteness and helps the reader move from defensiveness, denial, guilt and shame, toward a place of self-empowerment and social responsibility.
- [What Is White Privilege, Really?](#)-- Understanding the historic origins of the term and its impact on systems is a prerequisite to any anti-bias work.
- [Cracking the Codes: Joy DeGruy "A Trip to the Grocery Store"](#)-- This short video shows how one woman uses her white privilege to stand up to systemic inequity.

ACT:

- [You and White Supremacy: A Challenge to Educators](#)-- Learn about author Layla Saad's work to guide readers through a challenging examination of white supremacy in their lives.
- Look over the graphic [Overt and Covert White Supremacy](#) and reflect on your past, current thoughts/beliefs, and implications of these convictions.



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## Policing in America

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### UNDERSTAND:

- [American Police](#)— Learn about the origins of American policing and how those origins put violent control of Black Americans at the heart of the system.
- [The School-to-Prison Pipeline](#)-- Find out how schools are increasingly becoming a gateway to the criminal justice system and ways that you can interrupt the pattern.
- [Pushout: The Criminalization of Black Girls in Schools](#)-- This documentary takes a closer look at the educational and disciplinary disparities facing black girls in school.

### ACT:

- [Policing in America: Using Powerful Topics and Tasks to Challenge, Engage, and Empower Students](#)-- Watch as a group of high school students read complex texts about policing in America in preparation for an academic discussion.
- [Teaching “The New Jim Crow”](#)-- Teach the powerful text by Michelle Alexander using this complete curriculum guide for grades 9-12.

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## Racial Justice Movement

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### UNDERSTAND:

- [Why Teaching Black Lives Matter Matters, Part 1](#)-- Learn the basic facts about the movement’s central beliefs and practices.
- [Just Mercy](#)-- Now available FREE on You Tube, this 2020 film tells the true story of author and Harvard educated lawyer Bryan Stevenson’s journey to fight an unjust legal system.



- [Mass Incarceration Podcast](#)— This 50-min podcast outlines the origins of the U.S. criminal justice system and how racism has shaped our culture of mass incarceration in America.

ACT:

- [Bringing Black Lives Matter Into the Classroom, Part 2](#)-- This article brings the movement to the classroom opening the door to larger conversations about truth, justice, activism, healing, and reconciliation.
- [Social Justice Standards](#)-- This leveled set of anchor standards and age-appropriate learning outcomes provides a common language and organizational structure to help guide curriculum development, and ensure schools are more just, equitable and safe.

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### **More resources for personal and professional learning:**

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#### **Watch**

- [CNN/Sesame Street Racism Town Hall](#)
- [Robin DiAngelo on PBS](#)
- 13th (Ava DuVernay) - Netflix
- American Son (Kenny Leon) - Netflix
- The Hate U Give (George Tillman Jr.) - Hulu with Cinemax
- When They See Us (Ava DuVernay) - Netflix
- Selma (Ava DuVernay) - Available to rent

## Read



- [Children Are Not Colorblind: How Young Children Learn Race](#)
- [Reading Ladder to Help Kids Understand Black Lives Matter](#)
- [These Books Can Help You Explain Racism and Protest to Your Kids](#)
- [Black Lives Matter Virtual Library for Kids](#)
- [An Essential Reading Guide For Fighting Racism](#)

## Listen

- [Brené Brown + Ibram X. Kendi-- "How to Be an Antiracist"](#)
- [The 1619 Project](#) by The New York Times
- [Seeing White](#) by Scene on Radio
- [Code Switch](#) by NPR

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**Did you know that Learners Edge offers 3 personalized continuing ed courses that allow you to earn credit for reading, watching and listening to professional resources that interest you? Take a look!**

- [iCourse, Topics in the Field](#)-- Choose your book, and begin learning through reflection and the design of a unit, project, program or staff training.
- [Group Book Study](#)-- Just grab a few friends and choose a book to study. You'll meet, discuss, reflect and apply your learning together.
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about

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# COMMUNITY AGREEMENTS

## LISTEN.

We agree that we will actively listen as information is presented to us. We agree that, as we listen, we will reflect on the ways that we have upheld white supremacy and white culture.

## LEARN.

We agree that we will learn "out loud": modeling for ourselves and those around us what it means to be a life-long learner, changing our minds when presented with new information. We agree that a part of our learning is owning our mistakes - without qualifying them or making excuses - and making amends.

## ACT.

We agree that we will have courageous and critical conversations within our homes, communities, and schools. We agree that we will continuously evaluate the ways in which we can act - in allyship, as an accomplice, and as a co-conspirator - and follow through in those actions. We agree that we will act in our homes, our schools, and our communities.

## DISMANTLE.

We agree that our goal is to dismantle white supremacy and white culture; to be anti-racist in all the spaces that we inhabit. We agree that we must hold ourselves and each other accountable, today and every day, in this pursuit. We agree that acting as a co-conspirator is essential to this pursuit and we will relentlessly work to do so in as many spaces as we can.

# VOCABULARY

WORD	DEFINITION
Race	A social construct used to categorize populations of people by biological factors such as skin color, hair color, etc.
Ethnicity	A social construct used to categorize populations of people by cultural expression and identification.
Racism	A system of oppression based on prejudice + power. While all people can hold prejudices and discriminate, only white people can be racist as it requires the institutional power held by <u>all</u> white people.
Privilege	Unearned and earned advantages and benefits experienced by a dominant social group. Privilege can be intersectional.
Bias	The process of associating stereotypes or attitudes towards groups of people with and without conscious awareness.
Intersectionality	The ways in which our multiple identities create a compounded experience of power and oppression at multiple levels of society.
Tone Policing	A conversational tactic that dismisses the ideas being communicated when they are perceived to be delivered in an angry, frustrated, sad, fearful, or otherwise emotionally charged manner. It diverts attention to the tone of the message rather than the message itself.

# VOCABULARY

WORD	DEFINITION
Prejudice	A preconceived idea or opinion based on stereotypes. When acted upon, these prejudiced beliefs become discrimination.
Power	Access to resources, decisions, and to decision makers in order to get what you want done; the ability to influence others and to define reality for yourself and others. Power can show up as visible or hidden and can show up as power over others or with others.
Culture	The values, knowledge, and beliefs of a particular social group; may include, but not limited to, language, religion, music, art, social habits, etc.
Microaggression	Verbal, behavioral, and environmental communications, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate a hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to a person of a marginalized group.
Color Blindness	Lack of acknowledging the race of others and ignoring the discrepant experiences of races within a system; treating everyone in the system the same way without recognizing the reality of race. Implies recognizing differences is negative or off-putting.



# MEET THE TEAM



## BRANDON FLEMING

Brandon P. Fleming's story of struggle, success, and service has inspired hundreds of thousands around the world. An at-risk youth and college dropout turned award-winning educator, Fleming is Assistant Debate Coach at Harvard University and Founder/CEO of the Harvard Diversity Project. Fleming was recruited to join the Harvard debate faculty at the age of 26. Harvard later approved Fleming's proposal to establish a new department within the university system called the Harvard Diversity Project – an unprecedented pipeline program that the Harvard Debate Council adopted as its subsidiary. Fleming now leads an executive staff and board that has raised over half a million dollars to enroll over 75 students of color into Harvard's international summer residency on full scholarship. Fleming recruits underserved youth with no prior debate experience who he then trains to compete against hundreds of elite debaters from over 25 different countries around the world. Each cohort trained by Fleming has won the competition, with the most recent group achieving an unprecedented undefeated record as global champions. News of the achievement instantly went viral and broke national headlines, being featured on CNN, CBS, Good Morning America, and many more. The organization has since gained the financial backing of Fortune 100 companies such as The Coca-Cola Company, UPS, Chick-fil-A, Kaiser Permanente, Warner Media, and many more. Fleming has established a groundbreaking organization that is pipelining Black youth into Ivy League and elite colleges & universities. His students have now matriculated to Harvard, Yale, Stanford, and others alike on full scholarship. Fleming's story, erudition, and achievements have enabled him to use his voice to inspire and impact lives in places ranging from federal prisons to global platforms such as the United Nations General Assembly. At the age of 29, Fleming was named to the Forbes 30 Under 30 list.



## DR. SHAUN WOODYLY

Dr. Shaun Woodyly has dedicated his professional career to education. He is a decorated K-12 teacher, university professor and author whose deep passion and research have allowed him great success as an educator and entrepreneur. He is the architect behind the educator movement "Teach Hustle Inspire" and has written the best-selling book "MC Means Move the Class: How to Spark Engagement and Motivation in Urban and Culturally Diverse Classrooms". In both education and life, Dr. Woodyly believes in having fun! He educates with love, enthusiasm, motivation and hustle!





## DR. DONALD GRANT JR.

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Dr. Donald E Grant Jr began his career as a middle school science teacher in Baltimore MD after graduating from Hampton University with a Bachelors' degree in Biology. He currently holds a doctorate in Clinical Psychology and serves in two Executive Director roles, one with his boutique training and consulting firm Mindful Training Solutions and the other at Pacific Oaks College's Center for Community and Social Impact (CCSI). Dr Grant has a long history of direct mental health service delivery and administrative oversight for foster care systems, child welfare programs, education systems and homeless mental wellness services. Dr. Grant is an international speaker and workshop facilitator, film and TV consultant and published author. His latest book "Black Men, Intergenerational Colonialism and Behavioral Health: A Noose Across Nations" is available now.



## MORGAN INGRAM

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Morgan was born and raised in Frederick, Maryland. Upon receiving her Bachelor of Science in Elementary Education from Towson University, she relocated to San Diego, California in 2016. Morgan teaches 5th and 6th grades and she currently serves as the equity lead at her school site. In this role, she helps to implement teaching practices rooted in equity for all students. She is passionate about anti-bias, anti-racist education and equity work because she believes in empowering each student to fully embrace who they are, and to see themselves as change agents in our communities.



## SARAH PLUNITALLO

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Sarah Plunitallo, or "Plum" as she's known to her students and colleagues, is currently an elementary ESOL teacher in Woodbridge, VA. Sarah holds undergraduate and graduate degrees in elementary education (K-6), and most recently her Ed.S in administration and supervision (K-12). As a mom of two boys with special needs, Sarah recognizes the challenges facing many students and families, particularly during the elementary and middle school years. Her focus is on the power of authentic relationships between school and home, and the inclusion of social-emotional learning in all classrooms. Sarah believes that every single child has the capacity for success, and that as educators we must work tirelessly to support students and families in achieving their goals.





## MARIAH COOPER

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Mariah Cooper is a third year Public Relations Major and Women's Studies Minor at the University of Georgia. She serves on the Executive Boards of Women In Media, Active Minds (a mental health advocacy organization), and the Student Alumni Association at UGA.



## JAMES HOGUE

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James Hogue is a native of Detroit Michigan. He currently resides in Kansas City, Missouri where he serves as the director of Youth Programming at a non-profit called The Hope Center. Before that, James was the Lead Director at Kids Across America Camps, a non-profit Christian sports camp for under-resourced youth. Mr. Hogue however, got his start teaching 5th-grade social studies. He has over 10 years of education and ministry experience leading and teaching others. His daily desire is to use every ounce of his being to help those within his sphere of influence to be the best version of themselves.



## BARRY WHITE JR.

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Barry White Jr., popularly recognized as the "Handshake Teacher," is a top tier educator in the South Carolina school system. As an educator for the past three years, Mr. White has made it his mission to build relationships with students and create a family oriented atmosphere, where students can be ensured that their voice matters. He strives to inspire through innovative teaching practices, and by nurturing creativity amongst young scholars. In 2016, Mr. White discovered that a practice he'd implemented as a sign of trust between him and his students, had gone viral. Mr. White's increasing popularity stemmed from the recording, which depicted him giving personalized handshakes to each of his students, attracting attention all over the world. His purpose is to stress the importance of individuality and the positive impact that giving individualized attention to each student can have. Mr. White received the 2019 Back Fathers Rock Surrogate Father of the year and the CMPD; Community MVP award for his outstanding work in the community and the city of Charlotte. He has also been featured in the Charlotte Observer, highlighting his efforts in starting after school programs at his school. Mr. White has made appearances on the Steve Harvey Show, The Today's show, and Kevin Hart's TKO series. It is his goal to create opportunities that will generate collegiate interests amongst students and propel them to strive for greatness beyond their local surroundings. Barry White Jr. has been instrumental in youth empowerment, encouraging youth to utilize their platforms and gifts to motivate and inspire others. He believes in pushing children to be global leaders, fostering both universal and cultural awareness.



## PRINCIPAL AMEN RAHH

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Amen Mandela Rahh is known as the Revolutionary Principal for how he has built and founded University Parkways Public Service Academy High School also known as "The U". The U is an urban public school in South Central Los Angeles. Principal Rahh distinguished himself in the classroom and as a school leader. As an middle school teacher in Watts, CA, he was selected as the turnaround teacher which ultimately helped him obtain his position as dean of students. As a principal, he founded one of the most highly-regarded schools in the area by students and parents. Currently, Principal Rahh is one of the most engaging speakers for transforming the way schools serve their at-risk populations in America. He is a published author of a chapter he wrote in the book titled Restorative Practices Meets Social Justice. He is also a recipient of many educational, professional and community awards such as the Tommy Jacobs Legacy Leader Award, Changing The Educational Narrative Award, and The People of Change Award to name a few. He was born and raised from Compton, California. Amen received an Associates Degree from Compton Community College, his Bachelors of Arts Degree in Black Studies, from Cal State University, Dominguez Hills. He holds two Master degrees in Education and in Special Education from Cal State University, Dominguez Hills. Amen is a certified trainer of trainers in Restorative Justice by the Institute of Restorative Practices (IRP). Amen began his Professional career as a Special Education Assistant. The U is currently in its second year and with his diverse skills he has gathered through his career he has led the school to establish itself as a model school for building a Restorative Community as well as establishing school-wide systems to improve student achievement.



## LANESHA TABB

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LaNesha Tabb is an apron donning primary educator from Indianapolis, Indiana. She is the content creator behind Education With An Apron where she creates fresh and innovative teaching resources. When LaNesha is not in the classroom teaching kindergarten, you can find her speaking at education conferences all over the United States, sharing teaching strategies and ideas on her social media channels, and serving as a wife and mom to her two young children. LaNesha wholeheartedly believes that little children can do BIG things, have BIG thoughts, and carry out BIG conversations. This belief embedded throughout the work that she widely shares with educators.



## NAOMI O'BRIEN

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I'm Naomi O'Brien. I have taught K-5 with a heavy focus and love for kindergarten and first grade. I attended the University of Central Florida and majored in Elementary Education. I have taught K-2 multiple times. I was a Prek/K teacher for one year and a K-5 gifted and talented teacher for a year as well.

My teaching style is very hands on. It's important for me to help the students make connections and feel like they own everything we are learning about. I like to make school fun and educational at the same time. I am also all about social studies! I have been making it a priority in the classroom since 2016 and it was the classroom shift I never knew I needed!

I am a very vocal anti-racist activist and I interact with people daily to help educate and learn along with me.



## MIKE AND NITA CREEKMORE

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Nita and Michael Creekmore believe in the advocacy of marginalized students. They have collectively worked with kids and in the field of education for 33 years. They are married with 4 children ages 16, 14, 12 and 6 and currently live just outside Atlanta, Georgia.

Nita is currently a K-5 Instructional Coach. Prior to becoming a coach, Nita taught grades 1, 2 and 5 for 13 years. She has been working in field of education for 16 years. She also is known as @Love.Teach.Bless on Instagram.

Michael is a Professional School Counselor (grades 4th and 5th grade) and a Licensed Professional Counselor. He has worked in the counseling field for 17 years. He is also known as @Bearded.School.Counselor on Instagram.





about

**SHARE ON SOCIAL:**

**TAG:**

@GETYOURTEACHON  
@CALLMESHIVY

**HASHTAG:**

#getyourteachon  
#beaboutitlive



# DAY ONE:

## **MONDAY, JUNE 1<sup>ST</sup>**

**10:00-10:15 Welcome**

**10:15 – 10:30– Brandon Fleming**

**10:30– 11:30 – Dr. Shaun Woodly**

**11:30 – 12:30 – Dr. Donald Grant**

**12:30-1:30 – Lunch**

**1:30 – 2:30 – Morgan Ingram & Sarah Plumitallo**

**2:30-3:30 – Mariah Cooper**

**3:30 – 4:30 – Brandon Fleming**

**4:30-5:30 – Morgan Ingram & Sarah Plumitallo**

**5:30 – 6:00 – Learning Out Loud Panel**

**\* EXACT TIMES SUBJECT TO CHANGE**



# **IT WAS ALL A DREAM: HOW RACISM DERAILS CLASSROOM SUCCESS** WHETHER YOU REALIZE IT OR NOT.

WITH DR. SHAUN WOODLY

#BEABOUTITLIVE



**"Racism isn't an event, it's a system." – Dr. Shaun Woodly**

**DISCIPLINE:**

**SYMPTOMS = \_\_\_\_\_**

**NOTES:**

**"How many times have we taught about the New Deal and not Redlining"? – Dr. Shaun Woodly**

[illegible]



# **MINDFUL DISCOMFORT**

**PUSHING THROUGH TO A NEW YOU.**

**WITH DR. DONALD GRANT JR.**

**#BEABOUTILIVE**

**"Mindfulness allows us to have thoughts pass through us without making judgment". – Dr. Donald Grant**

**REFLECTION: HOW CAN I PRACTICE MINDFULNESS?**

**PREJUDICE VS. DISCRIMINATION**

**RACISM VS. DISCRIMINATION**

**CAN ANYONE BE RACIST OR SEXIST?**



[illegible]



# THE ROOT CAUSE:

White Privilege, Immunity, and Complicity

WITH MORGAN INGRAM & SARAH PLUMITALLO

#BEABOUTITLIVE

**"When you refrain from disrupting whiteness you are being complicit in racism". – Morgan Ingram**

REFLECTION: IF YOU ARE WHITE/WHITE-PASSING, WHAT IS IT ABOUT WHITENESS THAT MAKES YOU FEEL UNCOMFORTABLE?

WHITE PRIVILEGE VS. IMMUNITY

REFLECTION: IF YOU ARE WHITE/WHITE-PASSING IN WHAT WAYS HAS WHITE PRIVILEGE/IMMUNITY MANIFESTED IN YOUR LIFE RECENTLY?

REFLECTION: IF YOU ARE WHITE/WHITE-PASSING HOW HAS WHITENESS ALLOWED YOU PROTECTION AND INOCULATION?

**"It's impossible to fix and divest from whiteness unless we know how we participate in it." – Sarah Plunitallo**

[illegible]





# WHAT I WISH MY WHITE TEACHERS KNEW

WITH MARIAH COOPER

#BEABOUTITLIVE

**"If there isn't a word to describe your experience it's almost like it doesn't exist." - Mariah Cooper**

1. Talking about race is uncomfortable

2. Language is important

- Black
- African American
- P.O.C.

3. Update your language with the times

- Intersectionality
- Horizontal Oppression

4. Racism is unconscious

Question: What will I be aware of and recognize when I go back to the classroom?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

5. Don't pressure your Black students to be accepted

6. Black children are not for your entertainment

7. Humanize Black children

## This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.



# CRITICAL TALK FOR CRITICAL TIMES.

WITH BRANDON FLEMING

#BEABOUTITLIVE



**"Society doesn't need debate, it needs discourse."  
– Brandon Fleming**

Appreciate complexity

Tolerate uncertainty

Seek to understand before making an argument

Ask, in what ways?

Speak the truth in LOVE

## This image shows a full page of white paper with horizontal grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page, providing a template for handwriting practice or general writing. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the page.



# THE ENDLESS JOURNEY:

ALLY, ACCOMPLICE, CO-CONSPIRATOR

WITH MORGAN INGRAM & SARAH PLUMITALLO

#BEABOUTITLIVE

**"By any means necessary." Malcom X, 1965.**

REFLECTION: HAVE YOU FELT DEFENSIVE DURING THIS CONFERENCE?

REFLECTION: WHEN WAS A TIME THAT YOU RECENTLY EXPERIENCED WHITE FRAGILITY?

REFLECTION: IN WHAT WAYS HAVE YOU USED KINDNESS AS A DEFLECTION OR DEFENSE?

REFLECTION: WHAT WAYS CAN I REFRAME THAT?



	<b>Ally</b>	<b>Accomplice</b>	<b>Co-conspirator</b>
<b>Risks</b>			
<b>Definition</b>			
<b>Home</b>			
<b>Work</b>			
<b>Community</b>			

**How have you acted as an ally in the home, workplace, and community?**

Who is a model for you?

**How have you acted as an accomplice in the home, workplace, and community?**

Who is a model for you?

**How have you acted as a coconspirator in the home, workplace, and community?**

Who is a model for you?

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# LEARNING OUT LOUD.

PANEL DISCUSSION

#BEABOUTILIVE

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# DAY TWO:

**10:00-10:30 Welcome**

**10:30-11:30 – Bakari Sellers**

**11:30 – 12:30 – James Hogue**

**12:30 – 1:30 – Lunch**

**1:30-2:30 – Barry White Jr.**

**2:30-3:30 – Amen Rahh**

**3:30-4:30 – Naomi O’Brien & LaNesha Tabb**

**4:30 – 5:30 - Mike & Nita Creekmore**

**5:30 – 6:00 - Be About It Panel**



# MY VANISHING COUNTRY

WITH BAKARI SELLERS

#BEABOUTITLIVE

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# STARTING FROM ZERO

LEARNING HOW TO SHIFT FROM  
RESENTMENT TO RESPECT.

WITH JAMES HOGUE

#BEABOUTILIVE

**"A title only gives you time to prove or disprove what your students already think about you." – James Hogue**

**UNDERSTAND HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

**HOW DO YOU FIGHT UNFAIRNESS?**

**RESPECT:**

**TWO TYPES OF QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER:**

### **Mr. Hogue's Relationship Challenge**

<b>CLASS</b>	<b>NAMES</b>	<b>BIRTHDAY</b>	<b>INTERESTS</b>	<b>PEOPLE THAT LIVE IN THE HOME</b>

[illegible]



# EXAMINING CLASSROOM CULTURE

WITH A CRITICAL LENS.

WITH BARRY WHITE JR.

#BEABOUTITLIVE

**"See students for who they are and not what they know."  
– Barry White Jr.**

**NOTES:**

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:**

**OWNERSHIP:**

**PERSPECTIVE:**

**REFLECTION: HOW WILL I AVOID THE TOURIST APPROACH IN MY CLASSROOM?**



[illegible]



# BECOMING A REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATOR

WITH PRINCIPAL AMEN RAHH

#BEABOUTITLIVE

**"When you build a model based on exceptions you leave everyone behind." – Amen Rahh**

## 1. Self Awareness

- Do you believe systemic racism exists today?
- Why or Why not?
- Examples:

## 2. Organizational Awareness

## 3. Cultural Awareness

## 4. Restorative Justice

## 5. Relationships

## 6. Mission and Vision Work

[illegible]



# HISTORY HAS ITS EYES ON YOU! BUT DO YOU HAVE YOUR EYES ON HISTORY?

WITH NAOMI O'BRIEN & LANESHA TABB

##BEABOUTILIVE



[illegible]



# YOUR HEAR WORK IN ACTION.

WITH MIKE AND NITA CREEKMORE

#BEABOUTILIVE

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# BE ABOUT IT.

## PANEL DISCUSSION

#BEABOUTITLIVE

[illegible]





# **BONUS CONTENT:**

**Session 1: Dr. Mariel Burquè**

**Session 2: Monique Waters**

**Session 3: Johora Warren**

**Session 4: Donovan Smalls**

**Session 5: Hayward Jean**



# RACIAL TRAUMA

WITH DR. MARIEL BUQUÈ

#BEABOUTITLIVE

[illegible]



# LITTLE MINDS. BIG IMPACT.

DOING THE WORK IN K-2.

WITH MONIQUE WATERS

#BEABOUTITLIVE



## This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.



**DON'T HESITATE.**  
**EDUCATE.**

WITH JOHORA WARREN

#BEABOUTITLIVE

## This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.



# THE “PROBLEM” CHILD.

WITH DONOVAN SMALLS

#BEABOUTITLIVE

[illegible]





# EDUCATE TO ELEVATE.

WITH HAYWARD JEAN

#BEABOUTITLIVE

## This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

# LANGUAGE SUPPORTS

## LISTEN + ACT.

Dismantling white supremacy and white culture includes disrupting it in all our spaces: home, school, and community. This disruption may come through planned or spontaneous action or conversation. It is necessary to have the language needed to disrupt, particularly in spontaneous situations.

## SUGGESTED THINGS TO SAY

While this is not an exhaustive list of responses, it is a starting point.

SITUATION	RESPONSE
Someone says or does something that's racist. (Including things intended as a joke.)	<p>"Stop. That is not okay."</p> <p>"What you said is hurtful to people."</p> <p>"What you said is rooted in racism."</p> <p>"That isn't funny. That is racist."</p> <p>"When you joke about that, you're really saying that (what's racist in their statement) is true. Do you believe that?"</p> <p><i>You can provide further context by using this sentence starter: "What you said is racist because..."</i></p>

# LANGUAGE SUPPORTS

SITUATION	RESPONSE
<p>Someone selects a text or activity that is racist or dehumanizes the experience of those facing racism.</p> <p>i.e. reading a book that softens depictions of slavery; an activity simulating the Underground Railroad</p>	<p>"We shouldn't use this text/activity. It reinforces racist stereotypes."</p> <p>"We shouldn't use this. It does not accurately depict history."</p> <p>"We shouldn't use this. The voices of Black people are missing."</p> <p>"We shouldn't use this. It trivializes the experience of enslaved Black people."</p> <p><i>You can provide further context by using this sentence starter: "This text/activity reinforces racism because..."</i></p>
<p>"All lives matter." said in response to "Black lives matter" or in conversation alone.</p>	<p>"Saying 'all lives matter' in response to 'Black lives matter' ignores the systemic racism Black people face. It silences their voices."</p> <p>"Every human's life should matter, but the reality Black people face in America does not demonstrate that their lives matter. Our actions need to match our words."</p>

# LANGUAGE SUPPORTS

SITUATION	RESPONSE
"But I'm not racist! Why are you making this a race thing?"	<p>"All white people are capable of saying and doing racist things."</p> <p><i>If you're white:</i> "I say and do racist things too. It does not mean I am a bad person. It means I am still unlearning white supremacy and white culture. I cannot be anti-racist unless I recognize how I am racist."</p> <p>"Racism is a part of every aspect of our society. There's no such thing as making something a 'race thing' - racism is a part of what we say and what we do."</p>



# CONTINUE YOUR LEARNING

## BOOKS.

**Note:** Please purchase these books from Black-owned booksellers.

- *So You Want to Talk About Race?* by Ijeoma Oluo
- *Me and White Supremacy* by Layla Saad
- *How to Be Anti-Racist* by Ibram X. Kendi
- *Stamped / Stamped from the Beginning* by Ibram X. Kendi
- *The New Jim Crow* by Michelle Alexander
- *Why Are All The Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations About Race* By Dr. Beverly Daniel Tatum
- *Pushout* by Monique Morris
- *This Book Is Anti-Racist: 20 Lessons on How to Wake Up, Take Action, and Do the Work* by Tiffany Jewell

## DOCUMENTARIES.

- *13th* by Ava DuVernay
- *Teach Us All* by Sonia Lowman
- *LA 92* by T. J. Martin and Daniel Lindsay
- *Whose Streets?* By Sabaah Folleyan

## PODCASTS.

- NPR's "Codeswitch" - <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/>
- Pod Save the People - <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/pod-save-the-people>
- 1619 - <https://www.nytimes.com/column/1619-project>

## PATREONS.

- Marie Beecham - <https://www.patreon.com/wastefreemarie>
- Rachel Cargle - <https://www.patreon.com/thegreatunlearn>
- Britt Hawthorne - <https://www.patreon.com/britthawthorne/>
- Blair Imani - <https://www.patreon.com/americanididwhat>
- Tiffany Jewell - <https://www.patreon.com/AntiBiasMontessori/>
- Ijeoma Oluo - <https://www.patreon.com/IjeomaOluo>
- Layla F. Saad - <https://www.patreon.com/laylafaad>
- The Conscious Kid - <https://www.patreon.com/theconsciouskid>
- No White Saviors - <https://www.patreon.com/user?u=13938785>

# ALL THINGS GYTO...

YOU DON'T WANT TO MISS WHAT'S HAPPENING NEXT!

**TO STAY UP TO DATE  
ON ALL THINGS GYTO  
FOLLOW US AT:**

**@GETYOURTEACHON**

**@GETYOURLEADON\_**

**@HEYHOPEKING**

**@HEYWADEKING**

**TO STAY UP TO DATE ON  
ALL THINGS TEACHER TALK  
LIVE FOLLOW:**

**@CALLMESHIVY**

**#BEABOUTITLIVE**

COULDN'T MAKE IT TO GYTO LAST YEAR?

# MORE CONTENT STRAIGHT TO YOUR COUCH!



IF YOU WEREN'T ABLE TO JOIN US FOR LAST YEARS 2019-2020 CONTENT OF GYTO, NOW'S YOUR CHANCE. AND THE BEST PART? ONCE AGAIN, WE ARE BRINGING OUR CONTENT STRAIGHT TO YOUR COUCH. CATCH THESE CONTENT SPECIFIC SESSIONS AND WORKSHOPS OF SOME OF LAST YEAR'S GYTO SESSIONS....COMING SOON!



JOIN US FOR A LIVE EVENT WITH ALL NEW CONTENT!

# THE GET YOUR TEACH ON NATIONAL CONFERENCE



COMING TO ORLANDO, FLORIDA

# LABOR DAY WEEKEND!

GRAB YOUR TICKETS AT [GETYOURTEACHON.COM](http://GETYOURTEACHON.COM)

Hi, Friends!

Not sure if you've seen this, but this is a comprehensive teacher's guide for the book Stamped. Obviously, we aren't teaching it to kiddos, but it offers thoughtful and reflective questions/ideas that might be helpful to spark your own thinking... and hopefully interesting discussion!

Tara

--

*Mrs. Stortz*

*Fifth Grade*

*Homestead Elementary School*

**CHOOSE KIND**



**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:10:47

Do you know of any good 9/11 activities?

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:10:57

I obviously can't show anything like I would normally

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:13:41

Jk I found a good one

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:13:42

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:14:02

I'll email this out but it can be transferred to the digital space easily

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:14:47

I always just had kids ask whatever Qs they had and fielded answers because I had the comfort level to field them

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:15:20

Well us dam liberal history teachers in US have to tug on some heart strings lol

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:15:34

So am I liberal or conservative for covering 9/11?

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:15:38

\*thinks\*

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:22:47

Both and neither

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:23:08

haha

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:23:19

Also can we talk about the complete circus the RNC has been

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:23:22

It is historic

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:23:33

on how wild the people trump has brought together

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:23:53

LOL one person brought it up in the Civics PLC as proof Trump isn't racist

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:24:04

The pardon, that is

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:24:16

Jeeze

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:24:19

CP?

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:24:33

Because I can't see that Brenda would be that blind to the party

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:24:50

And CP also is fringe dipping into conspiracy theories

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:25:03

And I wish I was joking

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:25:08

Yeah, Brenda got attacked by a parent already for saying the President's name in class

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:25:19

In Civics???

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:25:22

Yep

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:25:26

Like he's Voldemort

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:25:36

Like she didn't say President Trump and instead just said like Donald?

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:25:46

Or actually brought up the president in a Civics class

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:25:52

No, like she mentioned that he was President

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:25:57

GTFO

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:26:00

I'm done

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:26:03

parent is angry that she didn't just call him a racist and move on

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:26:20

it's going to be a rough year teaching controversial stuff

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:27:08

Get out of here

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:27:13

Poor Civics folks

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:32:58

I think it's coming in US, too

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:33:06

Do you guys mention 1607?

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:33:13

1619 rather

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:38:44

We don't

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:38:47

We really should

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:38:59

because that's politicized now

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:39:23

What?

**Aaron Henricks**, 2020-08-26 11:39:50

Tom Cotton introduced a bill in the Senate banning the teaching of the 1619 project as American history

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:42:29

Well I don't think thats a bad thing

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:42:35

Here is the problem though

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:42:40

Realistically for US History

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:42:50

We are at the point where 1 year is too short of a time

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:43:16

Side question

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:43:22

Have you used BReakout rooms?

**Aaron Henricks**, 2020-08-26 11:43:42

I can't get the Chromebook to open Gmail while teaching without freezing

**Aaron Henricks**, 2020-08-26 11:43:48

extensions ain't happening anytime soon

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:43:52

fair enough lol

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/19/magazine/history-slavery-smithsonian.html>

This is from the 1619 Project that has been all over the news lately. I think it's really well written and gets to the point better than the "Birth of Race Based Slavery" article we've done in the past... but will



obviously be controversial. It shouldn't be... but you know.

I was thinking of copying/pasting the "No. 1" section into a doc for the kids to read, properly cited, but with that it solve some of the issues not directly linked to the New York Times.

Thoughts?

--

Aaron Henricks  
Social Studies Teacher  
Youth and Government Adviser  
Democracy School Site Team Member  
Oswego High School  
(630) 636-2414  
[My SD308 Website](#)

I really like this Aaron. It is really well-written as you said. I say try this.

On Tue, Sep 1, 2020 at 2:16 PM Aaron Henricks <[ahenricks@sd308.org](mailto:ahenricks@sd308.org)> wrote:

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/19/magazine/history-slavery-smithsonian.html>

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Aaron Henricks  
Social Studies Teacher  
Youth and Government Adviser  
Democracy School Site Team Member  
Oswego High School  
(630) 636-2414  
[My SD308 Website](#)

--

Jennifer Keto  
Social Studies Department Chair  
AP Seminar Teacher  
Oswego High School  
630-636-2128



I have been looking at this this summer! I really like it!

On Tue, Sep 1, 2020 at 2:22 PM Jennifer Keto <[JKeto@sd308.org](mailto:JKeto@sd308.org)> wrote:

I really like this Aaron. It is really well-written as you said. I say try this.

On Tue, Sep 1, 2020 at 2:16 PM Aaron Henricks <[ahenricks@sd308.org](mailto:ahenricks@sd308.org)> wrote:

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/19/magazine/history-slavery-smithsonian.html>

This is from the 1619 Project that has been all over the news lately. I think it's really well written and gets to the point better than the "Birth of Race Based Slavery" article we've done in the past...



but will obviously be controversial. It shouldn't be... but you know.

I was thinking of copying/pasting the "No. 1" section into a doc for the kids to read, properly cited, but with that it solve some of the issues not directly linked to the New York Times.

Thoughts?

--

Aaron Henricks  
Social Studies Teacher  
Youth and Government Adviser  
Democracy School Site Team Member  
Oswego High School  
(630) 636-2414  
[My SD308 Website](#)

--

Jennifer Keto  
Social Studies Department Chair  
AP Seminar Teacher  
Oswego High School  
630-636-2128

Good afternoon Amy,

I am anything but an expert on this work, but I am very fortunate to be in a district that has had culturally responsive teaching as a part of our strategic plan for the last four years. I can share what I have learned from that vantage point.

One thing that I would say about considering the cultural responsiveness of the curriculum is that this work needs to be done in concert with a consideration of other CRE issues in the school community as a whole. I've found that because we brought a CRE lens to many different aspects of our school culture at the same time (hiring, teacher induction, implicit bias training, evaluation, professional development, parent and community partnerships, clubs and activities, student perceptions of culture, AND DISCIPLINE) we have been able to move more confidently into considerations of our curriculum. Much of the necessary concept development is happening in many different areas of our work in our district, so faculty and staff are not thinking about CRE in a curriculum silo. Folks have a hard time dismissing or waiting out this work because they think it's just another initiative.

I would also note that it is critical that the work of using a CRE lens on the curriculum needs to be done in all disciplines at the same time. Once you get started on this work and begin building the necessary skills and buy-in from teachers, this is going to happen reasonably quickly and easily for English and social science teachers – but the perspective and experience of English and social science teachers is going to be critical to helping along science, math and other disciplines. A big part of this work is giving teachers the time and resources to explore their own teaching identities and bias (choosing content is the easy part) – and it's better to do this work as a school community. If this happens in isolation it might be very hard for other disciplines to catch up...

As far as resources go, I have a few texts I can strongly suggest.

- I have recently begun reading Gholdy Muhammad's Cultivating Genius which provides a really compelling framework for CRE curriculum. It's a book that I really could have used three years ago.
- I reach for Matthew Kay's Not Light But Fire all of the time – and while there are only a few chapters on curriculum, they are really good and the whole book is really a critical tool in understanding how to develop the kind of classroom and school culture where culturally responsive work can flourish.
- Zaretta Hammond's Culturally Responsive Teaching and the Brain is almost totally focused on instruction – but it was a critical table-setting piece for us as it makes the compelling case that what we are learning about CRE and what we are learning about the brain point in the same direction. We've done book groups on the Kay and Hammond books that have been very well-received.
- Joe Feldman's new book on equitable grading is going to be critical for our work in the next two years as we begin to bring our CRE lens to the third rail of grading practices.
- I am also on the lookout for resources to help us better meet the needs of Latinx students. We have invested heavily in the SIOP program and I am so far hopeful about using Margarita Espino Calderon's work here.
- Our CRE professional development curriculum also draws from the work of Gladson-Billings, Gay, hooks, Freire, Howard, Milner, Noguera and Gorski.
- I also strongly encourage teachers to use the 1619 Project, Teaching Tolerance, Teaching Living Poets and Disrupt Texts resources in their planning.

I hope this helps. Have a great weekend

Bc

**Brian Conant**

he/ him/ his

Curriculum Director for English  
 Joliet Township High School District 204  
 ☎ 815-727-6985 / @JTHS\_English

**I am listening to:** *RTJ4* by Run the Jewels

**I am reading:** *There There* by Tommy Orange ([SUMMER READING PROGRAM](#) recommendation)

*The mission of [JOLIET TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOL](#), a historically rich, unified and innovative learning community, is to empower every student to compete and contribute positively to our community and global society by providing a rigorous and personalized education through an academy environment. // Joliet Township High School District 204 is committed to cultivating an inclusive community that values and embraces diversity and respects the humanity of all people.*

**From:** chicago-metro-english-leaders.groups@maine207.org <chicago-metro-english-leaders.groups@maine207.org> **On Behalf Of** Amy Howerton  
**Sent:** Thursday, September 10, 2020 3:48 PM  
**To:** Chicago Metro English Leaders <chicago-metro-english-leaders.groups@maine207.org>  
**Subject:** Re: [CMEL] Culturally Responsive Curriculum

Hello, Chicago Metro English Leaders!

I'm seeking feedback on the Culturally Responsive Curriculum rubric shared by Janet Daniels (thank you!!) over the summer. I've introduced it to my team and they're *very* excited! **Are there other departments out there who have worked with this or other resources to more effectively vet and further develop curriculum?** Although we have done extensive curriculum work in the past 10 years, there is always more good work to be done, especially in the context of our social climate and the addition of the Inclusive Curriculum Law for IL Social Studies courses. We started with these three questions:

- What do students need from us?
- What do we need as instructors?
- Where do we want to be a year from now? (Goal development)

**I'm interested in your department's journey if you've already started down this valuable path.**

Thank you,  
 Amy

--

**Amy Howerton, EdD & NBCT**  
 English Department Chair, English educator  
 Oswego High School  
 630-636-2088  
[Educator Website](#)  
 Show your pride #OHSPanthers!

Currently reading: *Stamped: Racism, Antiracism, and You* by Jason Reynolds and Ibram X. Kendi  
One Book, One School: *Born a Crime* by Trevor Noah

On Thu, Jun 18, 2020 at 11:18 AM Rogalski, Lori <[lrogalski@benet.org](mailto:lrogalski@benet.org)> wrote:

Hello Janet,

Thanks for this excellent resource, it's exactly what I was looking for!

Have a great day.

On Thu, Jun 18, 2020 at 6:59 AM Janet Daniels <[jdaniels@hf233.org](mailto:jdaniels@hf233.org)> wrote:

Good morning,

Wanted to forward this resource. We've started work like this in the last couple of years at HF, but I know we have more to do. I think it really forces some reflection beyond just making a list of what we currently teach in each class.

Not sure if others have seen it, but thought I would share. Have a great day!

<https://research.steinhardt.nyu.edu/scmsAdmin/media/users/atn293/ejroc/CRE-Rubric-2018-190211.pdf>

--

Janet E. Daniels  
 English Department Chair  
 Homewood-Flossmoor High School  
 708.335.5575  
[jdaniels@hf233.org](mailto:jdaniels@hf233.org)

--

You received this message because you are subscribed to the Google Groups "Chicago Metro English Leaders" group.

To unsubscribe from this group and stop receiving emails from it, send an email to [chicago-metro-english-leaders.groups+unsubscribe@maine207.org](mailto:chicago-metro-english-leaders.groups+unsubscribe@maine207.org).

To view this discussion on the web visit [https://groups.google.com/a/maine207.org/d/msgid/chicago-metro-english-leaders.groups/CA%2B6RwunZQuZxvjqQJB72r\\_rJZ0wVu2rU5X4RF%3Dhh3qKsnLKmYw%40mail.gmail.com](https://groups.google.com/a/maine207.org/d/msgid/chicago-metro-english-leaders.groups/CA%2B6RwunZQuZxvjqQJB72r_rJZ0wVu2rU5X4RF%3Dhh3qKsnLKmYw%40mail.gmail.com).

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[leaders.groups+unsubscribe@maine207.org](mailto:leaders.groups+unsubscribe@maine207.org).

To view this discussion on the web visit [https://groups.google.com/a/maine207.org/d/msgid/chicago-metro-english-leaders.groups/CAJHZupyDKmSSGJ%3Dp\\_uWOOW21sjyipwkUzBsk-BphVyrueBD3g%40mail.gmail.com](https://groups.google.com/a/maine207.org/d/msgid/chicago-metro-english-leaders.groups/CAJHZupyDKmSSGJ%3Dp_uWOOW21sjyipwkUzBsk-BphVyrueBD3g%40mail.gmail.com).

--

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To view this discussion on the web visit <https://groups.google.com/a/maine207.org/d/msgid/chicago-metro-english-leaders.groups/CAOegf0%3DVKy6BsMd1RCc-V1wassx6DmZJ3yvEQvFJZGEwgDLDw%40mail.gmail.com>.

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This message is for named person(s) only. It may contain confidential and/or legally privileged information. No confidentiality or privilege is waived or lost should mis-transmission occur. If you receive this message in error, delete it (and all copies) and notify sender. You must not, directly or indirectly, use, disclose, distribute, print, or copy any part of this message if you are not the intended recipient.

Hello!

I just came across this and thought maybe some of the department might want to try for this . . .

P. S. - It's an awesome podcast if you haven't listened to it yet!

[https://pulitzercenter.org/blog/announcing-1619-project-education-network?fbclid=IwAR02dYG07oLlgrJAq8GRlAxm\\_PDbu46PNeka2z6723YM0dhe2LPnERj0Oi8](https://pulitzercenter.org/blog/announcing-1619-project-education-network?fbclid=IwAR02dYG07oLlgrJAq8GRlAxm_PDbu46PNeka2z6723YM0dhe2LPnERj0Oi8)



Thanks, Katie! I'll check it out!  
-Amy

--

**Amy Howerton, she/her**  
English Department Chair, English educator  
EdD & National Board Certified Teacher  
Oswego High School  
630-636-2088  
[Educator Website](#)

Currently reading: *Me and White Supremacy* by Layla F. Saad  
[One Book, One School](#): *Born a Crime* by Trevor Noah

On Tue, Feb 2, 2021 at 8:29 PM Katherine Conant <[kconant@sd308.org](mailto:kconant@sd308.org)> wrote:

Hello!

I just came across this and thought maybe some of the department might want to try for this . . .

P. S. - It's an awesome podcast if you haven't listened to it yet!

[https://pulitzercenter.org/blog/announcing-1619-project-education-network?  
fbclid=IwAR02dYG07oLlgrJAq8GRlAxm\\_PDBu46PNeka2z6723YM0dhe2LPnERj0Oi8](https://pulitzercenter.org/blog/announcing-1619-project-education-network?fbclid=IwAR02dYG07oLlgrJAq8GRlAxm_PDBu46PNeka2z6723YM0dhe2LPnERj0Oi8)

Hi Latonya, I don't think I sent this to you. Here it is.

Drew

--

Drew Mundsinger M.A., Ms.Ed.

*AVID* District Director Secondary

Department Chair LRC Oswego High School



*"The quality of our thinking is shown in the quality of our questions" ~Mary Catherine Swanson AVID Founder*

I am a resident of Oswego and just learned of this mandate to incorporate left-leaning standards into Illinois public schools. The adoption of this proposal would make Illinois schools the most radical in the country (yes, even more so than California and Minnesota). The progressive political issues of Critical Race Theory, the 1619 project, BLM, and identity politics would be mandated standards. As members of the board, have you considered if this agenda is embraced by residents of SD 308? Many of my neighbors and myself feel this is overreach by the state into local school districts and the communities they support. Why should more conservative areas of the state have Chicago ideology imposed upon us?

I can see the adoption of this amendment resulting in dedicated teachers leaving public education and families moving out of state to avoid this indoctrination. I would encourage you to voice your objection to this amendment to our state legislators and ISBE by February 16, which is when a vote will take place.

Thank you for your service to SD 308.

[REDACTED]

Sharing a possible resource.

[1619 project from the NYTimes.](#)

"The goal of The 1619 Project is to reframe American history by considering what it would mean to regard 1619 as our nation's birth year. Doing so requires us to place the consequences of slavery and the contributions of black Americans at the very center of the story we tell ourselves about who we are as a country."

Mrs. K. Springsteen  
Social Studies  
Thompson Junior High School

Hi Samantha-

I thought I should pass these resources along. I haven't had the opportunity to browse them all but it looks like a good list of resources for educators.

Talk soon,

Meismer

[https://cdn2.hubspot.net/hubfs/345105/Anti-Racism%20Resources.pdf?utm\\_campaign=Continuing%20Education&utm\\_medium=email&\\_hsenc=p2ANqtz--5Q7\\_ZgYdBH3WM4qALgyCOT5URj4eOIPjFTiEfN9k8dI790oetS8hXde6Uie0YCL9jUALtSu3SsAbsKb5NPC0Flso-fw&\\_hsmi=89219288&utm\\_content=89219288&utm\\_source=hs\\_email&hsCtaTracking=2d72f25f-ac1e-4a69-9996-38d43623c44a%7C47bd94aa-1516-4d22-b13f-0e4627c77bac](https://cdn2.hubspot.net/hubfs/345105/Anti-Racism%20Resources.pdf?utm_campaign=Continuing%20Education&utm_medium=email&_hsenc=p2ANqtz--5Q7_ZgYdBH3WM4qALgyCOT5URj4eOIPjFTiEfN9k8dI790oetS8hXde6Uie0YCL9jUALtSu3SsAbsKb5NPC0Flso-fw&_hsmi=89219288&utm_content=89219288&utm_source=hs_email&hsCtaTracking=2d72f25f-ac1e-4a69-9996-38d43623c44a%7C47bd94aa-1516-4d22-b13f-0e4627c77bac)

Sent from my iPhone

## GENERAL RESPONSE INFORMATION

Response Start Time: 4/21/2021 11:57:45 AM

Response End Time: 4/21/2021 12:01:51 PM

IP Address: 174.209.4.11, 130.176.11.147

Completed Survey: Yes

Respondent: Anonymous

## SURVEY RESPONSES

SCORE: 0

1. Name

[REDACTED]

2. Email

[REDACTED]

3. Subject

Critical race theory

4. Comment

Watching the news. I wsnt yo know if oswego is teaching critical race theory. 1619 project etc. I think it would be inappropriate to brainwash students into hating themselves for simply being white. All kids need to be kids first. Please send me a curriculum for all grade levels.

Thank you



this is all taken care of now.

On Thu, Apr 22, 2021 at 9:28 AM Communications Communications <[communications@sd308.org](mailto:communications@sd308.org)> wrote:

Hi Faith,

Since this individual is asking for curriculum for all grade levels, I thought I would share this with you first and you can disperse to the appropriate individuals.

Thank you!

The Communications Team  
4175 Route 71, Oswego, IL 60543  
630.636.3672

*Did you know....."Ninety-eight percent of all human communication is non-verbal." Timothee Chalamet*

----- Forwarded message -----

From: <[webmaster@sd308.org](mailto:webmaster@sd308.org)>

Date: Wed, Apr 21, 2021 at 11:01 AM

Subject: New response for survey 'Contact Us - Website'

To: <[communications@sd308.org](mailto:communications@sd308.org)>

#### GENERAL RESPONSE INFORMATION

Response Start Time: 4/21/2021 11:57:45 AM

Response End Time: 4/21/2021 12:01:51 PM

IP Address: 174.209.4.11, 130.176.11.147

Completed Survey: Yes

Respondent: Anonymous

#### SURVEY RESPONSES

SCORE: 0

1. Name

David W Jacobs

2. Email

[dwj435@comcast.net](mailto:dwj435@comcast.net)

3. Subject

Critical race theory

4. Comment

Watching the news. I wsnt yo know if oswego is teaching critical race theory. 1619 project etc. I think it would be inappropriate to brainwash students into hating themselves for simply being white. All kids need to be kids first. Please send me a curriculum for all grade levels.

Thank you

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:10:47

Do you know of any good 9/11 activities?

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:10:57

I obviously can't show anything like I would normally

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:13:41

Jk I found a good one

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:13:42

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:14:02

I'll email this out but it can be transferred to the digital space easily

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:14:47

I always just had kids ask whatever Qs they had and fielded answers because I had the comfort level to field them

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:15:20

Well us dam liberal history teachers in US have to tug on some heart strings lol

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:15:34

So am I liberal or conservative for covering 9/11?

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:15:38

\*thinks\*

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:22:47

Both and neither

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:23:08

haha

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:23:19

Also can we talk about the complete circus the RNC has been

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:23:22

It is historic

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:23:33

on how wild the people trump has brought together

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:23:53

LOL one person brought it up in the Civics PLC as proof Trump isn't racist

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:24:04

The pardon, that is

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:24:16

Jeeze

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:24:19

CP?

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:24:33

Because I can't see that Brenda would be that blind to the party

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:24:50

And CP also is fringe dipping into conspiracy theories

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:25:03

And I wish I was joking

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:25:08

Yeah, Brenda got attacked by a parent already for saying the President's name in class

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:25:19

In Civics???

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:25:22

Yep

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:25:26

Like he's Voldemort

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:25:36

Like she didn't say President Trump and instead just said like Donald?

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:25:46

Or actually brought up the president in a Civics class

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:25:52

No, like she mentioned that he was President

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:25:57

GTFO

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:26:00

I'm done

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:26:03

parent is angry that she didn't just call him a racist and move on

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:26:20

it's going to be a rough year teaching controversial stuff

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:27:08

Get out of here

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:27:13

Poor Civics folks

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:32:58

I think it's coming in US, too

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:33:06

Do you guys mention 1607?

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:33:13

1619 rather

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:38:44

We don't

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:38:47

We really should

**Aaron Henricks,** 2020-08-26 11:38:59

because that's politicized now

**Edward Cann,** 2020-08-26 11:39:23

What?

**Aaron Henricks**, 2020-08-26 11:39:50

Tom Cotton introduced a bill in the Senate banning the teaching of the 1619 project as American history

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:42:29

Well I don't think thats a bad thing

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:42:35

Here is the problem though

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:42:40

Realistically for US History

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:42:50

We are at the point where 1 year is too short of a time

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:43:16

Side question

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:43:22

Have you used BReakout rooms?

**Aaron Henricks**, 2020-08-26 11:43:42

I can't get the Chromebook to open Gmail while teaching without freezing

**Aaron Henricks**, 2020-08-26 11:43:48

extensions ain't happening anytime soon

**Edward Cann**, 2020-08-26 11:43:52

fair enough lol

Hello!

Thanks for holding the open talk. I appreciate the transparency and willingness to listen and give information.

The screenshots include the Main post from Tom/Robyn about ISBE bill. Then there are several comments.

I also took screenshots of the document they refer to later as ridiculous because they focus on CRT.

Let me know if I can get you more information. I am there as an observer, if you get what I mean.

Julianna

--

Julianna Karvelius  
Band Director  
Murphy Webmaster  
Murphy Jr. High School  
630-608-5177  
[jkarvelius@sd308.org](mailto:jkarvelius@sd308.org)  
[Bit.ly/MurphyBand2012](http://Bit.ly/MurphyBand2012)



Good afternoon Latonya and Heidi,

Firstly, Latonya, thank you for all you and the DEI Committee has been doing to promote messages of racial and social justice in our district over the last several years. I can't speak for others, but I have been heartened to see this issue staying in the forefront of the mind of the district. I know that the change we need still seems incredible far away, but the work you all have continued to move forward have at least brought us closer than we were last week, last month, and last year. Thank you.

Many voices shared the need for trauma resources yesterday. I have the opportunity to be working closely with the Illinois Childhood Trauma Coalition on creating a list of resources for people around childhood trauma and racism, and wanted to share those with you in case you felt they would be helpful to share with other members of our group. This list is not completed yet, and will likely be better organized in the near future, but I wanted to share now to get these in to people's hands. We will also likely share some of these on the SCRC Facebook page.

Some of these are just in response to trauma in general, but others are more specifically about the issue related to race. I will continue to share any additional resources that I come across.

Please let me know if there is anything else I can do to support the work needing to be done. Don't hesitate to put me to work, I am willing to help in whatever way I can!

With warmest regards,  
Alli Schuck

Hi all,

Here are a few more helpful resources. I really like the link below, as it talks about the intersection of racism/trauma very well:

<https://childmind.org/article/racism-and-violence-how-to-help-kids-handle-the-news/>



**Alli  
Schuck,  
MSW,  
LSW**  
Pronouns:  
she/her/hers  
Field  
Director  
School of  
Social  
Work  
Aurora  
University  
Orchard  
Center  
(630) 947 -  
8936

Sharing a possible resource.

[1619 project from the NYTimes.](#)

"The goal of The 1619 Project is to reframe American history by considering what it would mean to regard 1619 as our nation's birth year. Doing so requires us to place the consequences of slavery and the contributions of black Americans at the very center of the story we tell ourselves about who we are as a country."

Mrs. K. Springsteen  
Social Studies  
Thompson Junior High School

Thanks, I will start reading through it this week!! Much appreciated. Have a good school year.

Sent from my Verizon Wireless 4G LTE smartphone

----- Original message -----

From: James Morrison <jmorrison@sd308.org>

Date: 08/20/2020 3:38 PM (GMT-06:00)

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: Re: Bednarcik Junior High 7th Grade World History Mr. Morrison

Hi [REDACTED]

I am not familiar with the 8th grade curriculum, but as for 7th grade they will be utilizing the textbook that was sent home and various primary and secondary source documents for analysis. The new 8th grade curriculum is not written yet, so I am not sure what materials they will be using. I hope this helps!

Regards,  
Scott Morrison

Sent from my iPhone

On Aug 20, 2020, at 12:15 PM, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] wrote:

Can you provide what they will be reading the book name? Any information would be greatly appreciated. That way I can go through and read before my kids do. Especially if a new curriculum is coming in. I want to make sure my kids receive the correct history of our country. Its very concerning to me as a Parent what I'm reading from the NEA and other teacher unions on history changes they would like to make. I get mail from them and I shiver each time I read it. . Hoping the 1619 Project they have been pushing for is not being pushed to my daughter.

[REDACTED]

On 08/20/2020 10:11 AM Scott Morrison <jmorrison@sd308.org> wrote:

Hi [REDACTED],

Our district is currently under a curriculum renewal for social studies. What this means is that current 7th graders will have world history and when they move to 8th grade they will have the discovery of the Americas all the way through reconstruction. In the future, they will be having 2 years of U.S. History with 7th grade covering what is currently covered in 8th grade and the new 8th grade curriculum will go from reconstruction and on (to what point has not yet been determined).

I hope this helps! Please let me know if you have any other questions.

All the best,  
Scott Morrison

On Thu, Aug 20, 2020 at 10:04 AM [REDACTED] <  
[REDACTED]> wrote:

Thanks for update! Do you have a curriculum you can share with myself or parents about what will be taught in 8th grade history? If so, please pass along when time permits. Thanks

[REDACTED]

On 08/19/2020 11:29 AM [jmorrison@sd308.org](mailto:jmorrison@sd308.org)  
wrote:

Dear Parents and Guardians,

I want to welcome you to Bednarcik Junior High and to World History class! What a privilege it is for us all to start a new school year together. I would like to introduce myself. My name is Scott Morrison, and I am your student's World History teacher at Bednarcik.

I am really looking forward to starting the school year, even though it's not the "normal start"! I am excited to meet all of my students on our first "Go Live" session on Monday, August 24. Our "Go Live" link can be found in your students' e-mail that will be sent later today. We will be using

Google Classroom every day, so please be sure to join our class so we can start our year!

Attendance is expected everyday during the “Go Live” session. I will be taking attendance and posting it in the Tyler system. If your student is not in attendance, you will receive an automated phone call at the end of the school day.

In addition to our Google Live Meets, at the end of the day, 2:10-3:00, has been set aside for students who may have questions, need extra guidance, and/or revisit topics/skills. Please encourage your student to reach out to me so that we are able to take advantage of this opportunity.

You will also find the syllabus attached to this email. The syllabus goes over basic information including grading policies. In short, grades will either be formative (classwork) and be worth 40% of the overall grade or summative (performance - ex: tests, projects) and be worth 60% of the overall grade.

I look forward to a great year filled with new learning for your World History student. Please don't hesitate to contact me at any time as we work together as a team to ensure a successful year for your student.

I can't wait to “meet” all of your students on Monday!

Thank you,

Scott Morrison

email: [jmorrison@sd308.org](mailto:jmorrison@sd308.org)



--

Mr. Morrison

7th Grade World History and Honors World History

7th Grade Boys and 8th Grade Girls Basketball

Website: [Mr. Morrison's Website](#)

**Subject: This is scary....**

W A R N I N G: This is extremely frightening! Please read to the end!

**Subject: This is scary....**

IA friend checked to see if this is actually  
happening.....and apparently it is.

<https://www.nationalreview.com/corner/ultra-woke-illinois-mandates-are-top-threat-to-u-s-education/>

fyi

----- Forwarded message -----

From: **Julianna Karvelius** <[jkarvelius@sd308.org](mailto:jkarvelius@sd308.org)>

Date: Fri, Feb 12, 2021 at 2:24 PM

Subject: FB - Culturally Relevant Teaching

To: Faith Dahlquist <[fdahlquist@sd308.org](mailto:fdahlquist@sd308.org)>

Hello!

Thanks for holding the open talk. I appreciate the transparency and willingness to listen and give information.

The screenshots include the Main post from Tom/Robyn about ISBE bill. Then there are several comments.

I also took screenshots of the document they refer to later as ridiculous because they focus on CRT.

Let me know if I can get you more information. I am there as an observer, if you get what I mean.

Julianna

--

Julianna Karvelius

Band Director

Murphy Webmaster

Murphy Jr. High School

630-608-5177

[jkarvelius@sd308.org](mailto:jkarvelius@sd308.org)

[Bit.ly/MurphyBand2012](https://bit.ly/MurphyBand2012)



## oswego school

Daily update · January 26, 2021

### NEWS

#### [MACS Alumni Hall Of Fame Seeking Nominations](#)

Oswego Daily News

**MEXICO, NY** – The Mexico Academy & Central School District Alumni Association is seeking nominations for new members to be inducted into the ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

#### [Teens tackle thorny ethical issues in PSU-sponsored Ethics Bowl](#)

Portland State University

Dozens of high school and middle school students from across the region will ... Lake Oswego High School, Lincoln High School, Northwest Academy, ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

#### [Teachers and school staff are now eligible for COVID-19 vaccinations](#)

Pamplin Media Group

25, teachers and school staff are now eligible to get vaccinated. ... an effort to get kids back in the classroom sooner — though her office says teachers are not required to get the shot to come back to school. ... Lake Oswego Review

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

#### [Pulitzer Prize-winning creator of '1619 Project' to headline SUNY Oswego's MLK Celebration Feb. 9](#)

oswegocountynewsnow.com

**OSWEGO** — Nikole Hannah-Jones, the award-winning creator of the New ... Hannah-Jones has written extensively on the history of racism, school ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

#### [Betty Heath: Good news is always welcome](#)

Longmont Times-Call

State University of New York at Oswego is a public college in the City of Oswego and Town of Oswego, New York. Full-time enrollment is 6,767 ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

#### [Mark Alan Bradish](#)

Oswego Daily News

Mark graduated in 1983 from the Mexico **Academy** and Central **Schools**, and Cayuga Community **College** in 1985. He worked for GNB Incorporated ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

## On the market: Portland area homes for sale with year-round outdoor entertainment areas

oregonlive.com

"Incredible opportunity to own a 4+ acre Stafford estate in the Lake **Oswego School** District," says listing agent Justin Harnish with Errol Bradley of ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

## Karen A. Holly

Legacy.com

... from Oneida High **School**, and received her bachelor's degree from SUNY **Oswego**, and later earned her master's in education from Union **College**.

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

## Parents speak on Oregon governor's call to vaccinate educators before seniors

KTVL

For parents who have been rallying for Oregon **schools** to reopen, the ... move," said Steve Coury, head Football Coach for Lake **Oswego High School**.

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

## 'It's very heartbreaking': The IHSA declared game on. But maybe not for Jacques Kelly and the East ...

Chicago Tribune

For high **school** athletes across Illinois last week, that phrase never ... wins over seventh-seeded **Oswego East** and second-seeded Bolingbrook — in ...

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## oswego school

Daily update · January 26, 2021

### NEWS

#### Lake Oswego puts the brakes on early February reopening plan for elementary schools

oregonlive.com

Middle and high school students are expected to transition back to in-person learning in the spring. De la Cruz said she would announce a more specific ...

Flag as irrelevant

#### Two Portland metro school districts delay reopening plans

Pamplin Media Group

As West Linn-Wilsonville and Lake Oswego roll back plans, nine other metro school districts push forward for in-person learning ...

Flag as irrelevant

#### SUNY Oswego Again Recognized As Top Public Online MBA By US News

Oswego Daily News

Oswego was one of four schools in New York state in the top 100 (ranking #62 overall), and the only public college program in the state on that level.

Flag as irrelevant

#### Denise L. Durval

Oswego Daily News

Born in Oswego, she was a daughter of the late Charles Gibson and Hilda Woods and had attended Oswego schools. Denise was a bartender at VFW ...

Flag as irrelevant

#### D308 Budget Cut Plan Includes Teaching Staff Reduction

Patch.com

OSWEGO, IL — The Oswego School District 308 Board of Education ... level, and a decrease of about 50 students at the district's two high schools.

Flag as irrelevant

#### Brenda E. Bailey

Oswego Daily News

She was born April 18, 1949 in **Oswego** to Leslie and Pauline Cummins. Brenda attended the Campus **School** in **Oswego** and was a graduate of ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

## Anna M. Hammond

Oswego Daily News

Born in **Oswego**, she was a daughter of the late George and Lola (Chirullo) Laird and was a graduate of the **Oswego High School**. She retired from the ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

## Section III high **school** sports schedule, scoreboard for Jan. 26

syracuse.com

... of all high **school** sporting events in Section III. Please check back for schedule, scoreboard updates. Boys bowling. Central Square at **Oswego** 3:30 ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

## Pulitzer Prize-Winning Creator Of '1619 Project' To Headline SUNY **Oswego's** MLK Celebration ...

Oswego Daily News

**OSWEGO** – Nikole Hannah-Jones, the award-winning creator of the New ... Hannah-Jones has written extensively on the history of racism, **school** ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

## Joseph Tusso

Oswego Daily News

Joseph graduated from **Oswego High School** and then served in the United States Navy. He was a proud veteran having served from 1943-1946, during ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

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## oswego school

Daily update · February 6, 2021

### NEWS

#### Emerson J. Middle School Students Achieve Gold, Silver Star Status

Oswego Daily News

FREE Independent News for Oswego County. MENU. Home ▸ . Emergency Posts · Today's Weather · News ▸ . Lead Story · Politics · Mayor Minutes ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

#### School District 308 looks at \$5.7M in budget cuts

Chicago Tribune

Oswego-based School District 308 is looking at \$5.7 million in budget cuts to balance future budgets that could include moving all junior high and high ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

#### Pulitzer Prize-winning creator of '1619 Project' to headline SUNY Oswego's MLK Celebration

NNY360

**OSWEGO** — Nikole Hannah-Jones, the award-winning creator of the New York Times Magazine's "The 1619 Project," about the history and lasting ...

▪ ▪ Flag as irrelevant

#### Justin J. Luongo

oswegocountynewsnow.com

8, 1987 in Oakland, California and died on January 21, 2021 in Oswego, New York. ...  
As a high school senior he was captain of the wrestling team. While in middle school, Justin participated in a Coming of Age Ceremony through ...

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**Thomas Nanninga**



Admin · Yesterday at 8:48 AM ·

Our government is about to pass a bill that will require our teachers to reprogram our kids. The government also wants to destroy school athletic programs. This group will also be open to anything related to the schools and our kids. There is a lot that is happening with our kids and their education and most of it is unacceptable. This group will be dedicated to an open discussion on these topics as it relates to how our kids are educated. We are their parents. We are taxpayers. We ultimately have a 100% right to say no. No personal attacks will be allowed.



49 Comments Seen by 84



**Danielle Merten** 🖐️

Is this what they are using now in SD308?

Like · Reply · 1d



**Thomas Nanninga** ⭐

**Danielle Merten** this was sent privately through messenger to me. He is an educator with 308

Like · Reply · 1d



**Natalie Smith** 🖐️

**Danielle Merten** in 2015 (16?) they added LGBT history. My issue with that was the person was being discussed for his/her sexual orientation and not the accomplishment. Now we have boards and admins pushing CRT and 1619 project and this document and model is all part of it. If you read the ISBE document, this one, and the verbage from CRT and 1619, you'll see a lot of carbon copied material.

Like · Reply · 1d





# A GUIDE TO SUPPORT REMOTE TEACHING & LEARNING DURING THE 2020-21 SCHOOL YEAR

In our pursuit of excellent teaching for each and every student, we are consistently guided by our foundational beliefs about learning and our values as educators, which are reflected in the Framework for Teaching (FFT) developed by Charlotte Danielson. That said, the school year ahead will be like no other before it and, we hope, like no other after it. Having recently managed the greatest and most ubiquitous crisis our education systems have confronted in our lifetimes, our teachers now face incredible uncertainty and rapidly evolving and changing understandings of what their lives and work will be like throughout the 2020-21 school year.

Our nation and our field are simultaneously undergoing a racial reckoning that is long overdue. Our country was built on racial inequity, which is reflected in our public education system. Students, families, and communities of color have long borne the trauma of systemic racism. Now that the underlying inequity and trauma systemic racism causes are becoming more public and visible, educators must accept responsibility for acknowledging and working to heal both.

An equity imperative has always been implicit in the FFT. As Charlotte Danielson wrote, "a commitment to excellence is not complete without a commitment to equity" (2007). In this guide, and in all of our work moving forward, we will make this imperative explicit and be unapologetic in our commitment to racial justice. We must acknowledge that our approaches have allowed inequitable systems and unsupportive learning environments to too often go unchecked. Promoting excellence means not only that we focus on best practices and encourage ongoing teacher learning and development, it must mean that we prioritize understanding how practice does or does not center equity and justice - particularly as COVID-19 and systemic racism intersect and pose an ominous threat to communities of color. Good teaching cannot be blind to issues of racial justice. Excellence for some is not excellence at all.



**Robyn Vickers** shared a link.

 New Member · 10h · 



"Information provided by ISBE and the Illinois Education Association (IEA), the statewide teacher union, indicates that the standards would not directly impact curriculum in kindergarten through 12th grade classrooms. Rather, the standards would be applied through a class taken while those studying to become teachers are still in schools, according to the ISBE."

I understand that many people will still be opposed to this, but this is the first clarification I've seen that these standards are for teaching students, not curriculum in the classrooms. I'm not here to convince anyone one way or the other. I just wanted to learn more about the rule and understand both sides of it. I appreciate that [Thomas Nanninga](#) is welcoming those discussions here.

[https://www.shawlocal.com/.../oswego-school-board.../...](https://www.shawlocal.com/.../oswego-school-board.../)





**Thomas Nanninga** 🛡️

Now we know why our school district is broke. I can only imagine what all of these studies and guides cost.

Like · Reply · 1d



**Joel Peter Frederick** 🙋

**Thomas Nanninga** what studies? The framework is probably next to nothing in cost. I mean we found it online for free, right?

Like · Reply · 1d · Edited



**Jennifer Lynn** 🙋

**Thomas Nanninga** Hi Thomas, I work in another district and we use Danielson. It's just a framework. It doesn't cost anything. What schools do pay for is the evaluation tool (kind of like a software program) - we use something called EvaluWise. I will look into what the district uses and it's relative cost. But it's typically very cheap. There is a need for an evaluation tool. Most companies use them as well.

Like · Reply · 22h · Edited



**Thomas Nanninga** 🛡️

Thank you both for the clarification. My bigger issue is the state bill that from my understanding would make these guidelines mandatory. We could start a whole other page on the finances of our school district.

Like · Reply · 22h



**Jennifer Lynn** 🙋

**Thomas Nanninga** We desperately need a page just on finances. It will take a village to fix the finances!

Like · Reply · 21h



1



Natalie Smith 🖐️

**Dominique Castillo** it is teacher evaluation standards, you know, job performance. You know all those "in service" "teacher improvement days"? This is the kind of updates they get. Acting like these standards aren't for current certified teachers is just dishonest.

I realize some here wants to take the tactic that is college teaching, or saying it doesn't directly affect curriculum, I presume in an attempt to make you again think it isn't a big deal.

Let's presume that is true for a moment, if new teachers are coming into the schools only pushing one agenda and/or the teachers are encouraged to adjust their lesson planning to reflect this ideology - how is that going to affect the classroom? Having time for "students of color to express anger", instead of reading and math? Teaching how the nation is systemically racist (and by that they don't mean anything other than white people are inherently racist). I can assure you there won't be any discussion of how blacks are prejudice against hispanics, for example.

Then, are we also to believe that current teachers won't be held to the same standard? The usuals are here using the same tactics to act like we are all just hysterical idiots make a fuss out of nothing.

Like · Reply · 9h



## CREATING ENVIRONMENTS OF RESPECT & RAPPORT (2a)

### PRIORITIES

- Working relentlessly to create a just and supportive classroom that acknowledges and is responsive to systemic racism and the current health crisis.
- Creating safety and space for students to learn, explore, ask questions, and voice reactions to current events. Including:
  - The space to express anger and grief as needed, especially for students of color.
  - The space to explore racial identity and the realities of systemic racism, particularly for white students.
- Modeling self-care and actively reinforcing courage, compassion, and humility through crisis and conflict resolution.

# The New York Times Magazine

August 18, 2019

*In August of 1619, a ship appeared on this horizon, near Point Comfort, a coastal port in the British colony of Virginia. It carried more than 20 enslaved Africans, who were sold to the colonists. America was not yet America, but this was the moment it began. No aspect of the country that would be formed here has been untouched by the 250 years of slavery that followed. On the 400th anniversary of this fateful moment, it is finally time to tell our story truthfully.*

---

The 1619 Project



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IN LIGHT OF ACCOMMODATION,  
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MOVINGLY ASKS IS: CAN

*The New York Times*



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ODATION SEEMS TO BE A WHITE LUXURY;  
JUSTICE SEEMS HOPELESSLY NAIVE.

‘MOCKINGBIRD’ MOST

WE EVER HAVE BOTH?”



JESSE GREEN



ATTICUS FINCH in

ILL A MOCKINGBIRD

Directed  
by

BARTLETT SHER

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# 16

It is not a year that most Americans know as a notable date in our country's history. Those who do are at most a tiny fraction of those who can tell you that 1776 is the year of our nation's birth. What if, however, we were to tell you that this fact, which is taught in our schools and unanimously celebrated every Fourth of July, is wrong, and that the country's true birth date, the moment that its defining contradictions first came into the world, was in late August of 1619? Though the exact date has been lost to history (it has come to be observed on Aug. 20), that was when a ship arrived at Point Comfort in the British colony of Virginia, bearing a cargo of 20 to 30 enslaved Africans. Their arrival inaugurated a barbaric system of chattel slavery that would last for the next 250 years. This is sometimes referred to as the country's original sin, but it is more than that: It is the country's very origin.

Out of slavery — and the anti-black racism it required — grew nearly everything that has truly made America exceptional: its economic might, its industrial power, its electoral system, diet and popular music, the inequities of its public health and education, its astonishing penchant for violence, its income inequality, the example it sets for the world as a land of freedom and equality, its slang, its legal system and the endemic racial fears and hatreds that continue to plague it to this day. The seeds of all that were planted long before our official birth date, in 1776, when the men known as our founders formally declared independence from Britain.

The goal of The 1619 Project, a major initiative from The New York Times that this issue of the magazine inaugurates, is to reframe American history by considering what it would mean to

---

# 10.

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regard 1619 as our nation's birth year. Doing so requires us to place the consequences of slavery and the contributions of black Americans at the very center of the story we tell ourselves about who we are as a country.

Perhaps you need some persuading. The issue contains essays on different aspects of contemporary American life, from mass incarceration to rush-hour traffic, that have their roots in slavery and its aftermath. Each essay takes up a modern phenomenon, familiar to all, and reveals its history. The first, by the staff writer Nikole Hannah-Jones (from whose mind this project sprang), provides the intellectual framework for the project and can be read as an introduction.

Alongside the essays, you will find 17 literary works that bring to life key moments in African-American history. These works are

all original compositions by contemporary black writers who were asked to choose events on a timeline of the past 400 years. The poetry and fiction they created is arranged chronologically throughout the issue, and each work is introduced by the history to which the author is responding.

A word of warning: There is gruesome material in these pages, material that readers will find disturbing. That is, unfortunately, as it must be. American history cannot be told truthfully without a clear vision of how inhuman and immoral the treatment of black Americans has been. By acknowledging this shameful history, by trying hard to understand its powerful influence on the present, perhaps we can prepare ourselves for a more just future.

That is the hope of this project.

*The 1619 Project* / Introduction, Page 1  
 by Nikole Hannah-Jones, Page 14 / *Casey*  
 Page 30 / *A Broken Health Care System*  
 Page 44 / *Traffic*, by Kevin M. Kruse,  
 by Jamelle Bouie, Page 50 / *Medical*  
 Page 56 / *American Popular Music*,  
 by Khalil Gibran Muhammad, Page 70  
 Stevenson, Page 80 / *The Wealth Gap*  
 a photo essay, by Djeneba Aduayom,

#### 400 Years: A Literary Timeline

Page 28 ..... Clint Smith on the Middle Passage  
 Page 29 ..... Yusef Komunyakaa on Crispus Attucks  
 Page 42 ..... Eve L. Ewing on Phillis Wheatley  
 Page 43 ..... Reginald Dwayne Betts on the Fugitive  
 Slave Act of 1793  
 Page 46 ..... Barry Jenkins on Gabriel's Rebellion  
 Page 47 ..... Jesmyn Ward on the Act Prohibiting  
 Importation of Slaves  
 Page 58 ..... Tyehimba Jess on Black Seminoles  
 Page 59 ..... Darryl Pinckney on the Emancipation  
 Proclamation of 1863

Page 59 ..... ZZ Packer on the New Orleans massacre of 1866  
 Page 68 ..... Yaa Gyasi on the Tuskegee syphilis experiment  
 Page 69 ..... Jacqueline Woodson on Sgt. Isaac Woodard  
 Page 78 ..... Rita Dove and Camille T. Dungy on the 16th Street  
 Baptist Church bombing  
 Page 79 ..... Joshua Bennett on the Black Panther Party  
 Page 84 ..... Lynn Nottage on the birth of hip-hop  
 Page 84 ..... Kiese Laymon on the Rev. Jesse Jackson's  
 "rainbow coalition" speech  
 Page 85 ..... Clint Smith on the Superdome after  
 Hurricane Katrina



---

Page 4 / *The Idea of America,*  
*Capitalism,* by Matthew Desmond,  
*System,* by Feneen Interlandi,  
Page 48 / *Undemocratic Democracy,*  
*Inequality,* by Linda Villarosa,  
by Wesley Morris, Page 60 / *Sugar,*  
Page 70 / *Mass Incarceration,* by Bryan  
by Trymaine Lee, Page 82 / *Hope,*  
Page 86 /

Contributors 10 / Puzzles 94, 96, 97 / Puzzles Answers 97 / Endpaper 98

---

#### The 1619 Project Continues

Beyond this issue, you'll also find a special section in today's newspaper on the history of slavery, made in partnership with the Smithsonian, and an article in the Sports section considering the legacy of slavery in professional sports; on Aug. 20, "The Daily" begins a multipart 1619 audio series; and starting this week, in partnership with the Pulitzer Center, The Times is introducing a curriculum and educational outreach effort to bring this material to students (for information, see the inside back cover). Look for more #1619project updates in the weeks ahead.

---

#### Behind the Cover

We commissioned the photographer Dannielle Bowman to photograph the water off the coast of Hampton, Va., at the site where the first enslaved Africans were recorded being brought to Britain's North American colonies. So many of our national narratives feature the arrival of ships to the New World (Christopher Columbus, Plymouth Rock), and yet this arrival, of these "twenty and odd Negroes" in 1619, has generally been left out of our founding myths. Rarely is the disembarking of these people treated with grandeur. We wanted to change that. Photograph by Dannielle Bowman for The New York Times.



# Changing Lives, One Grant at a Time

**B**usiness leader and philanthropist Robert F. Smith inspired the world with his 2019 commencement pledge to pay off the student debt for nearly 400 graduates at Morehouse College in Atlanta. Smith's pledge was a personal one, on behalf of his family, which has been part of the American fabric for eight generations. The gift also focused a public spotlight on Fund II Foundation, a private charitable organization founded in 2014 to grant to public charities the assets of a reserve established when Smith's Vista Equity Partners raised its first private equity fund in 2000.

Fund II Foundation, which Smith leads as President and Founding Director, has awarded nearly \$250 million in grants in nine disciplines: education, social justice, environment, digitization, career readiness, health, music and arts appreciation, cultural preservation and veterans' affairs. Its grantees include non-profits that train veterans and young adults for technology careers, promote youth environmental service and teach young people how to preserve historic and culturally significant landmarks. Through grants and signature in-house programs, Fund II has touched more than 1.2 million people nationwide.

## Cradle to Greatness

The foundation's signature philosophy, Cradle to Greatness, offers a framework to measure the success of grantees, determine those in need of additional help and accelerate access to that help. This enables Fund II to go deeper, investing in overlooked and underestimated communities, considering many pathways to success, from birth to a career, and even promoting business ownership.

"Our Cradle to Greatness framework rekindles hope and prosperity in communities often besieged by neglect and violence," says Smith. "What we want our kids to know in every domain of their lives — on this earth, in the home, on the job, at school, everywhere they turn — is that they are worthy."



## InternX

The Fund II team learned quickly that mentorships, scholarships and internships opened the widest doors to prosperity. To that end, Fund II created internX, a platform to connect students studying science, technology, engineering or math with companies searching for STEM talent. internX disproves the notion that qualified black and brown tech interns don't exist, while helping interns learn skills, find mentors and gather the experience crucial for developing careers and building wealth.





## 1.2 million

The number of people in the U.S. touched by Fund II grants and programs

## \$241 million

The amount of grants awarded by Fund II

## \$89.81 million

The amount Fund II has awarded in grants on education and scholarships

## \$39.5 million

The amount Fund II has spent on cultural preservation

## \$24 million

The amount Fund II has awarded in music & arts appreciation grants

## \$16.52 million

The amount Fund II has spent on career readiness



This is not only the right thing to do but also smart, says Linda Wilson, the executive director of Fund II Foundation. A recent national economics poll determined that black and brown Americans hold a combined buying power of \$2.8 trillion, and of those spenders, half in each group are under 35. “They are the future and the most untapped talent force of our nation,” says Ivana Jackson, the internX program manager.

Started in 2018, internX has a goal of placing 1,000 interns this year and 10,000 in 2020. But Fund II’s commitment to young people of color doesn’t stop with STEM careers; its attention to music, art and environmental education is every bit as strong. “Music and art provide balance to young people,” Wilson says, “instilling a sense of peace while increasing aptitude.”

## Restoration Retreat

In 2018, Fund II developed yet another signature program, one that allows young people to commune with nature, while also “providing much needed respite to heal and inspire,” Wilson says. For its inaugural event, Restoration Retreat hosted 35 boys of color from tough circumstances on a retreat to the Colorado Rocky Mountains. They received life-skills coaching, financial literacy and entrepreneurial training, as well as instruction in mentorship, yoga and meditation. They also pursued outdoor adventures like archery, fly fishing, hiking and horseback riding.

This year’s event included a separate retreat for girls. They each received a savings account of \$250 through a savings and gift-giving platform, which offers family financial literacy training.

Programs like Restoration Retreat create inspiring scenes that Fund II leaders intend to replicate nationwide: children of color participating and excelling in careers, stewardship and life. “We at Fund II are committed to ensuring African Americans prosper through scientific, political, cultural and social capital. We are proud of our grantees and collaborators because their work pays tribute to our ancestors who are often left out of the American narrative,” Smith said.



Nikole Hannah-Jones, Page 14



Wesley Morris, 60



Nikole Hannah-Jones, Page 14 is a staff writer for the magazine. A 2017 MacArthur fellow, she has won a National Magazine Award, a Peabody Award and a George Polk Award.

Jeneen Interlandi, Page 44 is a member of The Times's editorial board and a staff writer for the magazine. Her last article for the magazine was about teaching in the age of school shootings.

With creative works from:

Barry Jenkins  
Jacqueline Woodson

Khalil Gibran Muhammad, 70



Trymaine Lee, Page 82 is a Pulitzer Prize- and Emmy Award-winning journalist and a correspondent for MSNBC. He covers social-justice issues and the role of race in politics and law enforcement.

Wesley Morris, Page 60 is a staff writer for the magazine, a critic at large for The New York Times and a co-host of the podcast "Still Processing." He was awarded the 2012 Pulitzer Prize for criticism.

Jesmyn Ward  
Rita Dove  
Reginald Dwayne Betts  
Yusef Komunyakaa

Trymaine Lee, 82



Dannielle Bowman, 98



Linda Villarosa, 58



Lynn Nottage, Page 84 is a playwright and screenwriter. She has received two Pulitzer Prizes and a MacArthur fellowship, and she is currently an associate professor at Columbia School of the Arts.

Khalil Gibran Muhammad, Page 70 is a Suzanne Young Murray professor at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University and author of "The Condemnation of Blackness."

Camille T. Dungy  
Yaa Gyasi  
Eve L. Ewing  
Darryl Pinckney

Lynn Nottage, 84



Jeneen Interlandi, 44



Jamelle Bouie, 50



Dannielle Bowman, Page 98 is a visual artist working with photography. She is an artist in residence at Baxter Street Camera Club of New York, where she will have a solo show in January.

Linda Villarosa, Page 58 directs the journalism program at the City College of New York and is a contributing writer for the magazine. Her feature on black infant and maternal mortality was a finalist for a National Magazine Award.

Kiese Laymon  
Clint Smith  
ZZ Packer



Bryan Stevenson, 80



Djeneba Aduayom, 86



Adam Pendleton, 14



Tyehimba Jess, 58



Joshua Bennett, 79



Kevin M. Kruse, 48



**Jamelle Bouie, Page 50** is a Washington-based New York Times opinion columnist and a political analyst for CBS News. He covers campaigns, elections, national affairs and culture.

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**Special thanks:**

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# TO VOTE.



# TO LIVE.



# TO LOVE.

# TO WORK.



# TO MARCH.

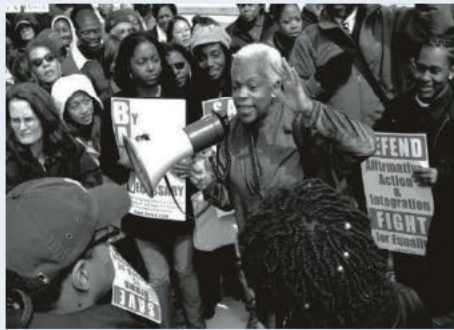


# TO LEARN.

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FOR NEARLY 80 YEARS, *the* NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE & EDUCATIONAL FUND *has been* FIGHTING *to* FULFILL *the* PROMISE *of* RACIAL JUSTICE *and* EQUALITY *in* OUR CONSTITUTION. FOR OVER 400 YEARS, AFRICAN AMERICANS *have* BUILT, ENRICHED, *and* TRANSFORMED OUR DEMOCRACY.





**TO  
STAND.**



**TO FIGHT.**

**TO  
SPEAK.**



**TO EXCEL.**



**TO THRIVE. TO BE.**

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Our founding ideals of liberty and equality were false when they were written. Black Americans fought to make them true. Without this struggle, America would have no democracy at all.

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By Nikole Hannah-Jones

Artwork by Adam Pendleton



**My dad always** flew an American flag in our front yard. The blue paint on our two-story house was perennially chipping; the fence, or the rail by the stairs, or the front door, existed in a perpetual state of disrepair, but that flag always flew pristine. Our corner lot, which had been redlined by the federal government, was along the river that divided the black side from the white side of our Iowa town. At the edge of our lawn, high on an aluminum pole, soared the flag, which my dad would replace as soon as it showed the slightest tatter.

My dad was born into a family of sharecroppers on a white plantation in Greenwood, Miss., where black people bent over cotton from can't-see-in-the-morning to can't-see-at-night, just as their enslaved ancestors had done not long before. The Mississippi of my dad's youth was an apartheid state that subjugated its near-majority black population through breathtaking acts of violence. White residents in Mississippi lynched more black people than those in any other state in the country, and the white people in my dad's home county lynched more black residents than those in any other county in Mississippi, often for such "crimes" as entering a room occupied by white women, bumping into a white girl or trying to start a sharecroppers union. My dad's mother, like all the black people in Greenwood, could not vote, use the public library or find work other than toiling in the cotton fields or toiling in white people's houses. So in the 1940s, she packed up her few belongings and her three small children and joined the flood of black Southerners fleeing North. She got off the Illinois Central Railroad in Waterloo, Iowa, only to have her hopes of the mythical Promised Land shattered when she learned that Jim Crow did not end at the Mason-Dixon line.

Grandmama, as we called her, found a house in a segregated black neighborhood on the city's east side and then found the work that was considered black women's work no matter where black women lived — cleaning white people's houses. Dad, too, struggled to find promise in this land. In 1962, at age 17, he

signed up for the Army. Like many young men, he joined in hopes of escaping poverty. But he went into the military for another reason as well, a reason common to black men: Dad hoped that if he served his country, his country might finally treat him as an American.

The Army did not end up being his way out. He was passed over for opportunities, his ambition stunted. He would be discharged under murky circumstances and then labor in a series of service jobs for the rest of his life. Like all the black men and women in my family, he believed in hard work, but like all the black men and women in my family, no matter how hard he worked, he never got ahead.

So when I was young, that flag outside our home never made sense to me. How could this black man, having seen firsthand the way his country abused black Americans, how it refused to treat us as full citizens, proudly fly its banner? I didn't understand his patriotism. It deeply embarrassed me.

I had been taught, in school, through cultural osmosis, that the flag wasn't really ours, that our history as a people began with enslavement and that we had contributed little to this great nation. It seemed that the closest thing black Americans could have to cultural pride was to be found in our vague connection to Africa, a place we had never been. That my dad felt so much honor in being an American felt like a marker of his degradation, his acceptance of our subordination.

Like most young people, I thought I understood so much, when in fact I understood so little. My father knew exactly what he was doing when he raised that flag. He knew that our people's contributions to building the richest and most powerful nation in the world were indelible, that the United States simply would not exist without us.

In August 1619, just 12 years after the English settled Jamestown, Va., one year before the Puritans landed at Plymouth Rock and some 157 years before the English colonists even decided they wanted to form their own country, the Jamestown colonists bought 20 to 30 enslaved Africans from English pirates. The

pirates had stolen them from a Portuguese slave ship that had forcibly taken them from what is now the country of Angola. Those men and women who came ashore on that August day were the beginning of American slavery. They were among the 12.5 million Africans who would be kidnapped from their homes and brought in chains across the Atlantic Ocean in the largest forced migration in human history until the Second World War. Almost two million did not survive the grueling journey, known as the Middle Passage.

Before the abolishment of the international slave trade, 400,000 enslaved Africans would be sold into America. Those individuals and their descendants transformed the lands to which they'd been brought into some of the most successful colonies in the British Empire. Through back-breaking labor, they cleared the land across the Southeast. They taught the colonists to grow rice. They grew and picked the cotton that at the height of slavery was the nation's most valuable commodity, accounting for half of all American exports and 66 percent of the world's supply. They built the plantations of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, sprawling properties that today attract thousands of visitors from across the globe captivated by the history of the world's greatest democracy. They laid the foundations of the White House and the Capitol, even placing with their unfree hands the Statue of Freedom atop the Capitol dome. They lugged the heavy wooden tracks of the railroads that crisscrossed the South and that helped take the cotton they picked to the Northern textile mills, fueling the Industrial Revolution. They built vast fortunes for white people North and South — at one time, the second-richest man in the nation was a Rhode Island "slave trader." Profits from black people's stolen labor helped the young nation pay off its war debts and financed some of our most prestigious universities. It was the relentless buying, selling, insuring and financing of their bodies and the products of their labor that made Wall Street a thriving banking, insurance and trading sector and New York City the financial capital of the world.

But it would be historically inaccurate to reduce the contributions of black people to the vast material wealth created by our bondage. Black Americans have also been, and continue to be, foundational to the idea of American freedom. More than any other group in this country's history, we have served, generation after generation, in an overlooked but vital role: It is we who have been the perfecters of this democracy.

The United States is a nation founded on both an ideal and a lie. Our Declaration of Independence, signed on July 4, 1776, proclaims that "all men are created equal" and "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." But the white men who drafted those words did not believe them to be true for the hundreds of thousands of black people in their midst. "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" did not apply to fully one-fifth of the country. Yet despite being violently denied the freedom and justice promised to all, black Americans believed fervently in the American creed. Through centuries of black resistance and protest, we have helped the country live up to its founding ideals. And not only for ourselves — black rights struggles paved the way for every other rights struggle, including women's and gay rights, immigrant and disability rights.

Without the idealistic, strenuous and patriotic efforts of black Americans, our democracy today would most likely look very different — it might not be a democracy at all.

The very first person to die for this country in the American Revolution was a black man who himself was not free. Crispus Attucks was a fugitive from slavery, yet he gave his life for a new nation in which his own people would not enjoy the liberties laid out in the Declaration for another century. In every war this nation has waged since that first one, black Americans have fought — today we are the most likely of all racial groups to serve in the United States military.

My father, one of those many black Americans who answered the call, knew what it would take me years to understand: that the year 1619 is as important to the American





An 1872 portrait of African-Americans serving in Congress (from left): Hiram Revels, the first black man elected to the Senate; Benjamin S. Turner; Robert C. De Large; Josiah T. Walls; Jefferson H. Long; Joseph H. Rainy; and R. Brown Elliot.

story as 1776. That black Americans, as much as those men cast in alabaster in the nation's capital, are this nation's true "founding fathers." And that no people has a greater claim to that flag than us.

In June 1776, Thomas Jefferson sat at his portable writing desk in a rented room in Philadelphia and penned these words: "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." For the last 243 years, this fierce assertion of the fundamental and natural rights of humankind to freedom and self-governance has defined

our global reputation as a land of liberty. As Jefferson composed his inspiring words, however, a teenage boy who would enjoy none of those rights and liberties waited nearby to serve at his master's beck and call. His name was Robert Hemings, and he was the half brother of Jefferson's wife, born to Martha Jefferson's father and a woman he owned. It was common for white enslavers to keep their half-black children in slavery. Jefferson had chosen Hemings, from among about 130 enslaved people that worked on the forced-labor camp he called Monticello, to accompany him to Philadelphia and ensure his every comfort as he drafted the text making the case for a new democratic republic based on the individual rights of men.

At the time, one-fifth of the population within the 13 colonies struggled under a brutal system of slavery unlike anything that had existed in the world before. Chattel slavery was not conditional but racial. It was heritable and permanent, not temporary, meaning generations of black people were born into it and passed their enslaved status onto their children. Enslaved people were not recognized as human beings but as property that could be mortgaged, traded, bought, sold, used as collateral, given as a gift and disposed of violently. Jefferson's fellow white colonists knew that black people were human beings, but they created a network of laws and customs, astounding for both their precision and cruelty, that ensured

that enslaved people would never be treated as such. As the abolitionist William Goodell wrote in 1853, "If any thing founded on falsehood might be called a science, we might add the system of American slavery to the list of the strict sciences."

Enslaved people could not legally marry. They were barred from learning to read and restricted from meeting privately in groups. They had no claim to their own children, who could be bought, sold and traded away from them on auction blocks alongside furniture and cattle or behind storefronts that advertised "Negroes for Sale." Enslavers and the courts did not honor kinship ties to mothers, siblings, cousins. In most courts, they had no legal standing. Enslavers could rape or murder their





A postcard showing the scene at the murder of Allen Brooks, an African-American laborer who was accused of attempted rape. He was dragged through the streets around the Dallas County Courthouse and lynched on March 3, 1910. Postcards of lynchings were not uncommon in the early 20th century.

property without legal consequence. Enslaved people could own nothing, will nothing and inherit nothing. They were legally tortured, including by those working for Jefferson himself. They could be worked to death, and often were, in order to produce the highest profits for the white people who owned them.

Yet in making the argument against Britain's tyranny, one of the colonists' favorite rhetorical devices was to claim that *they* were the slaves — to Britain. For this duplicity, they faced burning criticism both at home and abroad. As Samuel Johnson, an English writer and Tory opposed to American independence, quipped, "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of Negroes?"

Conveniently left out of our founding mythology is the fact that one of the primary reasons the

colonists decided to declare their independence from Britain was because they wanted to protect the institution of slavery. By 1776, Britain had grown deeply conflicted over its role in the barbaric institution that had reshaped the Western Hemisphere. In London, there were growing calls to abolish the slave trade. This would have upended the economy of the colonies, in both the North and the South. The wealth and prominence that allowed Jefferson, at just 33, and the other founding fathers to believe they could successfully break off from one of the mightiest empires in the world came from the dizzying profits generated by chattel slavery. In other words, we may never have revolted against Britain if the founders had not understood that slavery empowered them to do so; nor if they had not believed that independence was required in order

to ensure that slavery would continue. It is not incidental that 10 of this nation's first 12 presidents were enslavers, and some might argue that this nation was founded not as a democracy but as a slavocracy.

Jefferson and the other founders were keenly aware of this hypocrisy. And so in Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration of Independence, he tried to argue that it wasn't the colonists' fault. Instead, he blamed the king of England for forcing the institution of slavery on the unwilling colonists and called the trafficking in human beings a crime. Yet neither Jefferson nor most of the founders intended to abolish slavery, and in the end, they struck the passage.

There is no mention of slavery in the final Declaration of Independence. Similarly, 11 years later, when it came time to draft the

Constitution, the framers carefully constructed a document that preserved and protected slavery without ever using the word. In the texts in which they were making the case for freedom to the world, they did not want to explicitly enshrine their hypocrisy, so they sought to hide it. The Constitution contains 84 clauses. Six deal directly with the enslaved and their enslavement, as the historian David Waldstreicher has written, and five more hold implications for slavery. The Constitution protected the "property" of those who enslaved black people, prohibited the federal government from intervening to end the importation of enslaved Africans for a term of 20 years, allowed Congress to mobilize the militia to put down insurrections by the enslaved and forced states that had outlawed slavery to turn over enslaved people



who had run away seeking refuge. Like many others, the writer and abolitionist Samuel Byron called out the deceit, saying of the Constitution, "The words are dark and ambiguous; such as no plain man of common sense would have used, [and] are evidently chosen to conceal from Europe, that in this enlightened country, the practice of slavery has its advocates among men in the highest stations."

With independence, the founding fathers could no longer blame slavery on Britain. The sin became this nation's own, and so, too, the need to cleanse it. The shameful paradox of continuing chattel slavery in a nation founded on individual freedom, scholars today assert, led to a hardening of the racial caste system. This ideology, reinforced not just by laws but by racist science and literature, maintained that black people were subhuman, a belief that allowed white Americans to live with their betrayal. By the early 1800s, according to the legal historians Leland B. Ware, Robert J. Cottrol and Raymond T. Diamond, white Americans, whether they engaged in slavery or not, "had a considerable psychological as well as economic investment in the doctrine of black inferiority." While liberty was the inalienable right of the people who would be considered white, enslavement and subjugation became the natural station of people who had any discernible drop of "black" blood.

The Supreme Court enshrined this thinking in the law in its 1857 Dred Scott decision, ruling that black people, whether enslaved or free, came from a "slave" race. This made them inferior to white people and, therefore, incompatible with American democracy. Democracy was for citizens, and the "Negro race," the court ruled, was "a separate class of persons," which the founders had "not regarded as a portion of the people or citizens of the Government" and had "no rights which a white man was bound to respect." This belief, that black people were not merely enslaved but were a slave race, became the root of the endemic racism that we still cannot purge from this nation to this day. If black people could not ever



**Isaac Woodard and his mother in South Carolina in 1946. In February that year, Woodard, a decorated Army veteran, was severely beaten by the police, leaving him blind.**

be citizens, if they were a caste apart from all other humans, then they did not require the rights bestowed by the Constitution, and the "we" in the "We the People" was not a lie.

**On Aug. 14, 1862**, a mere five years after the nation's highest courts declared that no black person could

be an American citizen, President Abraham Lincoln called a group of five esteemed free black men to the White House for a meeting. It was one of the few times that black people had ever been invited to the White House as guests. The Civil War had been raging for more than a year, and black abolitionists, who

had been increasingly pressuring Lincoln to end slavery, must have felt a sense of great anticipation and pride.

The war was not going well for Lincoln. Britain was contemplating whether to intervene on the Confederacy's behalf, and Lincoln, unable to draw enough new white





A demonstrator at the 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery, led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to fight for black suffrage.

volunteers for the war, was forced to reconsider his opposition to allowing black Americans to fight for their own liberation. The president was weighing a proclamation that threatened to emancipate all enslaved people in the states that had seceded from the Union if the states did not end the rebellion. The proclamation would also allow the formerly enslaved to join the Union army and fight against their former “masters.” But Lincoln worried about what the consequences of this radical step would be. Like many white Americans, he opposed slavery as a cruel system at odds with American ideals, but he also opposed black equality. He believed that free black people were a “troublesome presence” incompatible with a democracy intended only for white people. “Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals?” he had said four years earlier. “My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not.”

That August day, as the men arrived at the White House, they were greeted by the towering Lincoln and a man named James Mitchell, who eight days before had been given the title of a newly created position called the commissioner of emigration. This was to be his first assignment. After exchanging a few niceties, Lincoln got right to it. He informed his guests that he had gotten Congress to appropriate funds to ship black people, once freed, to another country.

“Why should they leave this country? This is, perhaps, the first question for proper consideration,” Lincoln told them. “You and we are different races. . . . Your race suffer very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side.”

You can imagine the heavy silence in that room, as the weight of what the president said momentarily stole the breath of these five black men. It was 243 years to the month since the first of their

ancestors had arrived on these shores, before Lincoln’s family, long before most of the white people insisting that this was not their country. The Union had not entered the war to end slavery but to keep the South from splitting off, yet black men had signed up to fight. Enslaved people were fleeing their forced-labor camps, which we like to call plantations, trying to join the effort, serving as spies, sabotaging confederates, taking up arms for his cause as well as their own. And now Lincoln was blaming them for the war. “Although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other . . . without the institution of slavery and the colored race as a basis, the war could not have an existence,” the president told them. “It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated.”

As Lincoln closed the remarks, Edward Thomas, the delegation’s chairman, informed the president, perhaps curtly, that they would consult on his proposition. “Take your full time,” Lincoln said. “No hurry at all.”

Nearly three years after that White House meeting, Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox. By summer, the Civil War was over, and four million black Americans were suddenly free. Contrary to Lincoln’s view, most were not inclined to leave, agreeing with the sentiment of a resolution against black colonization put forward at a convention of black leaders in New York some decades before: “This is our home, and this our country. Beneath its sod lie the bones of our fathers. . . . Here we were born, and here we will die.”

That the formerly enslaved did not take up Lincoln’s offer to abandon these lands is an astounding testament to their belief in this nation’s founding ideals. As W.E.B. Du Bois wrote, “Few men ever worshiped Freedom with half such unquestioning faith as did the American Negro for two centuries.” Black Americans had long called for universal equality and believed, as the abolitionist Martin Delany said, “that God has made of one blood all the nations that dwell on the face of the earth.” Liberated by war, then, they did not seek vengeance on their oppressors as Lincoln and so many other white Americans feared. They did the opposite. During this nation’s brief period of Reconstruction, from 1865 to 1877, formerly enslaved people zealously engaged with the democratic process. With federal troops tempering widespread white violence, black Southerners started branches of the Equal Rights League — one of the nation’s first human rights organizations — to fight discrimination and organize voters; they headed in droves to the polls, where they placed other formerly enslaved people into seats that their enslavers had once held. The South, for the first time in the history of this country, began to resemble a democracy, with black Americans elected to local, state and federal offices. Some 16 black men served in Congress — including Hiram Revels of Mississippi, who became the first black man elected to the Senate. (Demonstrating just how brief this period would be, Revels, along with Blanche Bruce, would go from being the first black man elected to the last for nearly a hundred years, until



Edward Brooke of Massachusetts took office in 1967.) More than 600 black men served in Southern state legislatures and hundreds more in local positions.

These black officials joined with white Republicans, some of whom came down from the North, to write the most egalitarian state constitutions the South had ever seen. They helped pass more equitable tax legislation and laws that prohibited discrimination in public transportation, accommodation and housing. Perhaps their biggest achievement was the establishment of that most democratic of American institutions: the public school. Public education effectively did not exist in the South before Reconstruction. The white elite sent their children to private schools, while poor white children went without an education. But newly freed black people, who had been prohibited from learning to read and write during slavery, were desperate for an education. So black legislators successfully pushed for a universal, state-funded system of schools — not just for their own children but for white children, too. Black legislators also helped pass the first compulsory education laws in the region. Southern children, black and white, were now required to attend schools like their Northern counterparts. Just five years into Reconstruction, every Southern state had enshrined the right to a public education for all children into its constitution. In some states, like Louisiana and South Carolina, small numbers of black and white children, briefly, attended schools together.

Led by black activists and a Republican Party pushed left by the blatant recalcitrance of white Southerners, the years directly after slavery saw the greatest expansion of human and civil rights this nation would ever see. In 1865, Congress passed the 13th Amendment, making the United States one of the last nations in the Americas to outlaw slavery. The following year, black Americans, exerting their new political power, pushed white legislators to pass the Civil Rights Act, the nation's first such law and one of the most expansive pieces of civil

rights legislation Congress has ever passed. It codified black American citizenship for the first time, prohibited housing discrimination and gave all Americans the right to buy and inherit property, make and enforce contracts and seek redress from courts. In 1868, Congress ratified the 14th Amendment, ensuring citizenship to any person born in the United States. Today, thanks to this amendment, every child born here to a European, Asian, African, Latin American or Middle Eastern immigrant gains automatic citizenship. The 14th Amendment also, for the first time, constitutionally guaranteed equal protection under the law. Ever since, nearly all other marginalized groups have used the 14th Amendment in their fights for equality (including the recent successful arguments before the Supreme Court on behalf of same-sex marriage). Finally, in 1870, Congress passed the 15th Amendment, guaranteeing the most critical aspect of democracy and citizenship — the right to vote — to all men regardless of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

For this fleeting moment known as Reconstruction, the majority in Congress seemed to embrace the idea that out of the ashes of the Civil War, we could create the multiracial democracy that black Americans envisioned even if our founding fathers did not.

But it would not last.

Anti-black racism runs in the very DNA of this country, as does the belief, so well articulated by Lincoln, that black people are the obstacle to national unity. The many gains of Reconstruction were met with fierce white resistance throughout the South, including unthinkable violence against the formerly enslaved, wide-scale voter suppression, electoral fraud and even, in some extreme cases, the overthrow of democratically elected biracial governments. Faced with this unrest, the federal government decided that black people were the cause of the problem and that for unity's sake, it would leave the white South to its own devices. In 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes, in order to secure a compromise with Southern Democrats that

would grant him the presidency in a contested election, agreed to pull federal troops from the South. With the troops gone, white Southerners quickly went about eradicating the gains of Reconstruction. The systemic white suppression of black life was so severe that this period between the 1880s and the 1920 and '30s became known as the Great Nadir, or the second slavery. Democracy would not return to the South for nearly a century.

White Southerners of all economic classes, on the other hand, thanks in significant part to the progressive policies and laws black people had championed, experienced substantial improvement in their lives even as they forced black people back into a quasi slavery. As Waters McIntosh, who had been enslaved in South Carolina, lamented, “It was the poor white man who was freed by the war, not the Negroes.”

**Georgia pines flew** past the windows of the Greyhound bus carrying Isaac Woodard home to Winnsboro, S.C. After serving four years in the Army in World War II, where Woodard had earned a battle star, he was given an honorable discharge earlier that day at Camp Gordon and was headed home to meet his wife. When the bus stopped at a small drugstore an hour outside Atlanta, Woodard got into a brief argument with the white driver after asking if he could use the restroom. About half an hour later, the driver stopped again and told Woodard to get off the bus. Crisp in his uniform, Woodard stepped from the stairs and saw the police waiting for him. Before he could speak, one of the officers struck him in his head with a billy club, beating him so badly that he fell unconscious. The blows to Woodard's head were so severe that when he woke in a jail cell the next day, he could not see. The beating occurred just 4½ hours after his military discharge. At 26, Woodard would never see again.

There was nothing unusual about Woodard's horrific maiming. It was part of a wave of systemic violence deployed against black Americans after Reconstruction, in both the North and the South. As the egalitarian spirit of post-Civil

War America evaporated under the desire for national reunification, black Americans, simply by existing, served as a problematic reminder of this nation's failings. White America dealt with this inconvenience by constructing a savagely enforced system of racial apartheid that excluded black people almost entirely from mainstream American life — a system so grotesque that Nazi Germany would later take inspiration from it for its own racist policies.

Despite the guarantees of equality in the 14th Amendment, the Supreme Court's landmark *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896 declared that the racial segregation of black Americans was constitutional. With the blessing of the nation's highest court and no federal will to vindicate black rights, starting in the late 1800s, Southern states passed a series of laws and codes meant to make slavery's racial caste system permanent by denying black people political power, social equality and basic dignity. They passed literacy tests to keep black people from voting and created all-white primaries for elections. Black people were prohibited from serving on juries or testifying in court against a white person. South Carolina prohibited white and black textile workers from using the same doors. Oklahoma forced phone companies to segregate phone booths. Memphis had separate parking spaces for black and white drivers. Baltimore passed an ordinance outlawing black people from moving onto a block more than half white and white people from moving onto a block more than half black. Georgia made it illegal for black and white people to be buried next to one another in the same cemetery. Alabama barred black people from using public libraries that their own tax dollars were paying for. Black people were expected to jump off the sidewalk to let white people pass and call all white people by an honorific, though they received none no matter how old they were. In the North, white politicians implemented policies that segregated black people into slum neighborhoods and into inferior all-black schools, operated whites-only public pools

and held white and “colored” days at the country fair, and white businesses regularly denied black people service, placing “Whites Only” signs in their windows. States like California joined Southern states in barring black people from marrying white people, while local school boards in Illinois and New Jersey mandated segregated schools for black and white children.

This caste system was maintained through wanton racial terrorism.

And black veterans like Woodard, especially those with the audacity to wear their uniform, had since the Civil War been the target of a particular violence. This intensified during the two world wars because white people understood that once black men had gone abroad and experienced life outside the suffocating racial oppression of America, they were unlikely to quietly return to their subjugation at home. As Senator James K. Vardaman of

Mississippi said on the Senate floor during World War I, black servicemen returning to the South would “inevitably lead to disaster.” Giving a black man “military airs” and sending him to defend the flag would bring him “to the conclusion that his political rights must be respected.”

Many white Americans saw black men in the uniforms of America’s armed services not as patriotic but as exhibiting a dangerous pride.

Hundreds of black veterans were beaten, maimed, shot and lynched. We like to call those who lived during World War II the Greatest Generation, but that allows us to ignore the fact that many of this generation fought for democracy abroad while brutally suppressing democracy for millions of American citizens. During the height of racial terror in this country, black Americans were not merely killed but castrated, burned alive and

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## Chained Migration: How Slavery Made Its Way West

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By Tiya Miles

Slavery leapt out of the East and into the interior lands of the Old Southwest in the 1820s and 1830s. Cotton began to soar as the most lucrative product in the global marketplace just as the slaveholding societies of the Southeast and Mid-Atlantic were reaching limits in soil fertility. To land speculators, planters, ambitious settlers and Northern investors, the fertile lands to the west now looked irresistible.

The Native American nations that possessed the bulk of those lands stood in the way of this imagined progress. President Andrew Jackson, an enslaver from Tennessee famous for brutal “Indian” fighting in Georgia and Florida, swooped in on the side of fellow enslavers, championing the Indian Removal Act of 1830. When Congress passed the bill by a breathtakingly slim margin, Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles in the South as well as Potawatomis, Wyandots, Odawas, Delawares, Shawnees and Senecas in the Midwest were relocated to an

uncharted space designated as Indian Territory (including present-day Oklahoma and Kansas). “Removal,” as the historian Claudio Saunt argues in a forthcoming book on the topic, was far too quiet a word to capture the violation of this mass “expulsion” of 80,000 people.

As new lands in the Old Southwest were pried open, white enslavers back east realized that their most profitable export was no longer tobacco or rice. A complex interstate slave trade became an industry of its own. This extractive system, together with enslavers moving west with human property, resulted in the relocation of approximately one million enslaved black people to a new region. The entrenched practice of buying, selling, owning, renting and mortgaging humans stretched into the American West along with the white settler-colonial population that now occupied former indigenous lands.

Slaveholding settlers who had pushed into Texas from


the American South wanted to extend cotton agriculture and increase the numbers of white arrivals. “It was slavery that seemed to represent the soft underbelly of the Texas unrest,” the historian Steven Hahn asserts in “A Nation Without Borders.” Armed conflict between American-identified enslavers and a Mexican state that outlawed slavery in 1829 was among the causes of the Mexican-American War, which won for the United States much of the Southwest and California.

Texas became the West’s cotton slavery stronghold, with enslaved black people making up 30 percent of the state’s population in 1860. “Indian Territory” also held a large population of enslaved black people. Mormons, too, kept scores of enslaved laborers in Utah. The small number of black people who arrived in California, New Mexico and Oregon before mid-century usually came as property. Even as most Western states banned slavery in their new

constitutions, individual enslavers held onto their property-in-people until the Civil War.

Enslaved men who had served in the Union Army were among the first wave of African-Americans to move west of their own free will. They served as soldiers, and together with wives and children they formed pocket communities in Montana, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas. It is a painful paradox that the work of black soldiers centered on what the historian Quintard Taylor has called “settler protection” in his classic 1998 study of African-Americans in the West, “In Search of the Racial Frontier.” Even while bearing slavery’s scars, black men found themselves carrying out orders to secure white residents of Western towns, track down “outlaws” (many of whom were people of color), police the federally imposed boundaries of Indian reservations and quell labor strikes. “This small group of black men,” Taylor observes, “paid a dear price in their bid to earn the respect of the nation.”



A man in a blue and white striped tank top and blue patterned shorts stands on a sandy beach. He is holding a long red and yellow paddleboard vertically next to him. The background shows a calm body of water with a few sailboats and a wooden pier in the distance under a clear blue sky.

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Ieshia Evans being detained by law enforcement officers at a Black Lives Matter protest in 2016 outside the headquarters of the Baton Rouge Police Department.

dismembered with their body parts displayed in storefronts. This violence was meant to terrify and control black people, but perhaps just as important, it served as a psychological balm for white supremacy: You would not treat human beings this way. The extremity of the violence was a symptom of the psychological mechanism necessary to absolve white Americans of their country's original sin. To answer the question of how they could prize liberty abroad while simultaneously denying liberty to an entire race back home, white Americans resorted to the same racist ideology that Jefferson and the framers had used at the nation's founding.

This ideology — that black people belonged to an inferior, subhuman

race — did not simply disappear once slavery ended. If the formerly enslaved and their descendants became educated, if we thrived in the jobs white people did, if we excelled in the sciences and arts, then the entire justification for how this nation allowed slavery would collapse. Free black people posed a danger to the country's idea of itself as exceptional; we held up the mirror in which the nation preferred not to peer. And so the inhumanity visited on black people by every generation of white America justified the inhumanity of the past.

Just as white Americans feared, World War II ignited what became black Americans' second sustained effort to make democracy real. As the editorial board of the black

newspaper *The Pittsburgh Courier* wrote, "We wage a two-pronged attack against our enslavers at home and those abroad who will enslave us." Woodard's blinding is largely seen as one of the catalysts for the decades-long rebellion we have come to call the civil rights movement. But it is useful to pause and remember that this was the second mass movement for black civil rights, the first being Reconstruction. As the centennial of slavery's end neared, black people were still seeking the rights they had fought for and won after the Civil War: the right to be treated equally by public institutions, which was guaranteed in 1866 with the Civil Rights Act; the right to be treated as full citizens before the law, which was guaranteed in 1868

by the 14th Amendment; and the right to vote, which was guaranteed in 1870 by the 15th Amendment. In response to black demands for these rights, white Americans strung them from trees, beat them and dumped their bodies in muddy rivers, assassinated them in their front yards, firebombed them on buses, mauled them with dogs, peeled back their skin with fire hoses and murdered their children with explosives set off inside a church.

For the most part, black Americans fought back alone. Yet we never fought only for ourselves. The bloody freedom struggles of the civil rights movement laid the foundation for every other modern rights struggle. This nation's white founders set up a decidedly



# The Possible Plan

Come, come, whoever you are. Wanderer,  
worshiper, lover of leaving. It doesn't matter.  
Ours is not a caravan of despair. Come, even if  
you have broken your vows a thousand times.  
Come, yet again, come, come.

- Rumi



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undemocratic Constitution that excluded women, Native Americans and black people, and did not provide the vote or equality for most Americans. But the laws born out of black resistance guarantee the franchise for all and ban discrimination based not just on race but on gender, nationality, religion and ability. It was the civil rights movement that led to the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which upended the racist immigration quota system intended to keep this country white. Because of black Americans, black and brown immigrants from across the globe are able to come to the United States and live in a country in which legal discrimination is no longer allowed. It is a truly American irony that some Asian-Americans, among the groups able to immigrate to the United States because of the black civil rights struggle, are now suing universities to end programs designed to help the descendants of the enslaved.

No one cherishes freedom more than those who have not had it. And to this day, black Americans, more than any other group, embrace the democratic ideals of a common good. We are the most likely to support programs like universal health care and a higher minimum wage, and to oppose programs that harm the most vulnerable. For instance, black Americans suffer the most from violent crime, yet we are the most opposed to capital punishment. Our unemployment rate is nearly twice that of white Americans, yet we are still the most likely of all groups to say this nation should take in refugees.

The truth is that as much democracy as this nation has today, it has been borne on the backs of black resistance. Our founding fathers may not have actually believed in the ideals they espoused, but black people did. As one scholar, Joe R. Feagin, put it, “Enslaved African-Americans have been among the foremost freedom-fighters this country has produced.” For generations, we have believed in this country with a faith it did not deserve. Black people have seen the worst of America, yet, somehow, we still believe in its best.

**They say our people were born on the water.**

When it occurred, no one can say for certain. Perhaps it was in the second week, or the third, but surely by the fourth, when they had not seen their land or any land for so many days that they lost count. It was after fear had turned to despair, and despair to resignation, and resignation to an abiding understanding. The teal eternity of the Atlantic Ocean had severed them so completely from what had once been their home that it was as if nothing had ever existed before, as if everything and everyone they cherished had simply vanished from the earth. They were no longer Mbundu or Akan or Fulani. These men and women from many different nations, all shackled together in the suffocating hull of the ship, they were one people now.

Just a few months earlier, they had families, and farms, and lives and dreams. They were free. They had names, of course, but their enslavers did not bother to record them. They had been made black by those people who believed that they were white, and where they were heading, black equaled “slave,” and slavery in America required turning human beings into property by stripping them of every element that made them individuals. This process was called seasoning, in which people stolen from western and central Africa were forced, often through torture, to stop speaking their native tongues and practicing their native religions.

But as the sociologist Glenn Bracey wrote, “Out of the ashes of white denigration, we gave birth to ourselves.” For as much as white people tried to pretend, black people were not chattel. And so the process of seasoning, instead of erasing identity, served an opposite purpose: In the void, we forged a new culture all our own.

Today, our very manner of speaking recalls the Creole languages that enslaved people innovated in order to communicate both with Africans speaking various dialects and the English-speaking people who enslaved them. Our style of dress, the extra flair, stems back to the desires of enslaved people — shorn

of all individuality — to exert their own identity. Enslaved people would wear their hat in a jaunty manner or knot their head scarves intricately. Today’s avant-garde nature of black hairstyles and fashion displays a vibrant reflection of enslaved people’s determination to feel fully human through self-expression. The improvisational quality of black art and music comes from a culture that because of constant disruption could not cling to convention. Black naming practices, so often impugned by mainstream society, are themselves an act of resistance. Our last names belong to the white people who once owned us. That is why the insistence of many black Americans, particularly those most marginalized, to give our children names that we create, that are neither European nor from Africa, a place we have never been, is an act of self-determination. When the world listens to quintessential American music, it is our voice they hear. The sorrow songs we sang in the fields to soothe our physical pain and find hope in a freedom we did not expect to know until we died became American gospel. Amid the devastating violence and poverty of the Mississippi Delta, we birthed jazz and blues. And it was in the deeply impoverished and segregated neighborhoods where white Americans forced the descendants of the enslaved to live that teenagers too poor to buy instruments used old records to create a new music known as hip-hop.

Our speech and fashion and the drum of our music echoes Africa but is not African. Out of our unique isolation, both from our native cultures and from white America, we forged this nation’s most significant original culture. In turn, “mainstream” society has coveted our style, our slang and our song, seeking to appropriate the one truly American culture as its own. As Langston Hughes wrote in 1926, “They’ll see how beautiful I am/And be ashamed —/I, too, am America.”

For centuries, white Americans have been trying to solve the “Negro problem.” They have dedicated thousands of pages to this endeavor. It is common, still, to point to rates of black poverty, out-of-wedlock births, crime and college

attendance, as if these conditions in a country built on a racial caste system are not utterly predictable. But crucially, you cannot view those statistics while ignoring another: that black people were enslaved here longer than we have been free.

At 43, I am part of the first generation of black Americans in the history of the United States to be born into a society in which black people had full rights of citizenship. Black people suffered under slavery for 250 years; we have been legally “free” for just 50. Yet in that briefest of spans, despite continuing to face rampant discrimination, and despite there never having been a genuine effort to redress the wrongs of slavery and the century of racial apartheid that followed, black Americans have made astounding progress, not only for ourselves but also for all Americans.

What if America understood, finally, in this 400th year, that we have never been the problem but the solution?

When I was a child — I must have been in fifth or sixth grade — a teacher gave our class an assignment intended to celebrate the diversity of the great American melting pot. She instructed each of us to write a short report on our ancestral land and then draw that nation’s flag. As she turned to write the assignment on the board, the other black girl in class locked eyes with me. Slavery had erased any connection we had to an African country, and even if we tried to claim the whole continent, there was no “African” flag. It was hard enough being one of two black kids in the class, and this assignment would just be another reminder of the distance between the white kids and us. In the end, I walked over to the globe near my teacher’s desk, picked a random African country and claimed it as my own.

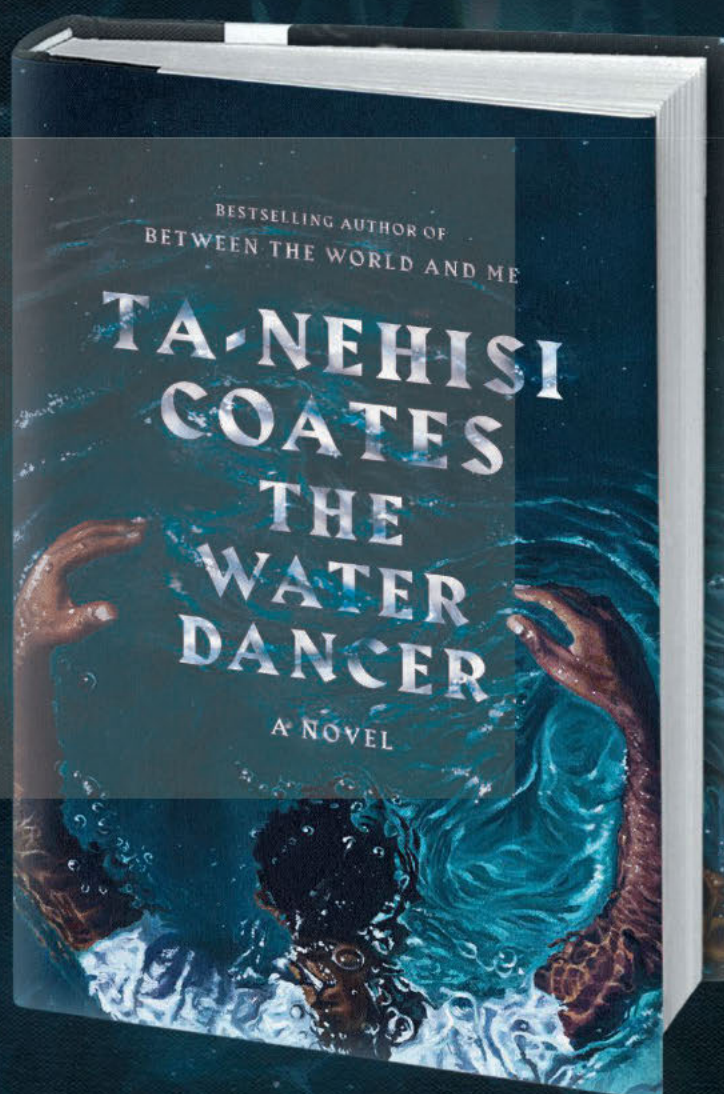
I wish, now, that I could go back to the younger me and tell her that her people’s ancestry started here, on these lands, and to boldly, proudly, draw the stars and those stripes of the American flag.

We were told once, by virtue of our bondage, that we could never be American. But it was by virtue of our bondage that we became the most American of all. ♦



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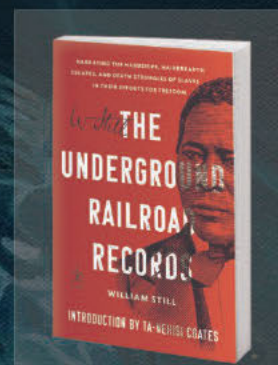
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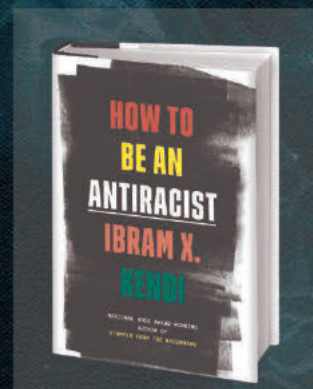


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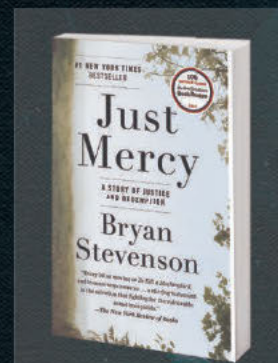
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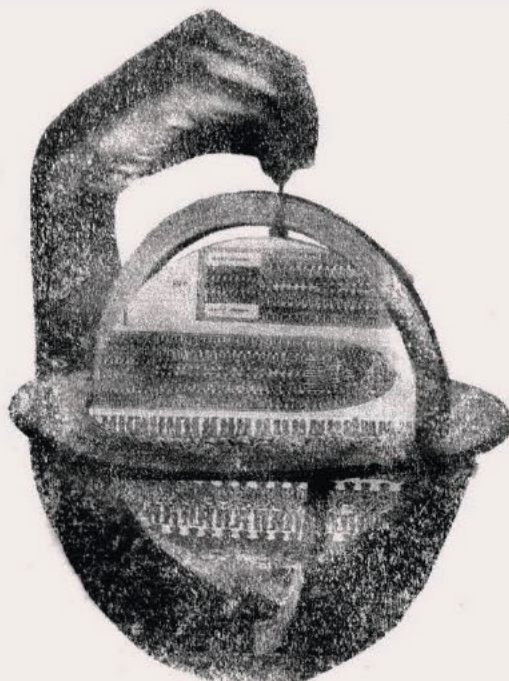


From 1619 Project contributor and MacArthur “genius” Bryan Stevenson, a journey into America’s broken criminal justice system.



Featured in chronological order throughout this issue are 17 literary works that bring to life consequential moments in African-American history. All are original compositions by contemporary black writers who were asked to create brief explorations of important events or people.

● *August 1619*: A ship arrives in Point Comfort, Va., carrying more than 20 enslaved Africans, the first on record to be brought to the English colony of Virginia. They are among the 12.5 million Africans forced into the trans-Atlantic slave trade, their journey to the New World today known as the Middle Passage.



Over the course of 350 years,  
36,000 slave ships crossed the Atlantic  
Ocean. I walk over to the globe & move

my finger back & forth between  
the fragile continents. I try to keep  
count how many times I drag

my hand across the bristled  
hemispheres, but grow weary of chasing  
a history that swallowed me.

For every hundred people who were  
captured & enslaved, forty died before they  
ever reached the New World.

I pull my index finger from Angola  
to Brazil & feel the bodies jumping from  
the ship.

I drag my thumb from Ghana  
to Jamaica & feel the weight of dysentery  
make an anvil of my touch.

I slide my ring finger from Senegal  
to South Carolina & feel the ocean  
separate a million families.

The soft hum of history spins  
on its tilted axis. A cavalcade of ghost ships  
wash their hands of all they carried.

By Clint Smith

● March 5, 1770: Crispus Attucks, a fugitive from slavery who works as dockworker, becomes the first American to die for the cause of independence after being shot in a clash with British troops.



African & Natick blood-born  
known along paths up & down  
Boston Harbor, escaped slave,

harpooner & rope maker,  
he never dreamt a pursuit of happiness  
or destiny, yet rallied

beside patriots who hurled a fury  
of snowballs, craggy dirt-frozen  
chunks of ice, & oyster shells

at the stout flank of redcoats,  
as the 29th Regiment of Foot  
aimed muskets, waiting for *fire!*

How often had he walked, gazing  
down at gray timbers of the wharf,  
as if to find a lost copper coin?

Wind deviled cold air as he stood  
leaning on his hardwood stick,  
& then two lead bullets

tore his chest, blood reddening snow  
on King Street, March 5, 1770,  
first to fall on captain's command.

Five colonists lay for calling hours  
in Faneuil Hall before sharing a grave  
at the Granary Burying Ground.

They had laid a foundering stone  
for the Minutemen at Lexington  
& Concord, first to defy & die,

& an echo of the future rose over  
the courtroom as John Adams  
defended the Brits, calling the dead

a "motley rabble of saucy boys,  
negroes & mulattoes, Irish  
teagues & outlandish jacktars,"

who made soldiers fear for their lives,  
& at day's end only two would pay  
with the branding of their thumbs.

By Yusef Komunyakaa



In order to understand  
the brutality of  
*American* capitalism,  
you have to start  
on the plantation.

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**By Matthew Desmond**

*Photograph by Lyle Ashton Harris*

August 18, 2019





**A couple of years** before he was convicted of securities fraud, Martin Shkreli was the chief executive of a pharmaceutical company that acquired the rights to Daraprim, a lifesaving antiparasitic drug. Previously the drug cost \$13.50 a pill, but in Shkreli's hands, the price quickly increased by a factor of 56, to \$750 a pill. At a health care conference, Shkreli told the audience that he should have raised the price even higher. "No one wants to say it, no one's proud of it," he explained. "But this is a capitalist society, a capitalist system and capitalist rules."

*This is a capitalist society.* It's a fatalistic mantra that seems to get repeated to anyone who questions why America can't be more fair or equal. But around the world, there are many types of capitalist societies, ranging from liberating to exploitative, protective to abusive, democratic to unregulated. When Americans declare that "we live in a capitalist society" — as a real estate mogul told *The Miami Herald* last year when explaining his feelings about small-business owners being evicted from their Little Haiti storefronts — what they're often defending is our nation's peculiarly brutal economy. "Low-road capitalism," the University of Wisconsin-Madison sociologist Joel Rogers has called it. In a capitalist society that goes low, wages are depressed as businesses compete over the price, not the quality, of goods; so-called unskilled workers are typically incentivized through punishments, not promotions; inequality reigns and poverty spreads. In the United States, the richest 1 percent of Americans own 40 percent of the country's wealth, while a larger share of working-age people (18-65) live in poverty than in any other nation belonging to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (O.E.C.D.).

Or consider worker rights in different capitalist nations. In Iceland, 90 percent of wage and salaried workers belong to trade unions authorized to fight for living wages and fair working conditions. Thirty-four percent of Italian workers are unionized, as are 26 percent of Canadian workers. Only 10 percent of American wage and

salaried workers carry union cards. The O.E.C.D. scores nations along a number of indicators, such as how countries regulate temporary work arrangements. Scores run from 5 ("very strict") to 1 ("very loose"). Brazil scores 4.1 and Thailand, 3.7, signaling toothy regulations on temp work. Further down the list are Norway (3.4), India (2.5) and Japan (1.3). The United States scored 0.3, tied for second to last place with Malaysia. How easy is it to fire workers? Countries like Indonesia (4.1) and Portugal (3) have strong rules about severance pay and reasons for dismissal. Those rules relax somewhat in places like Denmark (2.1) and Mexico (1.9). They virtually disappear in the United States, ranked dead last out of 71 nations with a score of 0.5.

Those searching for reasons the American economy is uniquely severe and unbridled have found answers in many places (religion, politics, culture). But recently, historians have pointed persuasively to the gnatty fields of Georgia and Alabama, to the cotton houses and slave auction blocks, as the birthplace of America's low-road approach to capitalism.

Slavery was undeniably a font of phenomenal wealth. By the eve of the Civil War, the Mississippi Valley was home to more millionaires per capita than anywhere else in the United States. Cotton grown and picked by enslaved workers was the nation's most valuable export. The combined value of enslaved people exceeded that of all the railroads and factories in the nation. New Orleans boasted a denser concentration of banking capital than New York City. What made the cotton economy boom in the United States, and not in all the other far-flung parts of the world with climates and soil suitable to the crop, was our nation's unflinching willingness to use violence on nonwhite people and to exert its will on seemingly endless supplies of land and labor. Given the choice between modernity and barbarism, prosperity and poverty, lawfulness and cruelty, democracy and totalitarianism, America chose all of the above.

Nearly two average American lifetimes (79 years) have passed

## Mortgaging the Future: The North-South rift led to a piecemeal system of bank regulation — with dangerous consequences.

By Mehrsa Baradaran

At the start of the Civil War, only states could charter banks. It wasn't until the National Currency Act of 1863 and the National Bank Act of 1864 passed at the height of the Civil War that banks operated in this country on a national scale, with federal oversight. And even then, it was only law in the North. The Union passed the bills so it could establish a national currency in order to finance the war. The legislation also created the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (O.C.C.), the first federal bank regulator. After the war, states were allowed to keep issuing bank charters of their own. This byzantine infrastructure remains to this day and is known as the dual banking system. Among all nations in the world, only the United States has such a fragmentary, overlapping and inefficient system — a direct relic of the conflict between federal and state power over maintenance of the slave-based economy of the South.

Both state regulators and the O.C.C., one of the largest federal regulators, are funded by fees from the banks they regulate. Moreover, banks are effectively able to choose regulators — either federal or state ones, depending on their charter. They can

even change regulators if they become unsatisfied with the one they've chosen. Consumer-protection laws, interest-rate caps and basic-soundness regulations have often been rendered ineffectual in the process — and deregulation of this sort tends to lead to crisis.

In the mid-2000s, when subprime lenders started appearing in certain low-income neighborhoods, many of them majority black and Latino, several state banking regulators took note. In Michigan, the state insurance regulator tried to enforce its consumer-protection laws on Wachovia Mortgage, a subsidiary of Wachovia Bank. In response, Wachovia's national regulator, the O.C.C., stepped in, claiming that banks with a national charter did not have to comply with state law. The Supreme Court agreed with the O.C.C., and Wachovia continued to engage in risky subprime activity.

Eventually loans like those blew up the banking system and the investments of many Americans — especially the most vulnerable. Black communities lost 53 percent of their wealth because of the crisis, a loss that a former congressman, Brad Miller, said "has almost been an extinction event."





**Above: Women and children in a cotton field in the 1860s. Opening pages: The New York Stock Exchange, July 2019**

since the end of slavery, only two. It is not surprising that we can still feel the looming presence of this institution, which helped turn a poor, fledgling nation into a financial colossus. The surprising bit has to do with the many eerily specific ways slavery can still be felt in our economic life. “American slavery is necessarily imprinted on the DNA of American capitalism,” write the historians Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman. The task now, they argue, is “cataloging the dominant and recessive traits” that have been passed down to us, tracing the unsettling and often unrecognized lines of descent by which America’s national sin is now being visited upon the third and fourth generations.

**They picked in** long rows, bent bodies shuffling through cotton fields

white in bloom. Men, women and children picked, using both hands to hurry the work. Some picked in Negro cloth, their raw product returning to them by way of New England mills. Some picked completely naked. Young children ran water across the humped rows, while overseers peered down from horses. Enslaved workers placed each cotton boll into a sack slung around their necks. Their haul would be weighed after the sunlight stalked away from the fields and, as the freedman Charles Ball recalled, you couldn’t “distinguish the weeds from the cotton plants.” If the haul came up light, enslaved workers were often whipped. “A short day’s work was always punished,” Ball wrote.

Cotton was to the 19th century what oil was to the 20th: among the world’s most widely traded

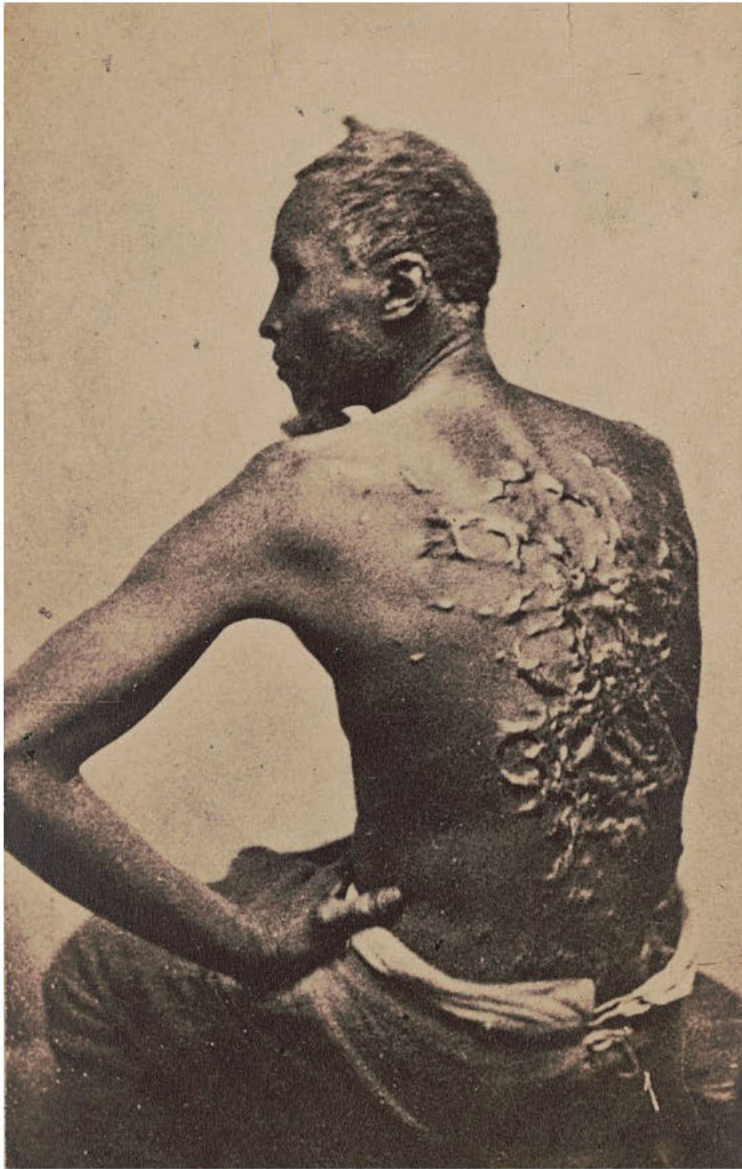
commodities. Cotton is everywhere, in our clothes, hospitals, soap. Before the industrialization of cotton, people wore expensive clothes made of wool or linen and dressed their beds in furs or straw. Whoever mastered cotton could make a killing. But cotton needed land. A field could only tolerate a few straight years of the crop before its soil became depleted. Planters watched as acres that had initially produced 1,000 pounds of cotton yielded only 400 a few seasons later. The thirst for new farmland grew even more intense after the invention of the cotton gin in the early 1790s. Before the gin, enslaved workers grew more cotton than they could clean. The gin broke the bottleneck, making it possible to clean as much cotton as you could grow.

The United States solved its land shortage by expropriating millions of acres from Native Americans,

often with military force, acquiring Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Florida. It then sold that land on the cheap — just \$1.25 an acre in the early 1830s (\$38 in today’s dollars) — to white settlers. Naturally, the first to cash in were the land speculators. Companies operating in Mississippi flipped land, selling it soon after purchase, commonly for double the price.

Enslaved workers felled trees by ax, burned the underbrush and leveled the earth for planting. “Whole forests were literally dragged out by the roots,” John Parker, an enslaved worker, remembered. A lush, twisted mass of vegetation was replaced by a single crop. An origin of American money exerting its will on the earth, spoiling the environment for profit, is found in the cotton plantation. Floods became bigger and more common. The lack





A photograph taken at a medical examination of a man known as Gordon, who escaped from Mississippi and made his way to a Union Army encampment in Baton Rouge, La., in 1863.

of biodiversity exhausted the soil and, to quote the historian Walter Johnson, “rendered one of the richest agricultural regions of the earth dependent on upriver trade for food.”

As slave labor camps spread throughout the South, production surged. By 1831, the country was delivering nearly half the world’s raw cotton crop, with 350 million pounds picked that year. Just four years later, it harvested 500 million pounds. Southern white elites grew rich, as did their counterparts in the North, who erected textile mills to form, in the words of the Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner,

an “unhallowed alliance between the lords of the lash and the lords of the loom.” The large-scale cultivation of cotton hastened the invention of the factory, an institution that propelled the Industrial Revolution and changed the course of history. In 1810, there were 87,000 cotton spindles in America. Fifty years later, there were five million. Slavery, wrote one of its defenders in *De Bow’s Review*, a widely read agricultural magazine, was the “nursing mother of the prosperity of the North.” Cotton planters, millers and consumers were fashioning a new economy, one that was global in scope and required

the movement of capital, labor and products across long distances. In other words, they were fashioning a capitalist economy. “The beating heart of this new system,” Beckert writes, “was slavery.”

**Perhaps you’re reading** this at work, maybe at a multinational corporation that runs like a soft-purring engine. You report to someone, and someone reports to you. Everything is tracked, recorded and analyzed, via vertical reporting systems, double-entry record-keeping and precise quantification. Data seems to hold sway over every operation. It feels like a cutting-edge approach to management, but many of these techniques that we now take for granted were developed by and for large plantations.

When an accountant depreciates an asset to save on taxes or when a midlevel manager spends an afternoon filling in rows and columns on an Excel spreadsheet, they are repeating business procedures whose roots twist back to slave-labor camps. And yet, despite this, “slavery plays almost no role in histories of management,” notes the historian Caitlin Rosenthal in her book *“Accounting for Slavery.”* Since the 1977 publication of Alfred Chandler’s classic study, *“The Visible Hand,”* historians have tended to connect the development of modern business practices to the 19th-century railroad industry, viewing plantation slavery as pre-capitalistic, even primitive. It’s a more comforting origin story, one that protects the idea that America’s economic ascendancy developed not because of, but in spite of, millions of black people toiling on plantations. But management techniques used by 19th-century corporations were implemented during the previous century by plantation owners.

Planters aggressively expanded their operations to capitalize on economies of scale inherent to cotton growing, buying more enslaved workers, investing in large gins and presses and experimenting with different seed varieties. To do so, they developed complicated workplace hierarchies that combined a central office, made up of owners and

lawyers in charge of capital allocation and long-term strategy, with several divisional units, responsible for different operations. Rosenthal writes of one plantation where the owner supervised a top lawyer, who supervised another lawyer, who supervised an overseer, who supervised three bookkeepers, who supervised 16 enslaved head drivers and specialists (like bricklayers), who supervised hundreds of enslaved workers. Everyone was accountable to someone else, and plantations pumped out not just cotton bales but volumes of data about how each bale was produced. This organizational form was very advanced for its time, displaying a level of hierarchal complexity equaled only by large government structures, like that of the British Royal Navy.

Like today’s titans of industry, planters understood that their profits climbed when they extracted maximum effort out of each worker. So they paid close attention to inputs and outputs by developing precise systems of record-keeping. Meticulous bookkeepers and overseers were just as important to the productivity of a slave-labor camp as field hands. Plantation entrepreneurs developed spreadsheets, like Thomas Affleck’s *“Plantation Record and Account Book,”* which ran into eight editions circulated until the Civil War. Affleck’s book was a one-stop-shop accounting manual, complete with rows and columns that tracked per-worker productivity. This book “was really at the cutting edge of the informational technologies available to businesses during this period,” Rosenthal told me. “I have never found anything remotely as complex as Affleck’s book for free labor.” Enslavers used the book to determine end-of-the-year balances, tallying expenses and revenues and noting the causes of their biggest gains and losses. They quantified capital costs on their land, tools and enslaved workforces, applying Affleck’s recommended interest rate. Perhaps most remarkable, they also developed ways to calculate depreciation, a breakthrough in modern management procedures, by assessing the



market value of enslaved workers over their life spans. Values generally peaked between the prime ages of 20 and 40 but were individually adjusted up or down based on sex, strength and temperament: people reduced to data points.

This level of data analysis also allowed planters to anticipate rebellion. Tools were accounted for on a regular basis to make sure a large number of axes or other potential weapons didn't suddenly go missing. "Never allow any slave to lock or unlock any door," advised a Virginia enslaver in 1847. In this way, new bookkeeping techniques developed to maximize returns also helped to ensure that violence flowed in one direction, allowing a minority of whites to control a much larger group of enslaved black people. American planters never forgot what happened in Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) in 1791, when enslaved workers took up arms and revolted. In fact, many white enslavers overthrown during the Haitian Revolution relocated to the United States and started over.

Overseers recorded each enslaved worker's yield. Accountings took place not only after nightfall, when cotton baskets were weighed, but throughout the workday. In the words of a North Carolina planter, enslaved workers were to be "followed up from day break until dark." Having hands line-pick in rows sometimes longer than five football fields allowed overseers to spot anyone lagging behind. The uniform layout of the land had a logic; a logic designed to dominate. Faster workers were placed at the head of the line, which encouraged those who followed to match the captain's pace. When enslaved workers grew ill or old, or became pregnant, they were assigned to lighter tasks. One enslaver established a "sucklers gang" for nursing mothers, as well as a "measles gang," which at once quarantined those struck by the virus and ensured that they did their part to contribute to the productivity machine. Bodies and tasks were aligned with rigorous exactitude. In trade magazines, owners swapped advice about the minutiae of planting, including slave diets and clothing as well as the kind of tone a master should use. In

1846, one Alabama planter advised his fellow enslavers to always give orders "in a mild tone, and try to leave the impression on the mind of the negro that what you say is the result of reflection." The devil (and his profits) were in the details.

The uncompromising pursuit of measurement and scientific accounting displayed in slave plantations predates industrialism. Northern factories would not begin adopting these techniques until decades after the Emancipation Proclamation. As the large slave-labor camps grew increasingly efficient, enslaved black people became America's first modern workers, their productivity increasing at an astonishing pace. During the 60 years leading up to the Civil War, the daily amount of cotton picked per enslaved worker increased 2.3 percent a year. That means that in 1862, the average enslaved fieldworker picked not 25 percent or 50 percent as much but 400 percent as much cotton than his or her counterpart did in 1801.

**Today modern** technology has facilitated unremitting workplace supervision, particularly in the service sector. Companies have developed software that records workers' keystrokes and mouse clicks, along with randomly capturing screenshots multiple times a day. Modern-day workers are subjected to a wide variety of surveillance strategies, from drug tests and closed-circuit video monitoring to tracking apps and even devices that sense heat and motion. A 2006 survey found that more than a third of companies with work forces of 1,000 or more had staff members who read through employees' outbound emails. The technology that accompanies this workplace supervision can make it feel futuristic. But it's only the technology that's new. The core impulse behind that technology pervaded plantations, which sought innermost control over the bodies of their enslaved work force.

The cotton plantation was America's first big business, and the nation's first corporate Big Brother was the overseer. And behind every cold calculation, every rational

## Good as Gold: In Lincoln's wartime "greenbacks," a preview of the 20th-century rise of fiat currency.

By Mehrsa Baradaran

The Constitution is riddled with compromises made between the North and South over the issue of slavery — the Electoral College, the three-fifths clause — but paper currency was too contentious an issue for the framers, so it was left out entirely. Thomas Jefferson, like many Southerners, believed that a national currency would make the federal government too powerful and would also favor the Northern trade-based economy over the plantation economy. So, for much of its first century, the United States was without a national bank or a uniform currency, leaving its economy prone to crisis, bank runs and instability.

At the height of the war, Lincoln understood that he could not feed the troops without more money, so he issued a national currency, backed by the full faith and credit of the United States Treasury — but not by gold. (These bills were known derisively as "greenbacks," a word that has lived on.) The South had a patchwork currency that was backed

by the holdings of private banks — the same banks that helped finance the entire Southern economy, from the plantations to the people enslaved on them. Some Confederate bills even had depictions of enslaved people on their backs.

In a sense, the war over slavery was also a war over the future of the economy and the essentiality of value. By issuing fiat currency, Lincoln bet the future on the elasticity of value. This was the United States' first formal experiment with fiat money, and it was a resounding success. The currency was accepted by national and international creditors — such as private creditors from London, Amsterdam and Paris — and funded the feeding and provisioning of Union troops. In turn, the success of the Union Army fortified the new currency. Lincoln assured critics that the move would be temporary, but leaders who followed him eventually made it permanent — first Franklin Roosevelt during the Great Depression and then, formally, Richard Nixon in 1971.

# Fabric of Modernity: How Southern cotton became the cornerstone of a new global commodities trade.

By Mehrsa Baradaran

Cotton produced under slavery created a worldwide market that brought together the Old World and the New: the industrial textile mills of the Northern states and England, on the one hand, and the cotton plantations of the American South on the other. Textile mills in industrial centers like Lancashire, England, purchased a majority of cotton exports, which created worldwide trade hubs in London and New York where merchants could trade in, invest in, insure and speculate on the cotton-commodity market. Though trade in other commodities existed, it was cotton (and the earlier trade in slave-produced sugar from the Caribbean) that accelerated worldwide commercial markets in the 19th century, creating demand for innovative contracts, novel financial products and modern forms of insurance and credit.

Like all agricultural goods, cotton is prone to fluctuations in quality depending on crop type, location and environmental conditions. Treating it as a commodity led to unique problems: How would damages be calculated if the wrong crop was sent? How would you assure that there was no

misunderstanding between two parties on time of delivery? Legal concepts we still have to this day, like “mutual mistake” (the notion that contracts can be voided if both parties relied on a mistaken assumption), were developed to deal with these issues. Textile merchants needed to purchase cotton in advance of their own production, which meant that farmers needed a way to sell goods they had not yet grown; this led to the invention of futures contracts and, arguably, the commodities markets still in use today.

From the first decades of the 1800s, during the height of the trans-Atlantic cotton trade, the sheer size of the market and the escalating number of disputes between counterparties was such that courts and lawyers began to articulate and codify the common-law standards regarding contracts. This allowed investors and traders to mitigate their risk through contractual arrangement, which smoothed the flow of goods and money. Today law students still study some of these pivotal cases as they learn doctrines like foreseeability, mutual mistake and damages.

fine-tuning of the system, violence lurked. Plantation owners used a combination of incentives and punishments to squeeze as much as possible out of enslaved workers. Some beaten workers passed out from the pain and woke up vomiting. Some “danced” or “trembled” with every hit. An 1829 first-person account from Alabama recorded an overseer’s shoving the faces of women he thought had picked too slow into their cotton baskets and opening up their backs. To the historian Edward Baptist, before the Civil War, Americans “lived in an economy whose bottom gear was torture.”

There is some comfort, I think, in attributing the sheer brutality of slavery to dumb racism. We imagine pain being inflicted somewhat at random, doled out by the stereotypical white overseer, free but poor. But a good many overseers weren’t allowed to whip at will. Punishments were authorized by the higher-ups. It was not so much the rage of the poor white Southerner but the greed of the rich white planter that drove the lash. The violence was neither arbitrary nor gratuitous. It was rational, capitalistic, all part of the plantation’s design. “Each individual having a stated number of pounds of cotton to pick,” a formerly enslaved worker, Henry Watson, wrote in 1848, “the deficit of which was made up by as many lashes being applied to the poor slave’s back.” Because overseers closely monitored enslaved workers’ picking abilities, they assigned each worker a unique quota. Falling short of that quota could get you beaten, but overshooting your target could bring misery the next day, because the master might respond by raising your picking rate.

Profits from heightened productivity were harnessed through the anguish of the enslaved. This was why the fastest cotton pickers were often whipped the most. It was why punishments rose and fell with global market fluctuations. Speaking of cotton in 1854, the fugitive slave John Brown remembered, “When the price rises in the English market, the poor slaves immediately feel the effects, for they are harder driven, and the whip is kept more

constantly going.” Unrestrained capitalism holds no monopoly on violence, but in making possible the pursuit of near limitless personal fortunes, often at someone else’s expense, it does put a cash value on our moral commitments.

Slavery did supplement white workers with what W. E. B. Du Bois called a “public and psychological wage,” which allowed them to roam freely and feel a sense of entitlement. But this, too, served the interests of money. Slavery pulled down all workers’ wages. Both in the cities and countryside, employers had access to a large and flexible labor pool made up of enslaved and free people. Just as in today’s gig economy, day laborers during slavery’s reign often lived under conditions of scarcity and uncertainty, and jobs meant to be worked for a few months were worked for lifetimes. Labor power had little chance when the bosses could choose between buying people, renting them, contracting indentured servants, taking on apprentices or hiring children and prisoners.

This not only created a starkly uneven playing field, dividing workers from themselves; it also made “all nonslavery appear as freedom,” as the economic historian Stanley Engerman has written. Witnessing the horrors of slavery drilled into poor white workers that things could be worse. So they generally accepted their lot, and American freedom became broadly defined as the opposite of bondage. It was a freedom that understood what it was against but not what it was for; a malnourished and mean kind of freedom that kept you out of chains but did not provide bread or shelter. It was a freedom far too easily pleased.

**In recent decades,** America has experienced the financialization of its economy. In 1980, Congress repealed regulations that had been in place since the 1933 Glass-Steagall Act, allowing banks to merge and charge their customers higher interest rates. Since then, increasingly profits have accrued not by trading and producing goods and services but through financial instruments. Between 1980 and 2008, more





African-Americans preparing cotton for the gin at a plantation on Port Royal Island, S.C., in the 1860s.

than \$6.6 trillion was transferred to financial firms. After witnessing the successes and excesses of Wall Street, even nonfinancial companies began finding ways to make money from financial products and activities. Ever wonder why every major retail store, hotel chain and airline wants to sell you a credit card? This financial turn has trickled down into our everyday lives: It's there in our pensions, home mortgages, lines of credit and college-savings portfolios. Americans with some means now act like "enterprising subjects," in the words of the political scientist Robert Aitken.

As it's usually narrated, the story of the ascendancy of American finance tends to begin in 1980, with the gutting of Glass-Steagall, or in

1944 with Bretton Woods, or perhaps in the reckless speculation of the 1920s. But in reality, the story begins during slavery.

Consider, for example, one of the most popular mainstream financial instruments: the mortgage. Enslaved people were used as collateral for mortgages centuries before the home mortgage became the defining characteristic of middle America. In colonial times, when land was not worth much and banks didn't exist, most lending was based on human property. In the early 1700s, slaves were the dominant collateral in South Carolina. Many Americans were first exposed to the concept of a mortgage by trafficking in enslaved people, not real estate, and "the extension of mortgages to

slave property helped fuel the development of American (and global) capitalism," the historian Joshua Rothman told me.

Or consider a Wall Street financial instrument as modern-sounding as collateralized debt obligations (C.D.O.s), those ticking time bombs backed by inflated home prices in the 2000s. C.D.O.s were the grandchildren of mortgage-backed securities based on the inflated value of enslaved people sold in the 1820s and 1830s. Each product created massive fortunes for the few before blowing up the economy.

Enslavers were not the first ones to securitize assets and debts in America. The land companies that thrived during the late 1700s relied on this technique, for instance. But

enslavers did make use of securities to such an enormous degree for their time, exposing stakeholders throughout the Western world to enough risk to compromise the world economy, that the historian Edward Baptist told me that this can be viewed as "a new moment in international capitalism, where you are seeing the development of a globalized financial market." The novel thing about the 2008 foreclosure crisis was not the concept of foreclosing on a homeowner but foreclosing on millions of them. Similarly, what was new about securitizing enslaved people in the first half of the 19th century was not the concept of securitization itself but the crazed level of rash speculation on cotton that selling slave debt promoted.

As America's cotton sector expanded, the value of enslaved workers soared. Between 1804 and 1860, the average price of men ages 21 to 38 sold in New Orleans grew to \$1,200 from roughly \$450. Because they couldn't expand their cotton empires without more enslaved workers, ambitious planters needed to find a way to raise enough capital to purchase more hands. Enter the banks. The Second Bank of the United States, chartered in 1816, began investing heavily in cotton. In the early 1830s, the slaveholding Southwestern states took almost half the bank's business. Around the same time, state-chartered banks began multiplying to such a degree that one historian called it an "orgy of bank-creation."

When seeking loans, planters used enslaved people as collateral. Thomas Jefferson mortgaged 150 of his enslaved workers to build Monticello. People could be sold much more easily than land, and in multiple Southern states, more than eight in 10 mortgage-secured loans used enslaved people as full or partial collateral. As the historian Bonnie Martin has written, "slave owners worked their slaves financially, as well as physically from colonial days until emancipation" by mortgaging people to buy more people. Access to credit grew faster than Mississippi kudzu, leading one 1836 observer to remark that in cotton country "money, or what



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THE PLANTER'S ANNUAL RECORD of his Negroes upon *Pleasant Hill*  
Plantation, during the year 1850 *C. J. Copell* Overseer.

MALES.				FEMALES.			
NAME.	Age.	Value at commencement of the year.	Value at end of the year.	NAME.	Age.	Value at commencement of the year.	Value at end of the year.
John	70	\$50 00	75 00	Wannah	60	100 00	125 00
Tom	49	1000 00	1200 00	Mary	34	800 00	900 00
Sandy	38	600 00	800 00	Fanny	23	800 00	900 00
Edmund	45	1000 00	1300 00	Rachel	32	675 00	750 00
Jimmy	40	700 00	950 00	Martha	27	675 00	700 00
Johnson	38	700 00	950 00	Celia	25	675 00	750 00
Peter		700 00	950 00	Rachel	24	675 00	750 00
Isaac	30	700 00	950 00	Diana	31	600 00	700 00
Anthony	25	800 00	950 00	Chany	32	600 00	675 00
Scott	25	800 00	950 00	Lucy	28	600 00	750 00
George	20	750 00	1050 00	Let	28	550 00	650 00
Jim	37	800 00	950 00	Ozalin	13	600 00	700 00
Dutton	20	700 00	900 00	Amanda	13	1100 00	600 00
Bill	18	700 00	900 00	Larah	9	350 00	450 00
William	24	1000 00	1200 00	Harriet	8	300 00	400 00
Charles	10	500 00	650 00	Let	7	350 00	400 00
Henry	9	375 00	400 00	Wannah	7	350 00	450 00
Wenderson	8	300 00	350 00	Mayan	7	275 00	350 00
Johnson	6	250 00	275 00	Ellen	6	200 00	250 00
Stephen	4	300 00	225 00	Louisa	5	175 00	250 00
Tom	5	250 00	275 00	Lisan	4	200 00	250 00
Monroe	4	200 00	225 00	Melissa	3	100 00	125 00
Daniel	2	150 00	175 00	Matilda	5	200 00	225 00
Jim	2	150 00	175 00	Jimmy	3	150 00	150 00
James	3	175 00	200 00	Carlton	3	150 00	150 00
Levy	1	75 00	100 00	Francis	2	100 00	125 00
		\$9625 00	\$16775 00	Lama	1	100 00	125 00
				Amarantha	1	75 00	100 00
				Laraan	6m	75 00	100 00
				Rose	6m	75 00	100 00
						\$10975 00	\$13850 00
				Ann			100 00
				Delia			100 00
							\$13050 00

An 1850 inventory of enslaved people from the Pleasant Hill Plantation in Mississippi.

passed for money, was the only cheap thing to be had."

Planters took on immense amounts of debt to finance their operations. Why wouldn't they? The math worked out. A cotton plantation in the first decade of the 19th century could leverage their enslaved workers at 8 percent interest and record a return three times that. So leverage they did, sometimes volunteering the same enslaved workers for multiple mortgages. Banks lent with little restraint. By 1833, Mississippi banks had issued 20 times as much paper money as they had gold in

their coffers. In several Southern counties, slave mortgages injected more capital into the economy than sales from the crops harvested by enslaved workers.

Global financial markets got in on the action. When Thomas Jefferson mortgaged his enslaved workers, it was a Dutch firm that put up the money. The Louisiana Purchase, which opened millions of acres to cotton production, was financed by Baring Brothers, the well-heeled British commercial bank. A majority of credit powering the American slave economy came from the London money market. Years after

abolishing the African slave trade in 1807, Britain, and much of Europe along with it, was bankrolling slavery in the United States. To raise capital, state-chartered banks pooled debt generated by slave mortgages and repackaged it as bonds promising investors annual interest. During slavery's boom time, banks did swift business in bonds, finding buyers in Hamburg and Amsterdam, in Boston and Philadelphia.

Some historians have claimed that the British abolition of the slave trade was a turning point in modernity, marked by the development of a new kind of moral consciousness when people began considering the suffering of others thousands of miles away. But perhaps all that changed was a growing need to scrub the blood of enslaved workers off American dollars, British pounds and French francs, a need that Western financial markets fast found a way to satisfy through the global trade in bank bonds. Here was a means to profit from slavery without getting your hands dirty. In fact, many investors may not have realized that their money was being used to buy and exploit people, just as many of us who are vested in multinational textile companies today are unaware that our money subsidizes a business that continues to rely on forced labor in countries like Uzbekistan and China and child workers in countries like India and Brazil. Call it irony, coincidence or maybe cause — historians haven't settled the matter — but avenues to profit indirectly from slavery grew in popularity as the institution of slavery itself grew more unpopular. "I think they go together," the historian Calvin Schermerhorn told me. "We care about fellow members of humanity, but what do we do when we want returns on an investment that depends on their bound labor?" he said. "Yes, there is a higher consciousness. But then it comes down to: Where do you get your cotton from?"

Banks issued tens of millions of dollars in loans on the assumption that rising cotton prices would go on forever. Speculation reached a fever pitch in the 1830s, as businessmen, planters and lawyers convinced themselves that they could amass real treasure by joining in a risky

game that everyone seemed to be playing. If planters thought themselves invincible, able to bend the laws of finance to their will, it was most likely because they had been granted authority to bend the laws of nature to their will, to do with the land and the people who worked it as they pleased. Du Bois wrote: "The mere fact that a man could be, under the law, the actual master of the mind and body of human beings had to have disastrous effects. It tended to inflate the ego of most planters beyond all reason; they became arrogant, strutting, quarrelsome kinglets." What are the laws of economics to those exercising godlike power over an entire people?

**We know how** these stories end. The American South rashly overproduced cotton thanks to an abundance of cheap land, labor and credit, consumer demand couldn't keep up with supply, and prices fell. The value of cotton started to drop as early as 1834 before plunging like a bird winged in midflight, setting off the Panic of 1837. Investors and creditors called in their debts, but plantation owners were underwater. Mississippi planters owed the banks in New Orleans \$33 million in a year their crops yielded only \$10 million in revenue. They couldn't simply liquidate their assets to raise the money. When the price of cotton tumbled, it pulled down the value of enslaved workers and land along with it. People bought for \$2,000 were now selling for \$60. Today, we would say the planters' debt was "toxic."

Because enslavers couldn't repay their loans, the banks couldn't make interest payments on their bonds. Shouts went up around the Western world, as investors began demanding that states raise taxes to keep their promises. After all, the bonds were backed by taxpayers. But after a swell of populist outrage, states decided not to squeeze the money out of every Southern family, coin by coin. But neither did they foreclose on defaulting plantation owners. If they tried, planters absconded to Texas (an independent republic at the time) with their treasure and enslaved work force. Furious bondholders mounted lawsuits and cashiers committed





# The Daily Lies

**WINNING JUSTICE**  
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## BLACK PEOPLE ARE FREE

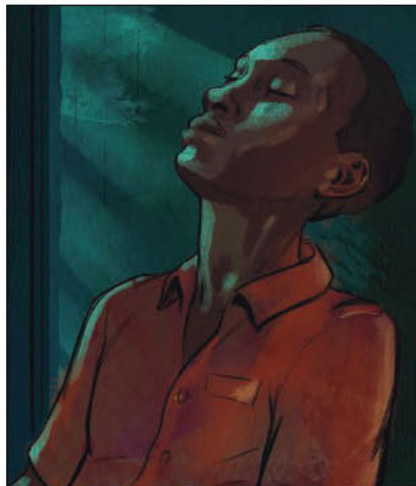
**CORRECTION:** IN NEW YORK AND NATIONALLY, BLACK AND BROWN PEOPLE BEAR A DISPROPORTIONATE BURDEN FOR AN UNJUST CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM. THIS IS NOT FREEDOM, BUT YOU CAN FIGHT FOR THE CHANGE WE NEED TO SEE.



BY COLOR OF CHANGE

**CORRUPT PROSECUTORS ARE SELLING OFF THE FREEDOM OF BLACK PEOPLE WITH THE PREDATORY MONEY BAIL SYSTEM, FUELING MASS INCARCERATION.**

**BLACK AND BROWN IMMIGRANTS ARE BEING RIPPED FROM THEIR FAMILIES.**



**200K BLACK AND BROWN KIDS ARE CAUGHT UP IN THE ADULT CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM EVERY YEAR.**



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suicide, but the bankrupt states refused to pay their debts. Cotton slavery was too big to fail. The South chose to cut itself out of the global credit market, the hand that had fed cotton expansion, rather than hold planters and their banks accountable for their negligence and avarice.

Even academic historians, who from their very first graduate course are taught to shun presentism and accept history on its own terms, haven't been able to resist drawing parallels between the Panic of 1837 and the 2008 financial crisis. All the ingredients are there: mystifying

financial instruments that hide risk while connecting bankers, investors and families around the globe; fantastic profits amassed overnight; the normalization of speculation and breathless risk-taking; stacks of paper money printed on the myth that some institution (cotton, housing) is unshakable; considered and intentional exploitation of black people; and impunity for the profiteers when it all falls apart — the borrowers were bailed out after 1837, the banks after 2008.

During slavery, "Americans built a culture of speculation unique in

its abandon," writes the historian Joshua Rothman in his 2012 book, "Flush Times and Fever Dreams." That culture would drive cotton production up to the Civil War, and it has been a defining characteristic of American capitalism ever since. It is the culture of acquiring wealth without work, growing at all costs and abusing the powerless. It is the culture that brought us the Panic of 1837, the stock-market crash of 1929 and the recession of 2008. It is the culture that has produced staggering inequality and undignified working conditions. If today

America promotes a particular kind of low-road capitalism — a union-busting capitalism of poverty wages, gig jobs and normalized insecurity; a winner-take-all capitalism of stunning disparities not only permitting but awarding financial rule-bending; a racist capitalism that ignores the fact that slavery didn't just deny black freedom but built white fortunes, originating the black-white wealth gap that annually grows wider — one reason is that American capitalism was founded on the lowest road there is. ♦

## Municipal Bonds: How Slavery Built Wall Street

By Tiya Miles

While "Main Street" might be anywhere and everywhere, as the historian Joshua Freeman points out, "Wall Street" has only ever been one specific place on the map. New York has been a principal center of American commerce dating back to the colonial period — a centrality founded on the labor extracted from thousands of indigenous American and African slaves.

Desperate for hands to build towns, work wharves, tend farms and keep households, colonists across the American Northeast — Puritans in Massachusetts Bay, Dutch settlers in New Netherland and Quakers in Pennsylvania — availed themselves of slave labor. Native Americans captured in colonial wars in New England were forced to work, and African people were imported in greater and greater numbers. New York City soon surpassed other slaving towns of the Northeast in scale as well as impact.

Founded by the Dutch as New Amsterdam in 1625, what would

become the City of New York first imported 11 African men in 1626. The Dutch West India Company owned these men and their families, directing their labors to common enterprises like land clearing and road construction. After the English Duke of York acquired authority over the colony and changed its name, slavery grew harsher and more comprehensive. As the historian Leslie Harris has written, 40 percent of New York households held enslaved people in the early 1700s.

New Amsterdam's and New York's enslaved put in place much of the local infrastructure, including Broad Way and the Bowery roads, Governors Island, and the first municipal buildings and churches. The unfree population in New York was not small, and their experience of exploitation was not brief. In 1991, construction workers uncovered an extensive 18th-century African burial ground in Lower Manhattan, the final resting place of approximately 20,000 people.

And New York City's investment in slavery expanded in the 19th century. In 1799 the state of New York passed the first of a series of laws that would gradually abolish slavery over the coming decades, but the investors and financiers of the state's primary metropolis doubled down on the business of slavery. New Yorkers invested heavily in the growth of Southern plantations, catching the wave of the first cotton boom. Southern planters who wanted to buy more land and black people borrowed funds from New York bankers and protected the value of bought bodies with policies from New York insurance companies. New York factories produced the agricultural tools forced into Southern slaves' hands and the rough fabric called "Negro Cloth" worn on their backs. Ships originating in New York docked in the port of New Orleans to service the trade in domestic and (by then, illegal) international slaves. As the historian David Quigley has demonstrated, New York City's

phenomenal economic consolidation came as a result of its dominance in the Southern cotton trade, facilitated by the construction of the Erie Canal. It was in this moment — the early decades of the 1800s — that New York City gained its status as a financial behemoth through shipping raw cotton to Europe and bankrolling the boom industry that slavery made.

In 1711, New York City officials decreed that "all Negro and Indian slaves that are let out to hire ... be hired at the Market house at the Wall Street Slip." It is uncanny, but perhaps predictable, that the original wall for which Wall Street is named was built by the enslaved at a site that served as the city's first organized slave auction. The capital profits and financial wagers of Manhattan, the United States and the world still flow through this place where black and red people were traded and where the wealth of a region was built on slavery.

# Thank You

**"I want to take this moment to celebrate and salute you all for the work that you do in the community. From the day that we connected, each of you has inspired me to become a better person and to push my efforts in the community forward.**

**Thank you."**

**Keep Flourishing and God Bless,  
Ekpe Udoh**





● Late 1773: A publishing house in London releases “Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral,” by Phillis Wheatley, a 20-year-old enslaved woman in Boston, making her the first African-American to publish a book of poetry.

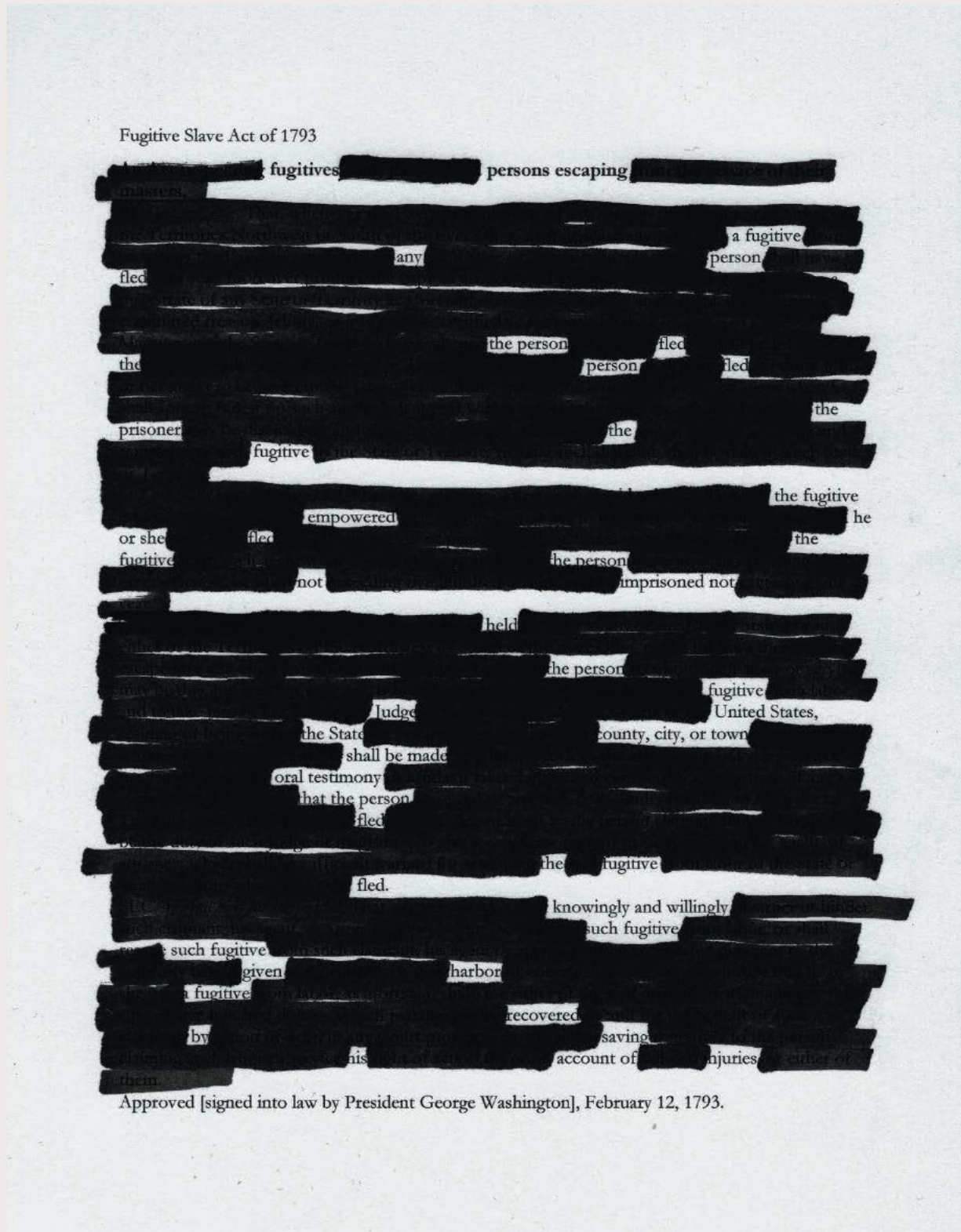
Pretend I wrote this at your grave.  
Pretend the grave is marked. Pretend we know where it is.  
Copp’s Hill, say. I have been there and you might be.  
Foremother, your name is the boat that brought you.  
Pretend I see it in the stone, with a gruesome cherub.  
Children come with thin paper and charcoal to touch you.  
Pretend it drizzles and a man in an ugly plastic poncho  
circles the Mathers, all but sniffing the air warily.  
We don’t need to pretend for this part.  
There is a plaque in the grass for Increase, and Cotton.  
And Samuel, dead at 78, final son, who was there  
on the day when they came looking for proof.  
Eighteen of them watched you and they signed to say:  
    *the Poems specified in the following Page, were (as we verily believe)*  
    *written by Phillis, a young Negro Girl, who was but a few Years since,*  
    *brought an uncultivated Barbarian from Africa*  
and the abolitionists cheered at the blow to Kant  
    *the Negroes of Africa have by nature no feeling that rises above the trifling*  
and the enlightened ones bellowed at the strike against Hume  
    *no ingenious manufacturers amongst them, no arts, no sciences*

Pretend I was there with you, Phillis, when you asked in a letter to no one:  
How many iambs to be a real human girl?  
Which turn of phrase evidences a righteous heart?  
If I know of Ovid may I keep my children?

Pretend that on your grave there is a date  
and it is so long before my heroes came along to call you a coon  
for the praises you sang of your captors  
who took you on discount because they assumed you would die  
that it never ever hurt your feelings.  
Or pretend you did not love America.  
Phillis, I would like to think that after you were released unto the world,  
when they jailed your husband for his debts  
and you lay in the maid’s quarters at night,  
a free and poor woman with your last living boy,  
that you thought of the Metamorphoses,  
making the sign of Arachne in the tangle of your fingers.  
And here, after all, lay the proof:  
The man in the plastic runs a thumb over stone. The gray is slick and tough.  
*Phillis Wheatley: thirty-one. Had misery enough.*

By Eve L. Ewing

- Feb. 12, 1793: George Washington signs into law the first Fugitive Slave Act, which requires United States citizens to return runaway enslaved people to the state from which they came.



By Reginald Dwayne Betts

Why doesn't the United States have universal health care? The answer begins with policies enacted after the Civil War.



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By Jeneen Interlandi



**The smallpox virus** hopped across the post-Civil War South, invading the makeshift camps where many thousands of newly freed African-Americans had taken refuge but leaving surrounding white communities comparatively unscathed. This pattern of affliction was no mystery: In the late 1860s, doctors had yet to discover viruses, but they knew that poor nutrition made people more susceptible to illness and that poor sanitation contributed to the spread of disease. They also knew that quarantine and vaccination could stop an outbreak in its tracks; they had used those very tools to prevent a smallpox outbreak from ravaging the Union Army.

Smallpox was not the only health disparity facing the newly emancipated, who at the close of the Civil War faced a considerably higher mortality rate than that of whites. Despite their urgent pleas for assistance, white leaders were deeply ambivalent about intervening. They worried about black epidemics spilling into their own communities and wanted the formerly enslaved to be healthy enough to return to plantation work. But they also feared that free and healthy African-Americans would upend the racial hierarchy, the historian Jim Downs writes in his 2012 book, *"Sick From Freedom."*

Federal policy, he notes, reflected white ambivalence at every turn. Congress established the medical division of the Freedmen's Bureau — the nation's first federal health care program — to address the health crisis, but officials deployed just 120 or so doctors across the war-torn South, then ignored those doctors' pleas for personnel and equipment. They erected more than 40 hospitals but prematurely shuttered most of them.

White legislators argued that free assistance of any kind would breed dependence and that when it came to black infirmity, hard labor was a better salve than white medicine. As the death toll rose, they developed a new theory: Blacks were so ill suited to freedom that the entire race was going extinct. "No charitable black scheme can wash out the color of the Negro, change his inferior nature or save him from his inevitable fate," an Ohio congressman said.

One of the most eloquent rejoinders to the theory of black extinction came from Rebecca Lee Crumpler, the nation's first black female doctor. Crumpler was born free and trained and practiced in Boston. At the close of the war, she joined the Freedmen's Bureau and worked in the freed people's communities of Virginia. In 1883, she published one of the first treatises on the burden of disease in black communities. "They seem to forget there is a *cause* for every ailment," she wrote. "And that it may be in their power to remove it."

**In the decades** following Reconstruction, the former slave states came to wield enormous congressional power through a voting bloc that was uniformly segregationist and overwhelmingly Democratic. That bloc preserved the nation's racial stratification by securing local control of federal programs under a mantra of "states' rights" and, in some cases, by adding qualifications directly to federal laws with discriminatory intent.

As the Columbia University historian Ira Katznelson and others have documented, it was largely at the behest of Southern Democrats that farm and domestic workers — more than half the nation's black work force at the time — were excluded from New Deal policies, including the Social Security and Wagner Acts of 1935 (the Wagner Act ensured the right of workers to collective bargaining), and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which set a minimum wage and established the eight-hour workday. The same voting bloc ensured states controlled crucial programs like Aid to Dependent Children and the 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act, better known as the G.I. Bill, allowing state leaders to effectively exclude black people.

In 1945, when President Truman called on Congress to expand the nation's hospital system as part of a larger health care plan, Southern Democrats obtained key concessions that shaped the American medical landscape for decades to come. The Hill-Burton Act provided federal grants for hospital construction to communities in need, giving funding priority to rural areas (many of them in the South). But it also ensured that states controlled

the disbursement of funds and could segregate resulting facilities.

Professional societies like the American Medical Association barred black doctors; medical schools excluded black students, and most hospitals and health clinics segregated black patients. Federal health care policy was designed, both implicitly and explicitly, to exclude black Americans. As a result, they faced an array of inequities — including statistically shorter, sicker lives than their white counterparts. What's more, access to good medical care was predicated on a system of employer-based insurance that was inherently difficult for black Americans to get. "They were denied most of the jobs that offered coverage," says David Barton Smith, an emeritus historian of health care policy at Temple University. "And even when some of them got health insurance, as the Pullman porters did, they couldn't make use of white facilities."

In the shadows of this exclusion, black communities created their own health systems. Lay black women began a national community health care movement that included fund-raising for black health facilities; campaigns to educate black communities about nutrition, sanitation and disease prevention; and programs like National Negro Health Week that drew national attention to racial health disparities. Black doctors and nurses — most of them trained at one of two black medical colleges, Meharry and Howard — established their own professional organizations and began a concerted war against medical apartheid. By the 1950s, they were pushing for a federal health care system for all citizens.

That fight put the National Medical Association (the leading black medical society) into direct conflict with the A.M.A., which was opposed to any nationalized health plan. In the late 1930s and the 1940s, the group helped defeat two such proposals with a vitriolic campaign that informs present-day debates: They called the idea socialist and un-American and warned of government intervention in the doctor-patient relationship. The group used the same arguments in the mid-'60s, when proponents of national health insurance introduced Medicare. This time, the N.M.A.

developed a countermessage: Health care was a basic human right.

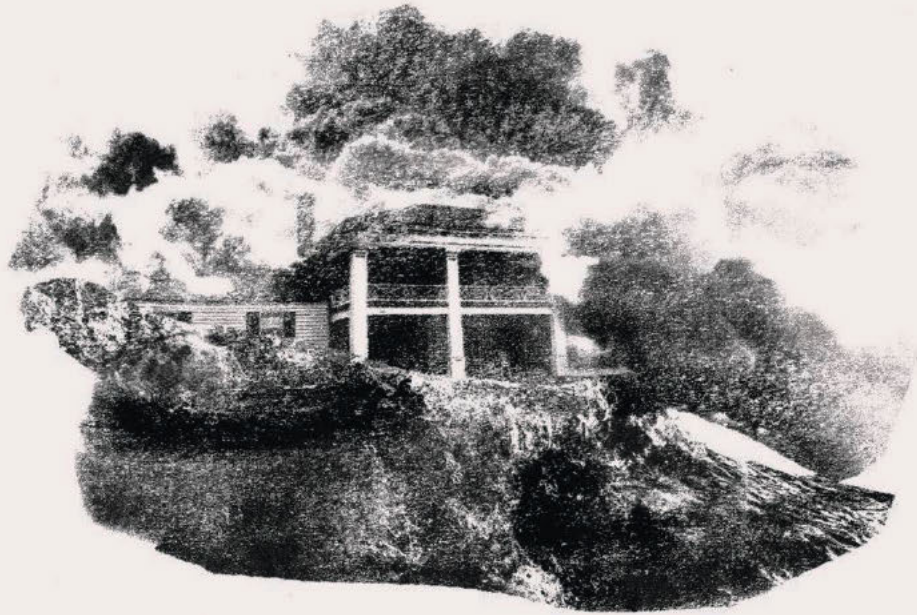
Medicare and Medicaid were part of a broader plan that finally brought the legal segregation of hospitals to an end: The 1964 Civil Rights Act outlawed segregation for any entity receiving federal funds, and the new health care programs soon placed every hospital in the country in that category. But they still excluded millions of Americans. Those who did not fit into specific age, employment or income groups had little to no access to health care.

**In 2010, the Affordable Care Act** brought health insurance to nearly 20 million previously uninsured adults. The biggest beneficiaries of this boon were people of color, many of whom obtained coverage through the law's Medicaid expansion. That coverage contributed to a measurable decrease in some racial health disparities, but the success was neither as enduring nor as widespread as it might have been. Several states, most of them in the former Confederacy, refused to participate in Medicaid expansion. And several are still trying to make access to the program contingent on onerous new work requirements. The results of both policies have been unequivocal. States that expanded Medicaid saw a drop in disease-related deaths, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research. But in Arkansas, the first state to implement work requirements, nearly 20,000 people were forced off the insurance plan.

One hundred and fifty years after the freed people of the South first petitioned the government for basic medical care, the United States remains the only high-income country in the world where such care is not guaranteed to every citizen. In the United States, racial health disparities have proved as foundational as democracy itself. "There has never been any period in American history where the health of blacks was equal to that of whites," Evelyn Hammonds, a historian of science at Harvard University, says. "Disparity is built into the system." Medicare, Medicaid and the Affordable Care Act have helped shrink those disparities. But no federal health policy yet has eradicated them. ♦



● Aug. 30, 1800: Gabriel Prosser, a 24-year-old literate blacksmith, organizes one of the most extensively planned slave rebellions, with the intention of forming an independent black state in Virginia. After other enslaved people share details of his plot, Gabriel's Rebellion is thwarted. He is later tried, found guilty and hanged.



As he approached the Brook Swamp beneath the city of Richmond, Va., Gabriel Prosser looked to the sky. Up above, the clouds coalesced into an impenetrable black, bringing on darkness and a storm the ferocity of which the region had scarcely seen. He may have cried and he may have prayed but the thing Gabriel did not do was turn back. He was expecting fire on this night and would make no concessions for the coming rain.

And he was not alone. A hundred men; 500 men; *a thousand men* had gathered from all over the state on this 30th day of August 1800. Black men, African men — men from the fields and men from the house, men from the church and the smithy — men who could be called many things but after this night would not be called slaves gathered in the flooding basin armed with scythes, swords, bayonets and smuggled guns.

One of the men tested the rising water, citing the Gospel of John: "For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had." But the water would not abate. As the night wore on and the storm persisted, Gabriel was overcome by a dawning truth: The Gospel would not save him. His army could not pass.

Gov. James Monroe was expecting them. Having returned from his appointment to France and built his sweeping Highland plantation on the periphery of Charlottesville, Monroe wrote to his mentor Thomas Jefferson seeking advice on his "fears of a negro insurrection." When

the Negroes Tom and Pharoah of the Sheppard plantation betrayed Gabriel's plot on a Saturday morning, Monroe was not surprised. By virtue of the privilege bestowed upon him as his birthright, he was expecting them.

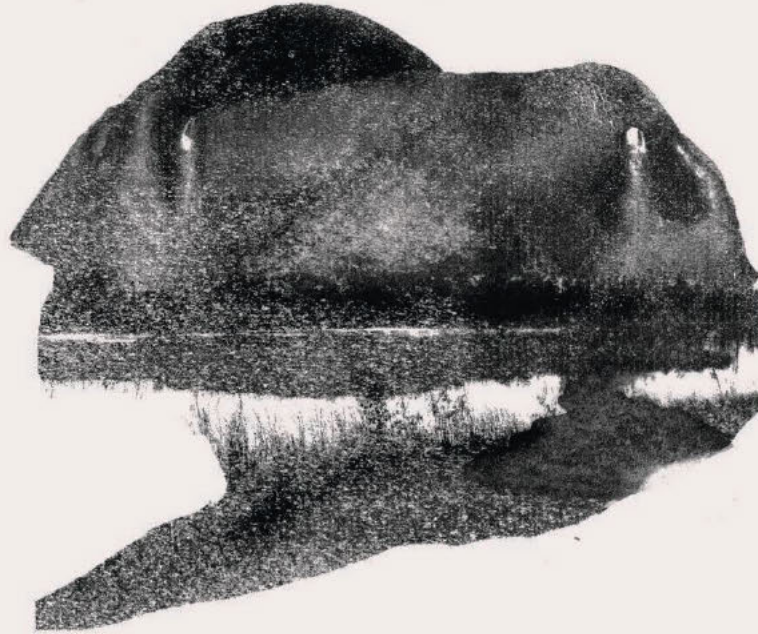
Gabriel Prosser was executed Oct. 10, 1800. Eighteen hundred; the year Denmark Vesey bought his freedom, the year of John Brown's and Nat Turner's births. As he awaited the gallows near the foot of the James River, Gabriel could see all that was not to be — the first wave of men tasked to set fire to the city perimeter, the second to fell a city weakened by the diversion; the governor's mansion, James Monroe brought to heel and served a lash for every man, woman and child enslaved on his Highland plantation; the Quakers, Methodists, Frenchmen and poor whites who would take up with his army and create a more perfect union from which they would spread the infection of freedom — Gabriel saw it all.

He even saw Tom and Pharoah, manumitted by the government of Virginia, a thousand dollars to their master as recompense; a thousand dollars for the sabotage of Gabriel's thousand men. He did not see the other 25 men in his party executed. Instead, he saw Monroe in an audience he wanted no part of and paid little notice to. For Gabriel Prosser the blacksmith, leader of men and accepting no master's name, had stepped into the troubled water. To the very last, he was whole. He was free.

By Barry Jenkins



● Jan. 1, 1808: The Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves goes into effect, banning the importation of enslaved people from abroad. But more than one million enslaved people who can be bought and sold are already in the country, and the breaking up of black families continues.



The whisper run through the quarters like a river swelling to flood. We passed the story to each other in the night in our pallets, in the day over the well, in the fields as we pulled at the fallow earth. *They ain't stealing us from over the water no more.* We dreamed of those we was stolen from: our mothers who oiled and braided our hair to our scalps, our fathers who cut our first staffs, our sisters and brothers who we pinched for tattling on us, and we felt a cool light wind move through us for one breath. Felt like ease to imagine they remained, had not been stolen, would never be.

That be a foolish thing. We thought this later when the first Georgia Man come and roped us. Grabbed a girl on her way for morning water. Snatched a boy running to the stables. A woman after she left her babies blinking awake in their sack blankets. A man sharpening a hoe. They always came before dawn for us chosen to be sold south.

We didn't understand what it would be like, couldn't think beyond the panic, the prying, the crying, the begging and the screaming, the endless screaming from the mouth and beyond. Sounding through the whole body, breaking the heart with its volume. A blood keen. But the ones that owned and sold us was deaf to it. Was unfeeling of the tugging the children did on their fathers' arms or the glance of a sister's palm over her sold sister's face for the last time. But we was all feeling, all seeing, all hearing, all smelling: We felt it for the terrible dying it was. Knowed we was walking out of one life and into another. An afterlife in a burning place.

The farther we marched, the hotter it got. Our skin grew around the rope. Our muscles melted to nothing. Our fat to bone. The land rolled to a

flat bog, and in the middle of it, a city called New Orleans. When we shuffled into that town of the dead, they put us in pens. Fattened us. Tried to disguise our limps, oiled the pallor of sickness out of our skins, raped us to assess our soft parts, then told us lies about ourselves to make us into easier sells. Was told to answer yes when they asked us if we were master seamstresses, blacksmiths or lady's maids. Was told to disavow the wives we thought we heard calling our names when we first woke in the morning, the husbands we imagined lying with us, chest to back, while the night's torches burned, the children whose eyelashes we thought we could still feel on our cheeks when the rain turned to a fine mist while we stood in lines outside the pens waiting for our next hell to take legs and seek us out.

Trade our past lives for new deaths.

By Jesmyn Ward



*A traffic jam in Atlanta would seem to have nothing to do with slavery. But look closer. ...*



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By Kevin M. Kruse



**Atlanta has some** of the worst traffic in the United States. Drivers there average two hours each week mired in gridlock, hung up at countless spots, from the constantly clogged Georgia 400 to a complicated cluster of overpasses at Tom Moreland Interchange, better known as “Spaghetti Junction.” The Downtown Connector — a 12-to-14-lane megahighway that in theory connects the city’s north to its south — regularly has three-mile-long traffic jams that last four hours or more. Commuters might assume they’re stuck there because some city planner made a mistake, but the heavy congestion actually stems from a great success. In Atlanta, as in dozens of cities across America, daily congestion is a direct consequence of a century-long effort to segregate the races.

For much of the nation’s history, the campaign to keep African-Americans “in their place” socially and politically manifested itself in an effort to keep them quite literally in one place or another. Before the Civil War, white masters kept enslaved African-Americans close at hand to coerce their labor and guard against revolts. But with the abolition of slavery, the spatial relationship was reversed. Once they had no need to keep constant watch over African-Americans, whites wanted them out of sight. Civic planners pushed them into ghettos, and the segregation we know today became the rule.

At first the rule was overt, as Southern cities like Baltimore and Louisville enacted laws that mandated residential racial segregation. Such laws were eventually invalidated by the Supreme Court, but later measures achieved the same effect by more subtle means. During the New Deal, federal agencies like the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration encouraged redlining practices that explicitly marked minority neighborhoods as risky investments and therefore discouraged bank loans, mortgages and insurance there. Other policies simply targeted black communities for isolation and demolition. The postwar programs for urban renewal, for

instance, destroyed black neighborhoods and displaced their residents with such regularity that African-Americans came to believe, in James Baldwin’s memorable phrase, that “urban renewal means Negro removal.”

**This intertwined history** of infrastructure and racial inequality extended into the 1950s and 1960s with the creation of the Interstate highway system. The federal government shouldered nine-tenths of the cost of the new Interstate highways, but local officials often had a say in selecting the path. As in most American cities in the decades after the Second World War, the new highways in Atlanta — local expressways at first, then Interstates — were steered along routes that bulldozed “blighted” neighborhoods that housed its poorest residents, almost always racial minorities. This was a common practice not just in Southern cities like Jacksonville, Miami, Nashville, New Orleans, Richmond and Tampa, but in countless metropolises across the country, including Chicago, Cincinnati, Denver, Detroit, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Syracuse and Washington.

While Interstates were regularly used to destroy black neighborhoods, they were also used to keep black and white neighborhoods apart. Today, major roads and highways serve as stark dividing lines between black and white sections in cities like Buffalo, Hartford, Kansas City, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh and St. Louis. In Atlanta, the intent to segregate was crystal clear. Interstate 20, the east-west corridor that connects with I-75 and I-85 in Atlanta’s center, was deliberately plotted along a winding route in the late 1950s to serve, in the words of Mayor Bill Hartsfield, as “the boundary between the white and Negro communities” on the west side of town. Black neighborhoods, he hoped, would be hemmed in on one side of the new expressway, while white neighborhoods on the other side of it would be protected. Racial residential patterns have long since changed, of course, but the awkward path of I-20 remains in place.

By razing impoverished areas downtown and segregating the races in the western section, Atlanta’s leaders hoped to keep downtown and its surroundings a desirable locale for middle-class whites. Articulating a civic vision of racial peace and economic progress, Hartsfield bragged that Atlanta was the “City Too Busy to Hate.” But the so-called urban renewal and the new Interstates only helped speed white flight from Atlanta. Over the 1960s, roughly 60,000 whites left the city, with many of them relocating in the suburbs along the northern rim. When another 100,000 whites left the city in the 1970s, it became a local joke that Atlanta had become “The City Too Busy Moving to Hate.”

As the new suburbs ballooned in size, traffic along the poorly placed highways became worse and worse. The obvious solution was mass transit — buses, light rail and trains that would more efficiently link the suburbs and the city — but that, too, faced opposition, largely for racial reasons. The white suburbanites had purposefully left the problems of the central city behind and worried that mass transit would bring them back.

Accordingly, suburbanites waged a sustained campaign against the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) from its inception. Residents of the nearly all-white Cobb County resoundingly rejected the system in a 1965 vote. In 1971, Gwinnett and Clayton Counties, which were then also overwhelmingly white, followed suit, voting down a proposal to join MARTA by nearly 4-1 margins, and keeping MARTA out became the default position of many local politicians. (Emmett Burton, a Cobb County commissioner, won praise for promising to “stock the Chattahoochee with piranha” if that were needed to keep MARTA away.) David Chesnut, the white chairman of MARTA, insisted in 1987 that suburban opposition to mass transit had been “90 percent a racial issue.” Because of that resistance, MARTA became a city-only service that did little to relieve commuter traffic. By the mid-1980s, white

racists were joking that MARTA, with its heavily black ridership, stood for “Moving Africans Rapidly Through Atlanta.”

Even as the suburbs became more racially diverse, they remained opposed to MARTA. After Gwinnett voted the system down again in 1990, a former Republican legislator later marveled at the arguments given by opponents. “They will come up with 12 different ways of saying they are not racist in public,” he told a reporter. “But you get them alone, behind a closed door, and you see this old blatant racism that we have had here for quite some time.”

**Earlier this year**, Gwinnett County voted MARTA down for a third time. Proponents had hoped that changes in the county’s racial composition, which was becoming less white, might make a difference. But the March initiative still failed by an eight-point margin. Officials discovered that some nonwhite suburbanites shared the isolationist instincts of earlier white suburbanites. One white property manager in her late 50s told a reporter that she voted against mass transit because it was used by poorer residents and immigrants, whom she called “illegals.” “Why should we pay for it?” she asked. “Why subsidize people who can’t manage their money and save up a dime to buy a car?”

In the end, Atlanta’s traffic is at a standstill because its attitude about transit is at a standstill, too. Fifty years after its Interstates were set down with an eye to segregation and its rapid-transit system was stunted by white flight, the city is still stalled in the past. ♦



*American democracy  
has never shed an  
undemocratic  
assumption present  
at its founding:  
that some people  
are inherently  
entitled to more power  
than others.*

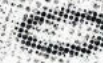
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By Jamelle Bouie



- To vote for a write-in candidate: completely darken the oval (●) to the left of the blank line and write in the candidate's name. Only votes cast for candidates who filed as write-in candidates can be counted.

Do not write in a candidate's name if that person's name does not appear on the ballot.



For President  
Richard Duncan  
For Vice President  
Ricky Johnson  
Nominally candidates



For President  
Hillary Clinton  
For Vice President  
Tim Kaine  
Democratic



For President  
Donald J. Trump  
For Vice President  
Michael R. Pence  
Republican



For President  
Gary Johnson  
For Vice President  
William Weld  
Libertarian



For President

Write-in

For Vice President



**If you want** to understand American politics in 2019 and the strain of reactionary extremism that has taken over the Republican Party, a good place to start is 2011: the year after a backlash to Barack Obama's presidency swept Tea Party insurgents into Congress, flipping control of the House.

It was clear, at the start of that year, that Congress would have to lift the debt ceiling — the limit on bonds and other debt instruments the government issues when it doesn't have the revenues to fulfill spending obligations. These votes were often opportunities for grandstanding and occasionally brinkmanship by politicians from both parties. But it was understood that, when push came to shove, Congress would lift the limit and the government would pay its obligations.

2011 was different. Congressional Republicans, led by the new Tea Party conservatives, wanted to repeal the Affordable Care Act and make other sharp cuts to the social safety net. But Democrats controlled the Senate and the White House. So House Republicans decided to take a hostage. "I'm asking you to look at a potential increase in the debt limit as a leverage moment when the White House and President Obama will have to deal with us," said the incoming majority leader, Eric Cantor, at a closed-door retreat days before the session began, according to *The Washington Post*. Either the White House would agree to harsh austerity measures or Republicans would force the United States to default on its debt obligations, precipitating an economic crisis just as the country, and the world, was beginning to recover from the Great Recession.

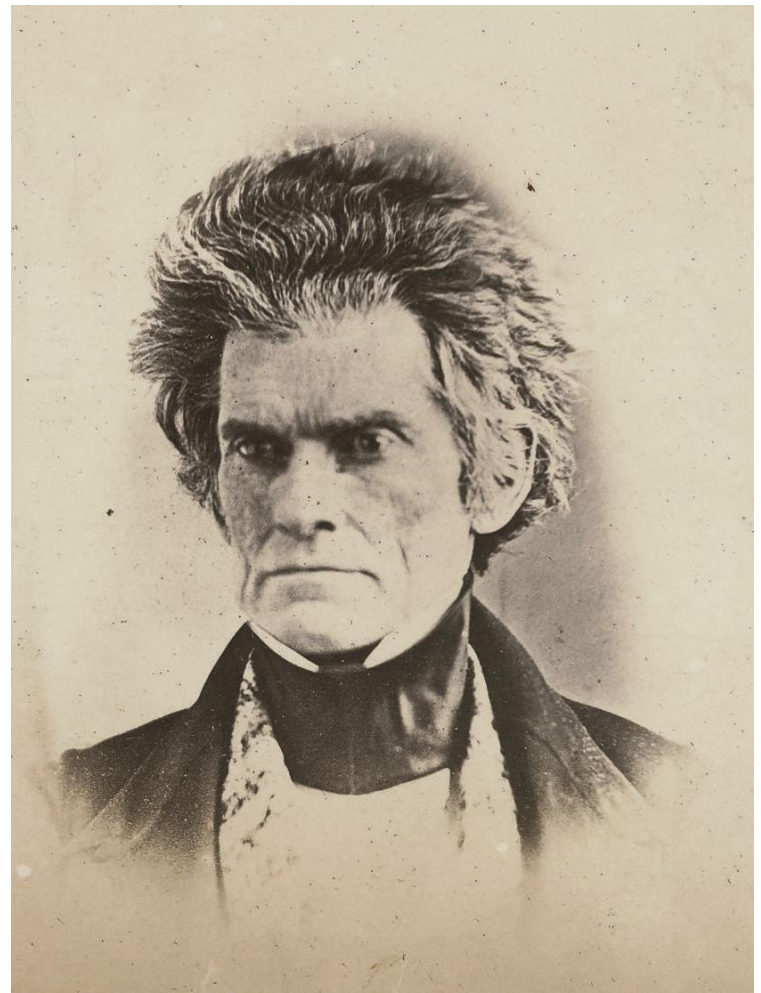
The debt-limit standoff was a case study of a fundamental change within the Republican Party after Obama took office in 2009. Republicans would either win total victory or they would wreck the system itself. The Senate Republican leader, Mitch McConnell, used a variety of procedural tactics to effectively nullify the president's ability to nominate federal judges and fill vacancies in the executive branch. In the minority, he used the filibuster to an unprecedented degree. In the

majority, after Republicans won the Senate in the 2010 midterm elections, he led an extraordinary blockade of the Supreme Court, stopping the Senate from even considering the president's nominee for the bench.

Where did this destructive, sectarian style of partisan politics come from? Conventional wisdom traces its roots to the "Gingrich Revolution" of the 1990s, whose architect pioneered a hardball, insurgent style of political combat, undermining norms and dismantling congressional institutions for the sake of power. This is true enough, but the Republican Party of the Obama years didn't just recycle its Gingrich-era excesses; it also pursued a policy of total opposition, not just blocking Obama but also casting him as fundamentally illegitimate and un-American. He may have been elected by a majority of the voting public, but that majority didn't count. It didn't represent the "real" America.

Obama's election reignited a fight about democratic legitimacy — about who can claim the country as their own, and who has the right to act as a citizen — that is as old as American democracy itself. And the reactionary position in this conflict, which seeks to narrow the scope of participation and arrest the power of majorities beyond the limits of the Constitution, has its own peculiar history: not just in the ideological battles of the founding but also in the institution that defined the early American republic as much as any other.

**The plantations** that dotted the landscape of the antebellum South produced the commodities that fueled the nation's early growth. Enslaved people working in glorified labor camps picked cotton, grew indigo, harvested resin from trees for turpentine and generated additional capital in the form of their children, bought, sold and securitized on the open market. But plantations didn't just produce goods; they produced ideas too. Enslaved laborers developed an understanding of the society in which they lived. The people who enslaved them, likewise, constructed elaborate sets of beliefs, customs and ideologies meant to justify their positions in



**John C. Calhoun, perhaps the most prominent political theorist of the slaveholding South and an influence on modern right-wing thinking.**

this economic and social hierarchy. Those ideas permeated the entire South, taking deepest root in places where slavery was most entrenched.

South Carolina was a paradigmatic slave state. Although the majority of enslavers resided in the "low country," with its large rice and cotton plantations, nearly the entire state participated in plantation agriculture and the slave economy. By 1820 most South Carolinians were enslaved Africans. By midcentury, the historian Manisha Sinha notes in *"The Counterrevolution of Slavery,"* it was the first Southern state where a majority of the white population held slaves.

Not surprisingly, enslavers dominated the state's political class. "Carolinian rice aristocrats and the cotton planters from the hinterland," Sinha writes, "formed an intersectional ruling class, bound together

by kinship, economic, political and cultural ties." The government they built was the most undemocratic in the Union. The slave-rich districts of the coasts enjoyed nearly as much representation in the Legislature as more populous regions in the interior of the state. Statewide office was restricted to wealthy property owners. To even qualify for the governorship, you needed a large, debt-free estate. Rich enslavers were essentially the only people who could participate in the highest levels of government. To the extent that there were popular elections, they were for the lowest levels of government, because the State Legislature tended to decide most high-level offices.

But immense power at home could not compensate for declining power in national politics. The growth of the free Northwest threatened Southern dominance in Congress. And the



**Southern college students at the Southern Democratic Convention in 1948, the year that segregationists began to break with the national Democratic Party over civil rights.**

slaveholding planter class would witness the rise of an organized movement to stop the expansion of slavery and curb the power enslavers held over key institutions like the Senate and the Supreme Court.

Out of this atmosphere of fear and insecurity came a number of thinkers and politicians who set their minds to protecting South Carolina and the rest of the slaveholding South from a hostile North. Arguably the most prominent and accomplished of these planter-politicians was John C. Calhoun. Vice president under John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, secretary of state under John Tyler and eventually a United States senator representing the state, Calhoun was a deep believer in the system of slavery — which he called a “positive good” that “forms the most solid and durable foundation

on which to rear free and stable institutions”— and a committed advocate for the slave-owning planter class. He was an astute politician, but he made his most important mark as a theoretician of reaction: a man who, realizing that democracy could not protect slavery in perpetuity, set out to limit democracy.

Calhoun popularized the concept of “nullification”: the theory that any state subject to federal law was entitled to invalidate it. He first advanced the idea in an anonymous letter, written when he was vice president, protesting the Tariff of 1828, which sought to protect Northern industry and agriculture from foreign competitors. Calhoun condemned it as an unconstitutional piece of regional favoritism.

The South may have been part of the pro-Andrew Jackson majorities

in Congress, but that wasn’t enough for Calhoun, who wanted absolute security for the region and its economic interests. Demographic and political change doomed it to be a “permanent minority”: “Our geographical position, our industry, pursuits and institutions are all peculiar.” Against a domineering North, he argued, “representation affords not the slightest protection.”

“It is, indeed, high time for the people of the South to be roused to a sense of impending calamities — on an early and full knowledge of which their safety depends,” Calhoun wrote in an 1831 report to the South Carolina Legislature. “It is time that they should see and feel that . . . they are in a permanent and hopeless minority on the great and vital connected questions.”

His solution lay in the states. To Calhoun, there was no “union” *per se*. Instead, the United States was simply a compact among sovereigns with distinct, and often competing, sectional interests. This compact could only survive if all sides had equal say on the meaning of the Constitution and the shape and structure of the law. Individual states, Calhoun thought, should be able to veto federal laws if they thought the federal government was favoring one state or section over another. The union could only act with the assent of the entire whole — what Calhoun called “the concurrent majority” — as opposed to the Madisonian idea of rule by numerical majority, albeit mediated by compromise and consensus.

Calhoun initially lost the tariff fight, which pitted him against an obstinate Andrew Jackson, but he did not give up on nullification. He expanded on the theory at the end of his life, proposing an alternative system of government that gave political minorities a final say over majority action. In this “concurrent government,” each “interest or portion of the community” has an equal say in approving the actions of the state. Full agreement would be necessary to “put the government in motion.” Only through this, Calhoun argued, would the “different interests, orders, classes, or portions, into which the community may be divided, can be protected.”

The government Calhoun envisioned would protect “liberty”: not the liberty of the citizen but the liberty of the master, the liberty of those who claimed a right to property and a position at the top of a racial and economic hierarchy. This liberty, Calhoun stated, was “a reward to be earned, not a blessing to be gratuitously lavished on all alike — a reward reserved for the intelligent, the patriotic, the virtuous and deserving — and not a boon to be bestowed on a people too ignorant, degraded and vicious, to be capable either of appreciating or of enjoying it.” It is striking how much this echoes contemporary arguments against the expansion of democracy. In 2012, for example, a Tea Party congressional candidate from Florida said that voting is a “privilege” and seemed to endorse property requirements for participation.

**Calhoun died** in 1850. Ten years later, following the idea of nullification to its conclusion, the South seceded from the Union after Abraham Lincoln won the White House without a single Southern state. War came a few months later, and four years of fighting destroyed the system of slavery Calhoun fought to protect. But parts of his legacy survived. His deep suspicion of majoritarian democracy — his view that government must protect interests, defined by their unique geographic and economic characteristics, more than people — would inform the sectional politics of the South in the 20th century, where solid blocs of Southern lawmakers worked collectively to stifle any attempt to regulate the region.

Despite insurgencies at home — the Populist Party, for example, swept through Georgia and North Carolina in the 1890s — reactionary white leaders were able to maintain an iron grip on federal offices until the Voting Rights Act of 1965. And even then, the last generation of segregationist senators held on through the 1960s into the early 2000s. United, like their predecessors, by geography and their stake in Jim Crow segregation, they were a powerful force in national politics, a bloc that vetoed



anything that touched their regional prerogatives.

Anti-lynching laws and some pro-labor legislation died at the hands of lawmakers from the “Solid South” who took advantage of Senate rules like the filibuster to effectively enact Calhoun’s idea of a concurrent majority against legislation that threatened the Southern racial status quo; the spirit of nullification lived on. When Northern liberal Democrats added a civil rights plank to the party platform at the 1948 presidential convention, in an effort to break the Southern conservatives’ hold on the party, 35 delegates from Mississippi and Alabama walked out in protest: the prologue to the “Dixiecrat Revolt” that began the conservative migration into the eventual embrace of the Republican Party.

Calhoun’s idea that states could veto the federal government would return as well following the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, as segregationists announced “massive resistance” to federal desegregation mandates and sympathizers defended white Southern actions with ideas and arguments that cribbed from Calhoun and recapitulated enslaver ideology for modern American politics. “The central question that emerges,” the *National Review* founding editor William F. Buckley Jr. wrote in 1957, amid congressional debate over the first Civil Rights Act, “is whether the white community in the South is entitled to take such measures as are necessary to prevail, politically and culturally, in areas which it does not predominate numerically? The sobering answer is *yes* — the white community is so entitled because, for the time being, it is the advanced race.” He continued: “It is more important for any community, anywhere in the world, to affirm and live by civilized standards, than to bow to the demands of the numerical majority.”

It is a strikingly blunt defense of Jim Crow and affirmation of white supremacy from the father of the conservative movement. Conservatives drove the groundswell that made Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, an opponent of the Civil Rights Act, the 1964 Republican Party nominee for president. He lost in a landslide but won the Deep

South (except for Florida), where the white people of the region — among the most conservative in the country, a direct legacy of slavery and the society it built — flocked to the candidate who stood against the constitutional demands of the black-freedom movement. Goldwater may have insisted that there are “some rights that are clearly protected by valid laws and are therefore ‘civil rights,’” but he also declared that “states’ rights” were “disappearing under the piling sands of absolutism” and called *Brown v. Board* an “unconstitutional trespass into the legislative sphere of government.” “I therefore support all efforts by the States, excluding violence, of course,” Goldwater wrote in “The Conscience of a Conservative,” “to preserve their rightful powers over education.”

Later, when key civil rights questions had been settled by law, Buckley would essentially renounce these views, praising the movement and criticizing race-baiting demagogues like George C. Wallace. Still, his initial impulse — to give political minorities a veto not just over policy but over democracy itself — reflected a tendency that would express itself again and again in the conservative politics he ushered into the mainstream, emerging when political, cultural and demographic change threatened a narrow, exclusionary vision of American democracy. Writing in the 1980s and ’90s, Samuel Francis — a polemicist who would eventually migrate to the very far right of American conservatism — identified this dynamic in the context of David Duke’s campaign for governor of Louisiana:

“Reagan conservatism, in its innermost meaning, had little to do with supply-side economics and spreading democracy. It had to do with the awakening of a people who face political, cultural and economic dispossession, who are slowly beginning to glimpse the fact of dispossession and what dispossession will mean for them and their descendants, and who also are starting to think about reversing the processes and powers responsible for their dispossession.”

**There is a** homegrown ideology of reaction in the United States,

inextricably tied to our system of slavery. And while the racial content of that ideology has attenuated over time, the basic framework remains: fear of rival political majorities; of demographic “replacement”; of a government that threatens privilege and hierarchy.

The past 10 years of Republican extremism is emblematic. The Tea Party billed itself as a reaction to debt and spending, but a close look shows it was actually a reaction to an ascendant majority of black people, Latinos, Asian-Americans and liberal white people. In their survey-based study of the movement, the political scientists Christopher S. Parker and Matt A. Barreto show that Tea Party Republicans were motivated “by the fear and anxiety associated with the perception that ‘real’ Americans are losing their country.”

The scholars Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson came to a similar conclusion in their contemporaneous study of the movement, based on an ethnographic study of Tea Party activists across the country. “Tea Party resistance to giving more to categories of people deemed undeserving is more than just an argument about taxes and spending,” they note in “The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism”; “it is a heartfelt cry about where they fear ‘their country’ may be headed.” And Tea Party adherents’ “worries about racial and ethnic minorities and overly entitled young people,” they write, “signal a larger fear about generational social change in America.”

To stop this change and its political consequences, right-wing conservatives have embarked on a project to nullify opponents and restrict the scope of democracy. Mitch McConnell’s hyper-obstructionist rule in the Senate is the most high-profile example of this strategy, but it’s far from the most egregious.

In 2012, North Carolina Republicans won legislative and executive power for the first time in more than a century. They used it to gerrymander the electoral map and impose new restrictions on voting, specifically aimed at the state’s African-American voters. One such restriction, a strict voter-identification law, was

designed to target black North Carolinians with “almost surgical precision,” according to the federal judges who struck the law down. When, in 2016, Democrats overcame these obstacles to take back the governor’s mansion, the Republican-controlled Legislature tried to strip power from the office, to prevent Democrats from reversing their efforts to rig the game.

A similar thing happened in Wisconsin. Under Scott Walker, the governor at the time, Wisconsin Republicans gave themselves a structural advantage in the State Legislature through aggressive gerrymandering. After the Democratic candidate toppled Walker in the 2018 governor’s race, the Republican majority in the Legislature rapidly moved to limit the new governor’s power and weaken other statewide offices won by Democrats. They restricted the governor’s ability to run public-benefit programs and set rules on the implementation of state laws. And they robbed the governor and the attorney general of the power to continue, or end, legal action against the Affordable Care Act.

Michigan Republicans took an almost identical course of action after Democrats in that state managed to win executive office, using their gerrymandered legislative majority to weaken the new Democratic governor and attorney general. One proposed bill, for example, would have shifted oversight of campaign-finance law from the secretary of state to a six-person commission with members nominated by the state Republican and Democratic parties, a move designed to produce deadlock and keep elected Democrats from reversing previous decisions.

The Republican rationale for tilting the field in their permanent favor or, failing that, nullifying the results and limiting Democrats’ power as much as possible, has a familiar ring to it. “Citizens from every corner of Wisconsin deserve a strong legislative branch that stands on equal footing with an incoming administration that is based almost solely in Madison,” one Wisconsin Republican said following the party’s lame-duck power grab. The speaker of the State Assembly, Robin Vos, made his point more explicit. “If you took



**Eric Cantor, a Virginia Republican who was then the House majority leader, speaks to reporters in April 2011 during the lead-up to a standoff with President Obama over raising the debt ceiling.**

Madison and Milwaukee out of the state election formula, we would have a clear majority — we would have all five constitutional officers, and we would probably have many more seats in the Legislature.” The argument is straightforward: Some voters, *their* voters, count. Others — the liberals, black people and other people of color who live in cities — don’t.

Senate Republicans played with similar ideas just before the 2016 election, openly announcing their plans to block Hillary Clinton from nominating anyone to the Supreme Court, should she become president. “I promise

you that we will be united against any Supreme Court nominee that Hillary Clinton, if she were president, would put up,” declared Senator John McCain of Arizona just weeks before voting. And President Trump, of course, has repeatedly and falsely denounced Clinton’s popular-vote victory as illegitimate, the product of fraud and illegal voting. “In addition to winning the Electoral College in a landslide,” he declared on Twitter weeks after the election, “I won the popular vote if you deduct the millions of people who voted illegally.”

The larger implication is clear enough: A majority made up of

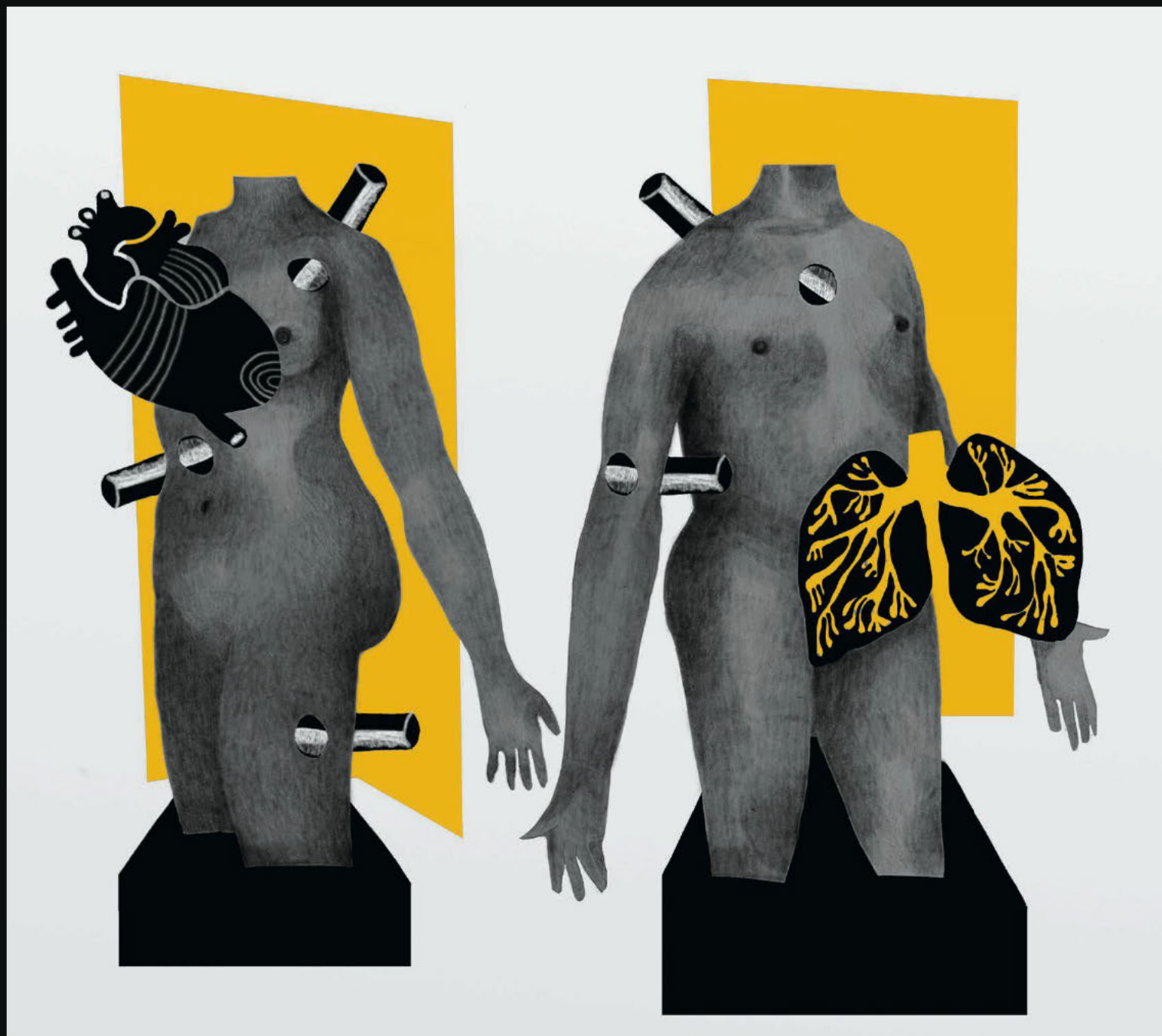
liberals and people of color isn’t a real majority. And the solution is clear, too: to write those people out of the polity, to use every available tool to weaken their influence on American politics. The recent attempt to place a citizenship question on the census was an important part of this effort. By asking for this information, the administration would suppress the number of immigrant respondents, worsening their representation in the House and the Electoral College, reweighting power to the white, rural areas that back the president and the Republican Party.

You could make the case that none of this has anything to do with

slavery and slaveholder ideology. You could argue that it has nothing to do with race at all, that it’s simply an aggressive effort to secure conservative victories. But the tenor of an argument, the shape and nature of an opposition movement — these things matter. The goals may be colorblind, but the methods of action — the attacks on the legitimacy of nonwhite political actors, the casting of rival political majorities as unrepresentative, the drive to nullify democratically elected governing coalitions — are clearly downstream of a style of extreme political combat that came to fruition in the defense of human bondage. ♦



*Myths about physical racial differences were used to justify slavery — and are still believed by doctors today.*



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By Linda Villarosa

**The excruciatingly painful** medical experiments went on until his body was disfigured by a network of scars. John Brown, an enslaved man on a Baldwin County, Ga., plantation in the 1820s and '30s, was lent to a physician, Dr. Thomas Hamilton, who was obsessed with proving that physiological differences between black and white people existed. Hamilton used Brown to try to determine how deep black skin went, believing it was thicker than white skin. Brown, who eventually escaped to England, recorded his experiences in an autobiography, published in 1855 as "Slave Life in Georgia: A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Now in England." In Brown's words, Hamilton applied "blisters to my hands, legs and feet, which bear the scars to this day. He continued until he drew up the dark skin from between the upper and the under one. He used to blister me at intervals of about two weeks." This went on for nine months, Brown wrote, until "the Doctor's experiments had so reduced me that I was useless in the field."

Hamilton was a courtly Southern gentleman, a respected physician and a trustee of the Medical Academy of Georgia. And like many other doctors of the era in the South, he was also a wealthy plantation owner who tried to use science to prove that differences between black people and white people went beyond culture and were more than skin deep, insisting that black bodies were composed and functioned differently than white bodies. They believed that black people had large sex organs and small skulls — which translated to promiscuity and a lack of intelligence — and higher tolerance for heat, as well as immunity to some illnesses and susceptibility to others. These fallacies, presented as fact and legitimized in medical journals, bolstered society's view that enslaved people were fit for little outside forced labor and provided support for racist ideology and discriminatory public policies.

Over the centuries, the two most persistent physiological myths — that black people were impervious to pain and had weak lungs that could be strengthened through hard work — wormed their way into scientific

consensus, and they remain rooted in modern-day medical education and practice. In the 1787 manual "A Treatise on Tropical Diseases; and on The Climate of the West-Indies," a British doctor, Benjamin Moseley, claimed that black people could bear surgical operations much more than white people, noting that "what would be the cause of insupportable pain to a white man, a Negro would almost disregard." To drive home his point, he added, "I have amputated the legs of many Negroes who have held the upper part of the limb themselves."

These misconceptions about pain tolerance, seized upon by pro-slavery advocates, also allowed the physician J. Marion Sims — long celebrated as the father of modern gynecology — to use black women as subjects in experiments that would be unconscionable today, practicing painful operations (at a time before anesthesia was in use) on enslaved women in Montgomery, Ala., between 1845 and 1849. In his autobiography, "The Story of My Life," Sims described the agony the women suffered as he cut their genitals again and again in an attempt to perfect a surgical technique to repair vesico-vaginal fistula, which can be an extreme complication of childbirth.

Thomas Jefferson, in "Notes on the State of Virginia," published around the same time as Moseley's treatise, listed what he proposed were "the real distinctions which nature has made," including a lack of lung capacity. In the years that followed, physicians and scientists embraced Jefferson's unproven theories, none more aggressively than Samuel Cartwright, a physician and professor of "diseases of the Negro" at the University of Louisiana, now Tulane University. His widely circulated paper, "Report on the Diseases and Physical Peculiarities of the Negro Race," published in the May 1851 issue of *The New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, cataloged supposed physical differences between whites and blacks, including the claim that black people had lower lung capacity. Cartwright, conveniently, saw forced labor as a way to "vitalize" the blood and correct the problem. Most outrageous, Cartwright maintained that enslaved people were prone

to a "disease of the mind" called drapetomania, which caused them to run away from their enslavers. Willfully ignoring the inhumane conditions that drove desperate men and women to attempt escape, he insisted, without irony, that enslaved people contracted this ailment when their enslavers treated them as equals, and he prescribed "whipping the devil out of them" as a preventive measure.

**Today Cartwright's** 1851 paper reads like satire, Hamilton's supposedly scientific experiments appear simply sadistic and, last year, a statue commemorating Sims in New York's Central Park was removed after prolonged protest that included women wearing blood-splattered gowns in memory of Anarcha, Betsey, Lucy and the other enslaved women he brutalized. And yet, more than 150 years after the end of slavery, fallacies of black immunity to pain and weakened lung function continue to show up in modern-day medical education and philosophy.

Even Cartwright's footprint remains embedded in current medical practice. To validate his theory about lung inferiority in African-Americans, he became one of the first doctors in the United States to measure pulmonary function with an instrument called a spirometer. Using a device he designed himself, Cartwright calculated that "the deficiency in the Negro may be safely estimated at 20 percent." Today most commercially available spirometers, used around the world to diagnose and monitor respiratory illness, have a "race correction" built into the software, which controls for the assumption that blacks have less lung capacity than whites. In her 2014 book, *Breathing Race Into the Machine: The Surprising Career of the Spirometer from Plantation to Genetics*, Lundy Braun, a Brown University professor of medical science and Africana studies, notes that "race correction" is still taught to medical students and described in textbooks as scientific fact and standard practice.

Recent data also shows that present-day doctors fail to sufficiently treat the pain of black adults and children for many medical issues.

A 2013 review of studies examining racial disparities in pain management published in *The American Medical Association Journal of Ethics* found that black and Hispanic people — from children with appendicitis to elders in hospice care — received inadequate pain management compared with white counterparts.

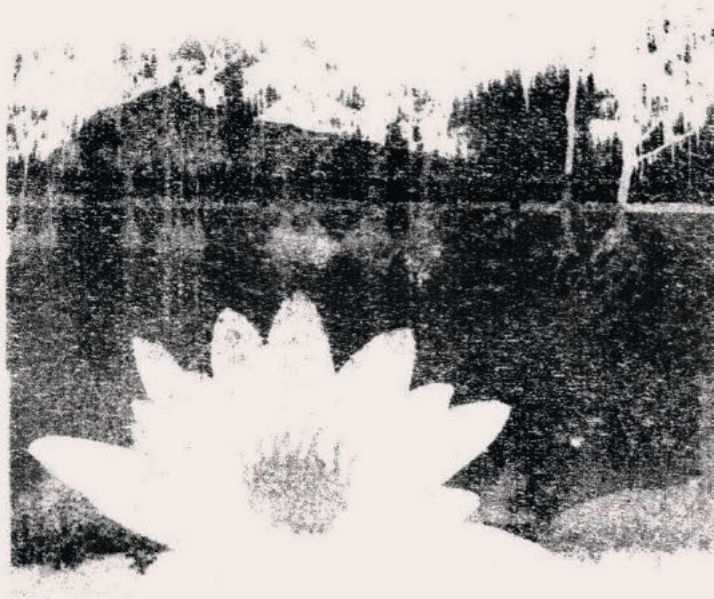
A 2016 survey of 222 white medical students and residents published in *The Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* showed that half of them endorsed at least one myth about physiological differences between black people and white people, including that black people's nerve endings are less sensitive than white people's. When asked to imagine how much pain white or black patients experienced in hypothetical situations, the medical students and residents insisted that black people felt less pain. This made the providers less likely to recommend appropriate treatment. A majority of these doctors to be also still believed the lie that Thomas Hamilton tortured John Brown to prove nearly two centuries ago: that black skin is thicker than white skin.

This disconnect allows scientists, doctors and other medical providers — and those training to fill their positions in the future — to ignore their own complicity in health care inequality and gloss over the internalized racism and both conscious and unconscious bias that drive them to go against their very oath to do no harm.

The centuries-old belief in racial differences in physiology has continued to mask the brutal effects of discrimination and structural inequities, instead placing blame on individuals and their communities for statistically poor health outcomes. Rather than conceptualizing race as a risk factor that predicts disease or disability because of a fixed susceptibility conceived on shaky grounds centuries ago, we would do better to understand race as a proxy for bias, disadvantage and ill treatment. The poor health outcomes of black people, the targets of discrimination over hundreds of years and numerous generations, may be a harbinger for the future health of an increasingly diverse and unequal America. ♦



● July 27, 1816: American troops attack Negro Fort, a stockade in Spanish Florida established by the British and left to the Black Seminoles, a Native American nation of Creek refugees, free black people and fugitives from slavery. Nearly all the soldiers, women and children in the fort are killed.



They weren't headed north to freedom —  
They fled away from the North Star,  
turned their back on the Mason-Dixon line,  
put their feet to freedom by fleeing  
further south to Florida.  
Ran to where 'gator and viper roamed  
free in the mosquito swarm of Suwannee.  
They slipped out deep after sunset,  
shadow to shadow, shoulder to shoulder,  
stealthingly southward, stealing themselves,  
steeling their souls to run steel  
through any slave catcher who'd dare  
try stealing them back north.  
They billeted in swamp mud,  
saw grass and cypress —  
they waded through waves  
of water lily and duckweed.  
They thinned themselves in thickets  
and thorn bush hiding their young  
from thieves of black skin marauding  
under moonlight and cloud cover.  
Many once knew another shore  
an ocean away, whose language,  
songs, stories were outlawed

on plantation ground. In swampland,  
they raised flags of their native tongues  
above whisper smoke  
into billowing bonfires  
of chant, drum and chatter.  
They remembered themselves  
with their own words  
bleeding into English,  
bonding into Spanish,  
singing in Creek and Creole.  
With their sweat  
forging farms in  
unforgiving heat,  
never forgetting scars  
of the lash, fighting  
battle after battle  
for generations.  
Creeks called them *Seminole*  
when they bonded with renegade Creeks.  
Spaniards called them *cimarrones*,  
runaways — escapees from Carolina  
plantation death-prisons.  
English simply called them *maroons*,  
flattening the Spanish to make them

seem alone, abandoned, adrift —  
but they were bonded,  
side by side,  
Black and Red,  
in a blood red hue —  
*maroon*.  
Sovereignty soldiers,  
Black refugees,  
self-abolitionists, fighting  
through America's history,  
marooned in a land  
they made their own,  
acre after acre,  
plot after plot,  
war after war,  
life after life.  
They fought only  
for America to let them be  
marooned — left alone —  
in their own unchained,  
singing,  
worthy  
blood.

By Tyehimba Jess

● Jan. 1, 1863: President Abraham Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing enslaved African-Americans in rebelling states. The text is read aloud at thousands of gatherings, including at a Union Army encampment in Port Royal, S.C.

Imagine the scene I cannot write. The Colonel steps onto the platform, reciting to himself: I'll tell you how the sun rose, a ribbon at a time. It is New Year's Day. The president has signed the historic war measure.

The Colonel was not alone in his feeling that after the disgrace of Bull Run, the Union needed to take Port Royal Island, and after the slaughter at Fredericksburg, Port Royal needs this convocation. White women in bonnets and white men in vests crowd the platform. The Colonel studies the First South Carolina Volunteers arrayed before him. It is the first black unit. The men of his regiment adore campfires, spelling books and tobacco, but none of them drink. Most have freed themselves. Take a ride on a federal gunboat and join the Cause. Everywhere, the Colonel sees black women in their Sunday kerchiefs. God's blessings are on dress parade.

The Colonel hands the Emancipation Proclamation to a penitent white man who used to be called Master over in Beaufort. The Colonel said Oof when he first got his copy. The orderly's breathing told him that he, too, had read the Proclamation, had felt power naked, actual armed-rebellion naked, suppressing said rebellion naked, shall be free naked, maintain freedom of said persons naked.

The prayer is over. The former master of cotton is no orator, but the Colonel is where power and freedom are forging God's naked sword. He marvels at the Lord's invention, the sheer darkness of his men. Is it not glorious to be handsome.

The Colonel receives regimental colors and the Union flag from a New Yorker who will not cease addressing him. Ten cows revolve on spits, and the New Yorker will not be still. The Colonel fights to remain in this sacred place where every heart desires the same thing. Beyond the live oaks, another steamer arrives on the blue water.

Seated nearby are the camp's brilliant surgeon and its most beautiful schoolteacher, the Colonel's friends from home, Boston. The Surgeon reads his wife's letters to the Schoolteacher. It is not that she is a black woman and he a white man. A free black woman whose family is richer than either of theirs, the Colonel did not say. The Surgeon's beard is shining, and the Schoolteacher's head is uncovered.

The New Yorker will not yield the flag. The Colonel's wife is an invalid, and the Surgeon's wife is plain. The Schoolteacher is an unfair quadroon beauty, the Colonel has told his friend. She and the Surgeon love to talk of their love for horses, moonlight and the Cause.

The Colonel has the flag in the silence. He slowly waves the flag, thinking this is the first time it may hold true meaning for them. An elderly black voice begins, *My country, 'tis of thee*. A few black women add their voices. Suddenly, many. The Colonel quiets the white people so that only black people are singing.

The Schoolteacher continues to sing, and so does the Surgeon. *Let freedom ring*. This is war, the Colonel smiles.

By Darryl Pinckney

● July 30, 1866: During a constitutional convention called for by abolitionist leaders, in response to the Louisiana Legislature's refusal to give black men the vote, armed white people attack a crowd. More than 35 people die, mostly black men.

The bodies all around began to cook and swell in the heat: fingers the size of pickles, forearms rising like loaves until as big and gamy as hams festering in the noontime sun. When the Secesh police began their rounds, Lazarus got to crouching, then creeping, until — at last — he had to lie down among the dead, confining himself between two fallen neighbors, readying himself for the shot to the head.

Just hours earlier, all of colored New Orleans in their finest had come out: veterans from the Louisiana Native Guards had amassed at the procession's front, joined by one or more bands that began to blaze and bray their trumpets and trombones once struck up by some hidden concertmaster. Seamstresses, maids, cooks, bricklayers and longshoremen: They'd all come out at the behest of Roudanez, owner of the black folks' paper, as well as Dostie, the radical Republican dentist Democrats declared a race traitor and nigger lover. The white Republicans could not get votes over the Confederate Democrats without colored men, nor could the colored man get the vote without the whites who fought against the Confederate Redeemer cause.

"Thirty-seven niggers dead," Lazarus had heard someone say while he played possum. "And that fella Dostie."

Such a pus and rot he'd never smelled before. Needling choruses of gallinippers hiving above yards of bursting flesh. Rodents hurrying forth with their ratchet scratching at wounds. Midges inspecting tonsils on display. Then there was the nearly silent sound of worms at work, underworld missionaries unsewing men from their souls.

It wasn't until 3 o'clock that the military finally came and gave orders as to what should be done; the wounded were to go to the Freedmen's Hospital, which had once been Marine Hospital. The dead were to lie out in the hundred-degree heat until another wagon became available, and there was to be martial law for the rest of the night, lasting who knew until when.

The ride to the Freedmen's Hospital killed a few who weren't yet dead. A jolting ride over cobblestones, banquettes, undone roads, bricks from the riot left in the middle of the street, while the whole hospital was filled with big moans, the smell of grease and camphor, wet wool and kerosene.

They rolled him onto a flat cot, then put yet another man on top of him and jostled them both through a dark corridor. The blood from the man on top of him seeped into Lazarus's eyes, ran in thin tickling trickles into his ears, clumped in thick waxy clots in his nose, his hair.

It scared him to death to be so in the dark, and try as he might to push the dead man off him, he could not. They carried him into a room, a place that was even more foul-smelling than the stench of bodies swelling in the sun. When his cot passed the threshold, the men who'd been carrying it dropped it, sending the dead man falling to the floor, only the sound didn't sound like Lazarus expected it to, but more like a clank and clatter, as though the heavy doors of an armoire or chiffonade had been banged shut. The men who'd been holding the cot retched, one, then the other.

By ZZ Packer

*For centuries,  
black music, forged  
in bondage, has  
been the sound of  
complete artistic  
freedom. No wonder  
everybody is  
always stealing it.*

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**By Wesley Morris**

*Photo illustration by Michael Paul Britto*







# I've got a friend who's an incurable Pandora guy,

and one Saturday while we were making dinner, he found a station called Yacht Rock. "A tongue-in-cheek name for the breezy sounds of late '70s/early '80s soft rock" is Pandora's definition, accompanied by an exhortation to "put on your Dockers, pull up a deck chair and relax." With a single exception, the passengers aboard the yacht were all dudes. With two exceptions, they were all white. But as the hours passed and dozens of songs accrued, the sound gravitated toward a familiar quality that I couldn't give language to but could practically taste: an earnest Christian yearning that would reach, for a moment, into Baptist rawness, into a known warmth. I had to laugh — not because as a category Yacht Rock is absurd, but because what I tasted in that absurdity was black.

I started putting each track under investigation. Which artists would saunter up to the racial border? And which could do their sauntering without violating it? I could hear degrees of blackness in the choir-loft

certitude of Doobie Brothers-era Michael McDonald on "What a Fool Believes"; in the rubber-band soul of Steely Dan's "Do It Again"; in the malt-liquor misery of Ace's "How Long" and the toy-boat wistfulness of Little River Band's "Reminiscing."

Then Kenny Loggins's "This Is It" arrived and took things far beyond the line. "This Is It" was a hit in 1979 and has the requisite smoothness to keep the yacht rocking. But Loggins delivers the lyrics in a desperate stage whisper, like someone determined to make the kind of love that doesn't wake the baby. What bowls you over is the intensity of his yearning — teary in the verses, snarling during the chorus. He sounds as if he's baring it all yet begging to wring himself out even more.

Playing black-music detective that day, I laughed out of bafflement and embarrassment and exhilaration. It's the conflation of pride and chagrin I've always felt anytime a white person inhabits blackness with gusto. It's: *You have to hand it to her.* It's: *Go, white boy. Go, white boy. Go.* But it's also: *Here*

*we go again.* The problem is rich. If blackness can draw all of this ornate literariness out of Steely Dan and all this psychotic origami out of Eminem; if it can make Teena Marie sing everything — "Square Biz," "Revolution," "Portuguese Love," "Lovergirl" — like she knows her way around a pack of Newport; if it can turn the chorus of Carly Simon's "You Belong to Me" into a gospel hymn; if it can animate the swagger in the sardonic vulnerabilities of Amy Winehouse; if it can surface as unexpectedly as it does in the angelic angst of a singer as seemingly green as Ben Platt; if it's the reason Nu Shooz's "I Can't Wait" remains the whitest jam at the blackest parties, then it's proof of how deeply it matters to the music of being alive in America, alive *to* America.

It's proof, too, that American music has been fated to thrive in an elaborate tangle almost from the beginning. Americans have made a political investment in a myth of racial separateness, the idea that art forms can be either "white" or "black" in character when aspects of many are at least both. The purity that separation struggles to maintain? This country's music is an advertisement for 400 years of the opposite: centuries of "amalgamation" and "miscegenation" as they long ago called it, of all manner of interracial collaboration conducted with dismaying ranges of consent.

"White," "Western," "classical" music is the overarching basis for lots of American pop songs. Chromatic-chord harmony, clean timbre of voice and instrument: These are the ingredients for some of the hugely singable harmonies of the Beatles, the Eagles, Simon and Fleetwood Mac, something choral, "pure," largely ungrained. Black music is a completely different story. It brims with call and response, layers of syncope and this rougher element called "noise," unique sounds that arise from the particular hue and timbre of an instrument — Little Richard's woos and knuckled keyboard zooms. The dusky heat of Miles Davis's trumpeting. Patti LaBelle's emotional police siren. DMX's scorched-earth bark. The visceral stank of Etta James, Aretha Franklin, live-in-concert Whitney Houston and Prince on electric guitar.

But there's something even more fundamental, too. My friend Delvyn Case, a musician who teaches at Wheaton College, explained in an email that improvisation is one of the most crucial elements in what we think of as black music: "The raising of individual creativity/expressions to the highest place within the aesthetic world of a song." Without improvisation, a listener is seduced into the composition of the song itself and not the distorting or deviating elements that noise creates. Particular to black American music is the architecture to create a means by which singers and musicians can be completely free, free in the only way that would have been possible on a plantation: through art, through music — music no one "composed" (because enslaved people were denied literacy), music born of feeling, of play, of exhaustion, of hope.

What you're hearing in black music is a miracle of sound, an experience that can really happen only once — not just melisma, glissandi, the rasp of a sax, breakbeats or sampling but the mood or inspiration from which those moments arise. The attempt to rerecord it seems, if you think about it, like a fool's errand. You're not capturing the arrangement of notes, per se. You're catching the spirit.

And the spirit travels from host to host, racially indiscriminate about where it settles, selective only about who can withstand being possessed by it. The rockin' backwoods blues so bewitched Elvis Presley that he believed he'd been called by blackness. Chuck Berry sculpted rock 'n' roll with uproarious guitar riffs and lascivious winks at whiteness. Mick Jagger and Robert Plant and Steve Winwood and Janis Joplin and the Beatles jumped, jived and wailed the black blues. Tina Turner wrested it all back, tripling the octane in some of *their* songs. Since the 1830s, the historian Ann Douglas writes in "Terrible Honesty," her history of popular culture in the 1920s, "American entertainment, whatever the state of American society, has always been integrated, if only by theft and parody." What we've been dealing with ever since is more than a catchall word like "appropriation" can approximate.

Opening pages: Source photograph of Beyoncé; Kevin Mazur/Getty images; Holiday; Paul Hoeffler/Reddfern, via Getty images; Turner: Gai Terrell/Reddfern, via Getty images; Richards: Chris Walter/Wire image, via Getty images; Lamar: Bennett Raglin/Getty images; Above left: From The New York Public Library. Above right: Shutterstock.



The blackface performer Thomas Dartmouth Rice (T. D. Rice), who pioneered the “Jim Crow” character, in a portrait from the mid-1800s.

The truth is more bounteous and more spiritual than that, more confused. That confusion is the DNA of the American sound.

It’s in the wink-wink costume funk of Beck’s “Midnite Vultures” from 1999, an album whose kicky nonsense deprecations circle back to the popular culture of 150 years earlier. It’s in the dead-serious, nostalgic dance-floor schmaltz of Bruno Mars. It’s in what we once called “blue-eyed soul,” a term I’ve never known what to do with, because its most convincing practitioners — the Bee-Gees, Michael McDonald, Hall & Oates, Simply Red, George Michael, Taylor Dayne, Lisa Stansfield, Adele — never winked at black people, so black people rarely batted an eyelash. Flaws and all, these are homeowners as opposed to renters. No matter what, though, a kind of gentrification tends to set

in, underscoring that black people have often been rendered unnecessary to attempt blackness. Take Billboard’s Top 10 songs of 2013: It’s mostly nonblack artists strongly identified with black music, for real and for kicks: Robin Thicke, Miley Cyrus, Justin Timberlake, Macklemore and Ryan Lewis, the dude who made “The Harlem Shake.”

Sometimes all the inexorable mixing leaves me longing for something with roots that no one can rip all the way out. This is to say that when we’re talking about black music, we’re talking about horns, drums, keyboards and guitars doing the unthinkable together. We’re also talking about what the borrowers and collaborators don’t want to or can’t lift — centuries of weight, of atrocity we’ve never sufficiently worked through, the blackness you know is beyond theft because it’s too real, too rich, too heavy to steal.



Sheet music of “Jim Crow Jubilee: A Collection of Negro Melodies,” published in 1847.

**Blackness was on** the move before my ancestors were legally free to be. It was on the move before my ancestors even knew what they had. It was on the move because white people were moving it. And the white person most frequently identified as its prime mover is Thomas Dartmouth Rice, a New Yorker who performed as T. D. Rice and, in acclaim, was lusted after as “Daddy” Rice, “the negro *par excellence*.” Rice was a minstrel, which by the 1830s, when his stardom was at its most refulgent, meant he painted his face with burned cork to approximate those of the enslaved black people he was imitating.

In 1830, Rice was a nobody actor in his early 20s, touring with a theater company in Cincinnati (or Louisville; historians don’t know for sure), when, the story goes, he saw a decrepit, possibly disfigured old

black man singing while grooming a horse on the property of a white man whose last name was Crow. On went the light bulb. Rice took in the tune and the movements but failed, it seems, to take down the old man’s name. So in his song based on the horse groomer, he renamed him: “Weel about and turn about jus so/Ebery time I weel about, I jump Jim Crow.” And just like that, Rice had invented the fellow who would become the mascot for two centuries of legalized racism.

That night, Rice made himself up to look like the old black man — or something like him, because Rice’s get-up most likely concocted skin blacker than any actual black person’s and a gibberish dialect meant to imply black speech. Rice had turned the old man’s melody and hobbled movements into a song-and-dance routine that no white audience had ever experienced





Ma Rainey, an early blues singer who performed in black minstrel shows, with her band.

before. What they saw caused a permanent sensation. He reportedly won 20 encores.

Rice repeated the act again, night after night, for audiences so profoundly rocked that he was frequently mobbed *during* performances. Across the Ohio River, not an arduous distance from all that adulation, was Boone County, Ky., whose population would have been largely enslaved Africans. As they were being worked, sometimes to death, white people, desperate with anticipation, were paying to see them depicted at play.

Other performers came and conquered, particularly the Virginia Minstrels, who exploded in 1843, burned brightly then burned out after only months. In their wake, P. T. Barnum made a habit of booking other troupes for his American Museum; when he was short on performers, he blacked up himself. By the 1840s, minstrel acts were

taking over concert halls, doing wildly clamored-for residencies in Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

A blackface minstrel would sing, dance, play music, give speeches and cut up for white audiences, almost exclusively in the North, at least initially. Blackface was used for mock operas and political monologues (they called them stump speeches), skits, gender parodies and dances. Before the minstrel show gave it a reliable home, blackface was the entertainment between acts of conventional plays. Its stars were the Elvis, the Beatles, the 'NSync of the 19th century. The performers were beloved and so, especially, were their songs.

During minstrelsy's heyday, white songwriters like Stephen Foster wrote the tunes that minstrels sang, tunes we continue to sing. Edwin Pearce Christy's group the Christy Minstrels formed a band — banjo, fiddle, bone castanets, tambourine

— that would lay the groundwork for American popular music, from bluegrass to Motown. Some of these instruments had come from Africa; on a plantation, the banjo's body would have been a desiccated gourd. In "Doo-Dah!" his book on Foster's work and life, Ken Emerson writes that the fiddle and banjo were paired for the melody, while the bones "chattered" and the tambourine "thumped and jingled a beat that is still heard 'round the world."

But the sounds made with these instruments could be only *imagined* as black, because the first wave of minstrels were Northerners who'd never been meaningfully South. They played Irish melodies and used Western choral harmonies, not the proto-gospel call-and-response music that would make life on a plantation that much more bearable. Black artists *were* on the scene, like the pioneer bandleader Frank Johnson and

the borderline-mythical Old Corn Meal, who started as a street vendor and wound up the first black man to perform, as himself, on a white New Orleans stage. His stuff was copied by George Nichols, who took up blackface after a start in plain-old clowning. Yet as often as not, blackface minstrelsy tethered black people and black life to white musical structures, like the polka, which was having a moment in 1848. The mixing was already well underway: Europe plus slavery plus the circus, times harmony, comedy and drama, equals Americana.

And the muses for so many of the songs were enslaved Americans, people the songwriters had never met, whose enslavement they rarely opposed and instead sentimentalized. Foster's minstrel-show staple "Old Uncle Ned," for instance, warmly if disrespectfully eulogizes the enslaved the way you might a salaried worker or an uncle:

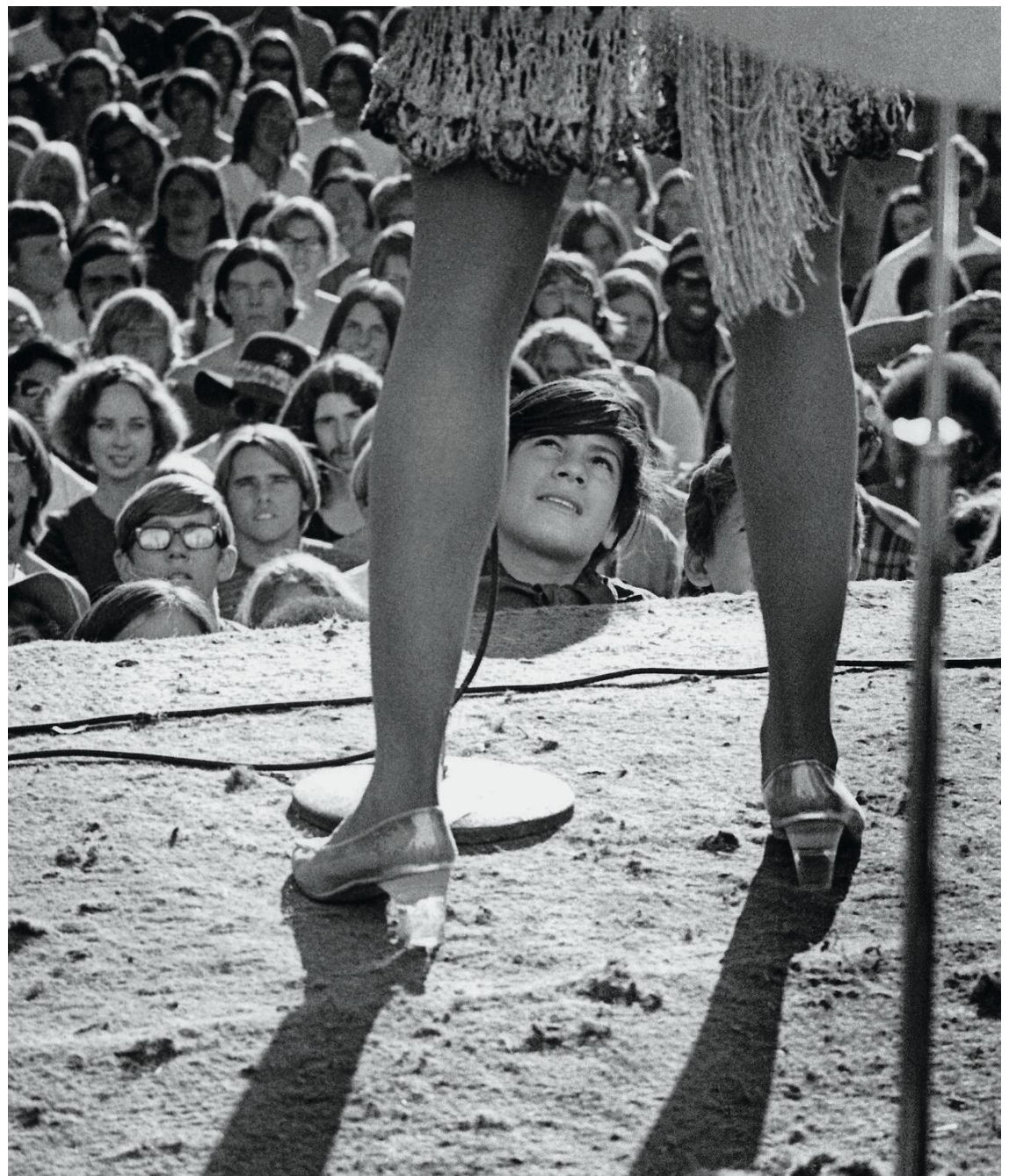


Den lay down de shubble  
and de hoe,  
Hang up de fiddle and de  
bow:  
No more hard work for  
poor Old Ned —  
He's gone whar de good  
Niggas go,  
No more hard work for  
poor Old Ned —  
He's gone whar de good  
Niggas go.

Such an affectionate showcase for poor old (enslaved, soon-to-be-dead) Uncle Ned was as essential as “air,” in the white critic Bayard Taylor’s 1850 assessment; songs like this were the “true expressions of the more popular side of the national character,” a force that follows “the American in all its emigrations, colonizations and conquests, as certainly as the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving Day.” He’s not wrong. Minstrelsy’s peak stretched from the 1840s to the 1870s, years when the country was as its most violently and legislatively ambivalent about slavery and Negroes; years that included the Civil War and Reconstruction, the ferocious rhetorical ascent of Frederick Douglass, John Brown’s botched instigation of a black insurrection at Harpers Ferry and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

Minstrelsy’s ascent also coincided with the publication, in 1852, of “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” a polarizing landmark that minstrels adapted for the stage, arguing for and, in simply remaining faithful to Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel, against slavery. These adaptations, known as U.T.C.s, took over the art form until the end of the Civil War. Perhaps minstrelsy’s popularity could be (generously) read as the urge to escape a reckoning. But a good time predicated upon the presentation of other humans as stupid, docile, dangerous with lust and enamored of their bondage? It was an escape into slavery’s fun house.

What blackface minstrelsy gave the country during this period was an entertainment of skill, ribaldry and polemics. But it also lent racism a stage upon which existential fear could become jubilation, contempt could become fantasy.



Tina Turner performing at a festival in Lake Amador, Calif., on Oct. 4, 1969.

Paradoxically, its dehumanizing bent let white audiences feel more human. They could experience loathing as desire, contempt as adoration, repulsion as lust. They could weep for overworked Uncle Ned as surely as they could ignore his lashed back or his body as it swung from a tree.

**But where did** this leave a black performer? If blackface was the country’s cultural juggernaut, who would pay Negroes money

to perform as themselves? When they were hired, it was only in a pinch. Once, P. T. Barnum needed a replacement for John Diamond, his star white minstrel. In a New York City dance hall, Barnum found a boy, who, it was reported at the time, could outdo Diamond (and Diamond was *good*). The boy, of course, was genuinely black. And his being actually black would have rendered him an outrageous blight on a white consumer’s narrow presumptions. As Thomas

Low Nichols would write in his 1864 compendium, “Forty Years of American Life,” “There was not an audience in America that would not have resented, in a very energetic fashion, the insult of being asked to look at the dancing of a real negro.” So Barnum “greased the little ‘nigger’s’ face and rubbed it over with a new blacking of burned cork, painted his thick lips vermilion, put on a woolly wig over his tight curled locks and brought him out as ‘the champion nigger-dancer of

the world.’” This child might have been William Henry Lane, whose stage name was Juba. And, as Juba, Lane was persuasive enough that Barnum could pass him off as a white person in blackface. He ceased being a real black boy in order to become Barnum’s minstrel Pinocchio.

After the Civil War, black performers had taken up minstrelsy, too, corking themselves, for both white and black audiences — with a straight face or a wink, depending on who was looking. Black troupes invented important new dances with blue-ribbon names (the buck-and-wing, the Virginia essence, the stop-time). But these were unhappy innovations. Custom obligated black performers to fulfill an audience’s expectations, expectations that white performers had established. A black minstrel was impersonating the impersonation of himself. Think, for a moment, about the talent required to pull *that* off. According to Henry T. Sampson’s book, “Blacks in Blackface,” there were no sets or effects, so the black blackface minstrel show was “a developer of ability because the artist was placed on his own.” How’s that for being twice as good? Yet that no-frills excellence could curdle into an entirely other, utterly degrading double consciousness, one that predates, predicts and probably informs W.E.B. DuBois’s more self-consciously dignified rendering.

American popular culture was doomed to cycles not only of questioned ownership, challenged authenticity, dubious propriety and legitimate cultural self-preservation but also to the prison of black respectability, which, with brutal irony, could itself entail a kind of appropriation. It meant comportment in a manner that seemed less black and more white. It meant the appearance of refinement and polish. It meant the cognitive dissonance of, say, Nat King Cole’s being very black and sounding — to white America, anyway, with his frictionless baritone and diction as crisp as a hospital corner — suitably white. He was perfect for radio, yet when he got a TV show of his own, it was abruptly canceled, his brown skin being too much for even the black and white of a 1955 television set.

There was, perhaps, not a white audience in America, particularly in the South, that would not have resented, in a very energetic fashion, the insult of being asked to look at the majestic *singing* of a real Negro.

The modern conundrum of the black performer’s seeming respectable, among black people, began, in part, as a problem of white blackface minstrels’ disrespectful blackness. Frederick Douglass wrote that they were “the filthy scum of white society.” It’s that scum that’s given us pause over everybody from Bert Williams and Bill “Bojangles” Robinson to Flavor Flav and Kanye West. *Is their blackness an act? Is the act under white control?* Just this year, Harold E. Doley Jr., an affluent black Republican in his 70s, was quoted in The Times lamenting West and his alignment with Donald Trump as a “bad and embarrassing minstrel show” that “served to only drive black people away from the G.O.P.”

But it’s from that scum that a robust, post-minstrel black American theater sprung as a new, black audience hungered for actual, uncorked black people. Without that scum, I’m not sure we get an event as shatteringly epochal as the reign of Motown Records. Motown was a full-scale integration of Western, classical orchestral ideas (strings, horns, woodwinds) with the instincts of both the black church (rhythm sections, gospel harmonies, hand claps) and juke joint Saturday nights (rhythm sections, guitars, vigor). Pure yet “noisy.” Black men in Armani. Black women in ball gowns. Stables of black writers, producers and musicians. Backup singers solving social equations with geometric choreography. And just in time for the hegemony of the American teenager.

Even now it feels like an assault on the music made a hundred years before it. Motown specialized in love songs. But its stars, those songs and their performance of them were declarations of war on the insults of the past and present. The scratchy piccolo at the start of a Four Tops hit was, in its way, a raised fist. Respectability wasn’t a problem with Motown; respectability was its point. How radically optimistic a feat of antiminstrelsy,

for it’s as glamorous a blackness as this country has ever mass-produced and devoured.

The proliferation of black music across the planet — the proliferation, in so many senses, of being black — constitutes a magnificent joke on American racism. It also confirms the attraction that someone like Rice had to that black man grooming the horse. But something about that desire warps and perverts its source, lampoons and cheapens it even in adoration. Loving black culture has never meant loving black people, too. Loving black culture risks loving the life out of it.

And yet doesn’t that attraction make sense? This is the music of a people who have survived, who not only won’t stop but also can’t be stopped. Music by a people whose major innovations — jazz, funk, hip-hop — have been about progress, about the future, about getting as far away from nostalgia as time will allow, music that’s thought deeply about the allure of outer space and robotics, music whose promise and possibility, whose rawness, humor and carnality call out to everybody — to other black people, to kids in working class England and middle-class Indonesia. If freedom’s ringing, who on Earth wouldn’t also want to rock the bell?

**In 1845, J. K. Kennard**, a critic for the newspaper The Knickerbocker, hyperventilated about the blackening of America. Except he was talking about blackface minstrels doing the blackening. Nonetheless, Kennard could see things for what they were:

“Who are our true rulers?

The negro poets, to be sure! Do they not set the fashion, and give laws to the public taste? Let one of them, in the swamps of Carolina, compose a new song, and it no sooner reaches the ear of a white *amateur*, than it is written down, amended, (that is, almost spoiled,) printed, and then put upon a course of rapid dissemination, to cease only with the utmost bounds of Anglo-Saxondom, perhaps of the world.”

What a panicked clairvoyant! The fear of black culture — or “black culture” — was more than a fear of black people themselves. It was an anxiety over white obsolescence. Kennard’s anxiety over black influence sounds as ambivalent as Lorde’s, when, all the way from her native New Zealand, she tsk-ed rap culture’s extravagance on “Royals,” her hit from 2013, while recognizing, both in the song’s hip-hop production and its appetite for a particular sort of blackness, that maybe she’s too far gone:

Every song’s like gold teeth,  
Grey Goose, trippin’ in the  
bathroom

Bloodstains, ball gowns,  
trashin’ the hotel room

We don’t care, we’re driving  
Cadillacs in our dreams

But everybody’s like Cristal,  
Maybach, diamonds on your  
timepiece

Jet planes, islands, tigers on  
a gold leash

We don’t care, we aren’t  
caught up in your love affair

Beneath Kennard’s warnings must have lurked an awareness that his white brethren had already fallen under this spell of blackness, that nothing would stop its spread to teenage girls in 21st-century Auckland, that the men who “infest our promenades and our concert halls like a colony of beetles” (as a contemporary of Kennard’s put it) weren’t black people at all but white people just like him — beetles and, eventually, Beatles. Our first most original art form arose from our original sin, and some white people have always been worried that the primacy of black music would be a kind of karmic punishment for that sin. The work has been to free this country from paranoia’s bondage, to truly embrace the amplitude of integration. I don’t know how we’re doing.

Last spring, “Old Town Road,” a silly, drowsy ditty by the Atlanta songwriter Lil Nas X, was essentially banished from country radio. Lil Nas sounds black, as does the trap beat he’s droning over. But there’s definitely a twang to him that goes with the opening bars of faint banjo and Lil Nas’s lil’ cowboy





Lil Nas X, left, and Billy Ray Cyrus perform in Indio, Calif., in 2019.

fantasy. The song snowballed into a phenomenon. All kinds of people — cops, soldiers, dozens of dapper black promgoers — posted dances to it on YouTube and TikTok. Then a crazy thing happened. It charted — not just on Billboard’s Hot 100 singles chart, either. In April, it showed up on both its Hot R&B/Hip-Hop Songs chart and its Hot Country Songs chart. A first. And, for now at least, a last.

The gatekeepers of country radio refused to play the song; they didn’t explain why. Then, Billboard determined that the song failed to “embrace enough elements of today’s country music to chart in its current version.” This doesn’t

warrant translation, but let’s be thorough, anyway: *The song is too black for certain white people.*

But by that point it had already captured the nation’s imagination and tapped into the confused thrill of integrated culture. A black kid hadn’t really merged white music with black, he’d just taken up the American birthright of cultural synthesis. The mixing feels historical. Here, for instance, in the song’s sample of a Nine Inch Nails track is a banjo, the musical spine of the minstrel era. Perhaps Lil Nas was *too* American. Other country artists of the genre seemed to sense this. White singers recorded pretty tributes in support, and one, Billy Ray

Cyrus, performed his on a remix with Lil Nas X himself.

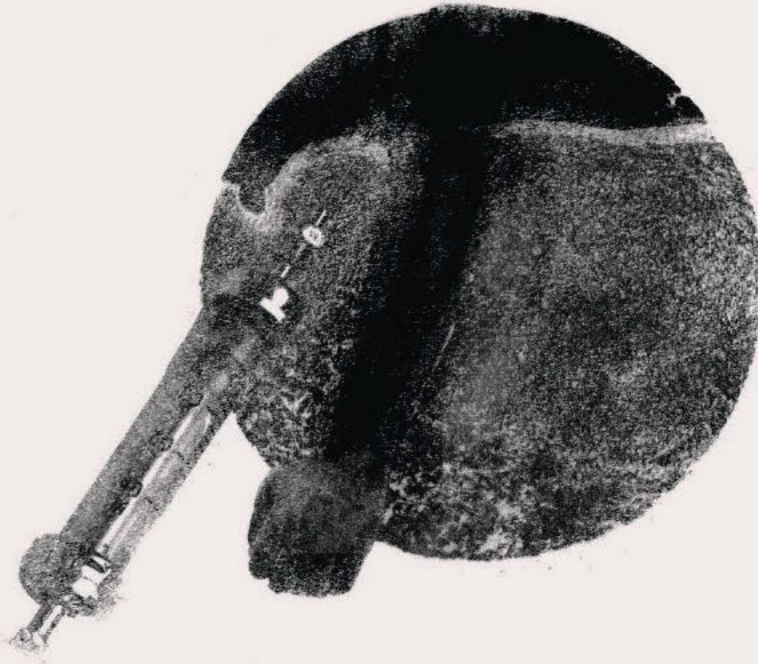
The newer version lays Cyrus’s casual grit alongside Lil Nas’s lackadaisical wonder. It’s been No. 1 on Billboard’s all-genre Hot 100 singles chart since April, setting a record. And the bottomless glee over the whole thing makes me laugh, too — not in a surprised, yacht-rock way but as proof of what a fine mess this place is. One person’s sign of progress remains another’s symbol of encroachment. *Screw the history. Get off my land.*

Four hundred years ago, more than 20 kidnapped Africans arrived in Virginia. They were put to work and put through hell. Twenty became

millions, and some of those people found — somehow — deliverance in the power of music. Lil Nas X has descended from those millions and appears to be a believer in deliverance. The verses of his song flirt with Western kitsch, what young black internetters branded, with adorable idiosyncrasy and a deep sense of history, the “yee-haw agenda.” But once the song reaches its chorus (“I’m gonna take my horse to the Old Town Road, and ride til I can’t no more”), I don’t hear a kid in an outfit. I hear a cry of ancestry. He’s a westward-bound refugee; he’s an Exoduster. And Cyrus is down for the ride. Musically, they both know: This land is their land. ♦



● 1932: The United States Public Health Service begins the Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis in the Negro Male, with 600 subjects, approximately two-thirds of whom have syphilis. The subjects are told only that they are being treated for “bad blood.” Approximately 100 die from the disease. It is later revealed that for research purposes, the men were denied drugs that could have saved them.



Upon closer inspection, the leaf her 2-year-old was attempting to put in his mouth in the middle of the playground on that lovely fall day was in fact a used tampon. She snatched it from him and Purred both of their hands before rushing them back to their apartment on Dean. She put him in the bath and scrubbed, and by the time her husband found them, they were both crying.

“We have to leave New York,” she said after he put the baby to bed. “Let’s move back home.”

“There are tampons in Alabama,” he said, and then, “What’s the worst that could happen?”

It was the question they’d played out since graduate school, when her hypochondria had been all-consuming. Back then, leaning into her fears, describing them, had given her some comfort, but then they had Booker and suddenly the worst looked so much worse.

“He could get an S.T.D., and then we’d be the black parents at the hospital with a baby with an S.T.D., and the pediatrician would call social services, and they would take him away, and we’d end up in jail.”

“O.K.,” he said slowly. “That would be bad, but it’s statistically very, very unlikely. Would it make you feel better if we called the doctor?”

She shook her head. Her husband only used the word “statistically” when he wanted to avoid using the words “you’re crazy.” She knew that the doctor would just tell her to trust him, but she also knew that when the worst happens in this country, it often happens to them.

She comes by her hypochondria and iatrophobia honestly. When she was growing up in Alabama, people still talked about their grandfathers, fathers and brothers who had died of bad blood. That was the catchall term for syphilis, anemia and just about anything that ailed you. The 600

men who were enrolled in the Tuskegee Study were told they’d get free medical care. Instead, from 1932 to 1972, researchers watched as the men developed lesions on their mouths and genitals. Watched as their lymph nodes swelled, as their hair fell out. Watched as the disease moved into its final stage, leaving the men blind and demented, leaving them to die. All this when they knew a simple penicillin shot would cure them. All this because they wanted to see what would happen. For years afterward, her grandmother refused to go to the hospital. Even at 89, perpetually hunched over in the throes of an endless cough, she’d repeat, “Anything but the doctor.” Bad blood begets bad blood.

She’s more trusting than her grandmother, but she still has her moments. Like many women, she was nervous about giving birth. All the more so because she was doing it in New York City, where black women are 12 times as likely to die in childbirth as white women. And in that very statistic, the indelible impression of Tuskegee. The lingering, niggling feeling that she is never fully safe in a country where doctors and researchers had no qualms about watching dozens of black men die — slowly, brutally — simply because they could. When she held Booker in her arms for the first time and saw her grandmother’s nose on his perfect face, love and fear rose up in her. “What’s the worst that could happen?” her husband asks, and she can’t speak it — the worst. Instead, she tries to turn off the little voice in her head, the one that wants to know: How exactly do you cure bad blood?

By Yaa Gyasi

● Feb. 12, 1946: Isaac Woodard, a decorated 26-year-old Army sergeant, is severely beaten by white police officers while taking a bus to meet his wife. He is still wearing his uniform. Accused of drinking with other soldiers on the bus, Woodard is arrested on a charge of drunk and disorderly conduct and denied medical assistance. The attack leaves him permanently blind.

Keep an eye on the restrooms. They've always come for us through them. 'Cuz who doesn't ever have to use one? Straight peeps and trans peeps, black peeps and white peeps, we all have to go sometime. And back in the day, if the Colored Only signs didn't work or weren't enough, or still had black folks having the audacity to put on a uniform and go fight in a war — let's call this one World War II — they found other ways to come for us.

Feb. 12, 1946, 17 years to the day before I was born — and when I was born, know those Colored Only signs were still up all over the South — a South I would live in until I was 7 years old — Sgt. Isaac Woodard, in full uniform, boarded a bus in Georgia, heading home to his wife in Winnsboro, S.C. Ninety-eight miles away from the town in which I was raised, Sergeant Woodard asked the driver if there was time to use the restroom. This was near Augusta, S.C., where the driver said, "Hell no." And then there was an argument. And the driver conceding with a "Go ahead then, but hurry back."

Keep an eye on the history of black veterans in America. On the thousands that were attacked, assaulted, killed. Because they were black. Because they were in uniform. Because they had the audacity to believe that leaving this country to fight for it would indeed make it a better place for them to return to.

Keep an eye on a white Southern bus driver conceding to a black man. At a later stop, Sergeant Woodard was ordered off the bus by the local chief of police, Lynwood Shull, and another officer. Lynwood beat him blind. Two months later, Woodard's family moved him from the V.A. hospital in Columbia, S.C., to New York City. At trial, Shull admitted to blinding Woodard. After 30 minutes of deliberation, an all-white jury acquitted him.

Keep an eye on the long, bleak legacy of police brutality against black men. It happened in America. It happened when many of us were living. It happened again and again. And as Woodard himself said, "Negro veterans that fought in this war ... don't realize that the real battle has just begun in America."

It happened on a Greyhound bus. To a man who was just trying to get himself home.

By Jacqueline Woodson

*The sugar that saturates  
the American diet  
has a barbaric history  
as the ‘white gold’  
that fueled slavery.*

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**By Khalil Gibran Muhammad**  
*Photograph by Brian Ulrich*



August 18, 2019





# Domino Sugar's Chalmette Refinery in Arabi, La.,

sits on the edge of the mighty Mississippi River, about five miles east by way of the river's bend from the French Quarter, and less than a mile down from the Lower Ninth Ward, where Hurricane Katrina and the failed levees destroyed so many black lives. It is North America's largest sugar refinery, making nearly two billion pounds of sugar and sugar products annually. Those ubiquitous four-pound yellow paper bags emblazoned with the company logo are produced here at a rate of 120 bags a minute, 24 hours a day, seven days a week during operating season.

The United States makes about nine million tons of sugar annually, ranking it sixth in global production. The United States sugar industry receives as much as \$4 billion in annual subsidies in the form of price supports, guaranteed crop loans, tariffs and regulated imports of foreign sugar, which by some estimates is about half the price per pound of domestic sugar. Louisiana's sugar-cane industry is by itself worth \$3 billion, generating an estimated 16,400 jobs.

A vast majority of that domestic sugar stays in this country, with an additional two to three million

tons imported each year. Americans consume as much as 77.1 pounds of sugar and related sweeteners per person per year, according to United States Department of Agriculture data. That's nearly twice the limit the department recommends, based on a 2,000-calorie diet.

Sugar has been linked in the United States to diabetes, obesity and cancer. If it is killing all of us, it is killing black people faster. Over the last 30 years, the rate of Americans who are obese or overweight grew 27 percent among all adults, to 71 percent from 56 percent, according to the Centers for Disease Control, with African-Americans overrepresented in the national figures. During the same period, diabetes rates overall nearly tripled. Among black non-Hispanic women, they are nearly double those of white non-Hispanic women, and one and a half times higher for black men than white men.

None of this — the extraordinary mass commodification of sugar, its economic might and outsize impact on the American diet and health — was in any way foreordained, or even predictable, when Christopher Columbus made his second voyage across the Atlantic Ocean in 1493,

bringing sugar-cane stalks with him from the Spanish Canary Islands. In Europe at that time, refined sugar was a luxury product, the back-breaking toil and dangerous labor required in its manufacture an insuperable barrier to production in anything approaching bulk. It seems reasonable to imagine that it might have remained so if it weren't for the establishment of an enormous market in enslaved laborers who had no way to opt out of the treacherous work.

**For thousands of years,** cane was a heavy and unwieldy crop that had to be cut by hand and immediately ground to release the juice inside, lest it spoil within a day or two. Even before harvest time, rows had to be dug, stalks planted and plentiful wood chopped as fuel for boiling the liquid and reducing it to crystals and molasses. From the earliest traces of cane domestication on the Pacific island of New Guinea 10,000 years ago to its island-hopping advance to ancient India in 350 B.C., sugar was locally consumed and very labor-intensive. It remained little more than an exotic spice, medicinal glaze or sweetener for elite palates.

It was the introduction of sugar slavery in the New World that changed everything. "The true Age of Sugar had begun — and it was doing more to reshape the world than any ruler, empire or war had ever done," Marc Aronson and Marina Budhos write in their 2010 book, "Sugar Changed the World." Over the four centuries that followed Columbus's arrival, on the mainlands of Central and South America in Mexico, Guyana and Brazil as well as on the sugar islands of the West Indies — Cuba, Barbados and Jamaica, among others — countless indigenous lives were destroyed and nearly 11 million Africans were enslaved, just counting those who survived the Middle Passage.

"White gold" drove trade in goods and people, fueled the wealth of European nations and, for the British in particular, shored up the financing of their North American colonies. "There was direct trade among the colonies and between the colonies and Europe, but much of the Atlantic trade was triangular: enslaved

people from Africa; sugar from the West Indies and Brazil; money and manufactures from Europe," writes the Harvard historian Walter Johnson in his 1999 book, "Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market." "People were traded along the bottom of the triangle; profits would stick at the top."

Before French Jesuit priests planted the first cane stalk near Baronne Street in New Orleans in 1751, sugar was already a huge moneymaker in British New York. By the 1720s, one of every two ships in the city's port was either arriving from or heading to the Caribbean, importing sugar and enslaved people and exporting flour, meat and shipbuilding supplies. The trade was so lucrative that Wall Street's most impressive buildings were Trinity Church at one end, facing the Hudson River, and the five-story sugar warehouses on the other, close to the East River and near the busy slave market. New York's enslaved population reached 20 percent, prompting the New York General Assembly in 1730 to issue a consolidated slave code, making it "unlawful for above three slaves" to meet on their own, and authorizing "each town" to employ "a common whipper for their slaves."

In 1795, Étienne de Boré, a New Orleans sugar planter, granulated the first sugar crystals in the Louisiana Territory. With the advent of sugar processing locally, sugar plantations exploded up and down both banks of the Mississippi River. All of this was possible because of the abundantly rich alluvial soil, combined with the technical mastery of seasoned French and Spanish planters from around the cane-growing basin of the Gulf and the Caribbean — and because of the toil of thousands of enslaved people. More French planters and their enslaved expert sugar workers poured into Louisiana as Toussaint L'Ouverture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines led a successful revolution to secure Haiti's independence from France.

Within five decades, Louisiana planters were producing a quarter of the world's cane-sugar supply. During her antebellum reign, Queen Sugar bested King Cotton locally, making Louisiana the second-richest state in per capita wealth. According





Children on a Louisiana sugar cane plantation around 1885.

to the historian Richard Follett, the state ranked third in banking capital behind New York and Massachusetts in 1840. The value of enslaved people alone represented tens of millions of dollars in capital that financed investments, loans and businesses. Much of that investment funneled back into the sugar mills, the "most industrialized sector of Southern agriculture," Follett writes in his 2005 book, *Sugar Masters: Planters and Slaves in Louisiana's Cane World 1820-1860*. No other agricultural region came close to the amount of capital investment in farming by the

eve of the Civil War. In 1853, Representative Miles Taylor of Louisiana bragged that his state's success was "without parallel in the United States, or indeed in the world in any branch of industry."

The enslaved population soared, quadrupling over a 20-year period to 125,000 souls in the mid-19th century. New Orleans became the Walmart of people-selling. The number of enslaved labor crews doubled on sugar plantations. And in every sugar parish, black people outnumbered whites. These were some of the most skilled laborers, doing some of the

most dangerous agricultural and industrial work in the United States.

In the mill, alongside adults, children toiled like factory workers with assembly-line precision and discipline under the constant threat of boiling hot kettles, open furnaces and grinding rollers. "All along the endless carrier are ranged slave children, whose business it is to place the cane upon it, when it is conveyed through the shed into the main building," wrote Solomon Northup in "Twelve Years a Slave," his 1853 memoir of being kidnapped and forced into slavery on Louisiana plantations.

To achieve the highest efficiency, as in the round-the-clock Domino refinery today, sugar houses operated night and day. "On cane plantations in sugar time, there is no distinction as to the days of the week," Northup wrote. Fatigue might mean losing an arm to the grinding rollers or being flayed for failing to keep up. Resistance was often met with sadistic cruelty.

A formerly enslaved black woman named Mrs. Webb described a torture chamber used by her owner, Valsin Marmillion. "One of his cruelties was to place a disobedient slave, standing in a box, in which there were nails placed in such a manner that the poor creature was unable to move," she told a W.P.A. interviewer in 1940. "He was powerless even to chase the flies, or sometimes ants crawling on some parts of his body."

Louisiana led the nation in destroying the lives of black people in the name of economic efficiency. The historian Michael Tadman found that Louisiana sugar parishes had a pattern of "deaths exceeding births." Backbreaking labor and "inadequate net nutrition meant that slaves working on sugar plantations were, compared with other working-age slaves in the United States, far less able to resist the common and life-threatening diseases of dirt and poverty," wrote Tadman in a 2000 study published in the *American Historical Review*. Life expectancy was less like that on a cotton plantation and closer to that of a Jamaican cane field, where the most overworked and abused could drop dead after seven years.

Most of these stories of brutality, torture and premature death have never been told in classroom textbooks or historical museums. They have been refined and whitewashed in the mills and factories of Southern folklore: the romantic South, the Lost Cause, the popular "moonlight and magnolias" plantation tours so important to Louisiana's agritourism today.

**When I arrived** at the Whitney Plantation Museum on a hot day in June, I mentioned to Ashley Rogers, 36, the museum's executive director, that I had passed the Nelson





Men working among thousands of barrels of sugar in New Orleans in 1902.

Coleman Correctional Center about 15 miles back along the way. “You passed a dump and a prison on your way to a plantation,” she said. “These are not coincidences.”

The Whitney, which opened five years ago as the only sugar-slavery museum in the nation, rests squarely in a geography of human detritus. The museum tells of the everyday struggles and resistance of black people who didn’t lose their dignity even when they lost everything else. It sits on the west bank of the Mississippi at the northern edge of the St. John the Baptist Parish,

home to dozens of once-thriving sugar plantations; Marmillion’s plantation and torture box were just a few miles down from Whitney.

The museum also sits across the river from the site of the German Coast uprising in 1811, one of the largest revolts of enslaved people in United States history. As many as 500 sugar rebels joined a liberation army heading toward New Orleans, only to be cut down by federal troops and local militia; no record of their actual plans survives. About a hundred were killed in battle or executed later, many with their heads severed

and placed on pikes throughout the region. Based on historians’ estimates, the execution tally was nearly twice as high as the number in Nat Turner’s more famous 1831 rebellion. The revolt has been virtually redacted from the historical record. But not at Whitney. And yet tourists, Rogers said, sometimes admit to her, a white woman, that they are warned by hotel concierges and tour operators that Whitney is the one misrepresenting the past. “You are meant to empathize with the owners as their guests,” Rogers told me in her office. In Louisiana’s plantation tourism, she

said, “the currency has been the distortion of the past.”

The landscape bears witness and corroborates Whitney’s version of history. Although the Coleman jail opened in 2001 and is named for an African-American sheriff’s deputy who died in the line of duty, Rogers connects it to a longer history of coerced labor, land theft and racial control after slavery. Sugar cane grows on farms all around the jail, but at the nearby Louisiana State Penitentiary, or Angola, prisoners grow it. Angola is the largest maximum-security prison by land



mass in the nation. It opened in its current location in 1901 and took the name of one of the plantations that had occupied the land. Even today, incarcerated men harvest Angola's cane, which is turned into syrup and sold on-site.

From slavery to freedom, many black Louisianans found that the crushing work of sugar cane remained mostly the same. Even with Reconstruction delivering civil rights for the first time, white planters continued to dominate landownership. Freedmen and freedwomen had little choice but to live in somebody's old slave quarters. As new wage earners, they negotiated the best terms they could, signed labor contracts for up to a year and moved frequently from one plantation to another in search of a life whose daily rhythms beat differently than before. And yet, even compared with sharecropping on cotton plantations, Rogers said, "sugar plantations did a better job preserving racial hierarchy." As a rule, the historian John C. Rodrigue writes, "plantation labor overshadowed black people's lives in the sugar region until well into the 20th century."

Sometimes black cane workers resisted collectively by striking during planting and harvesting time — threatening to ruin the crop. Wages and working conditions occasionally improved. But other times workers met swift and violent reprisals. After a major labor insurgency in 1887, led by the Knights of Labor, a national union, at least 30 black people — some estimated hundreds — were killed in their homes and on the streets of Thibodaux, La. "I think this will settle the question of who is to rule, the nigger or the white man, for the next 50 years," a local white planter's widow, Mary Pugh, wrote, rejoicing, to her son.

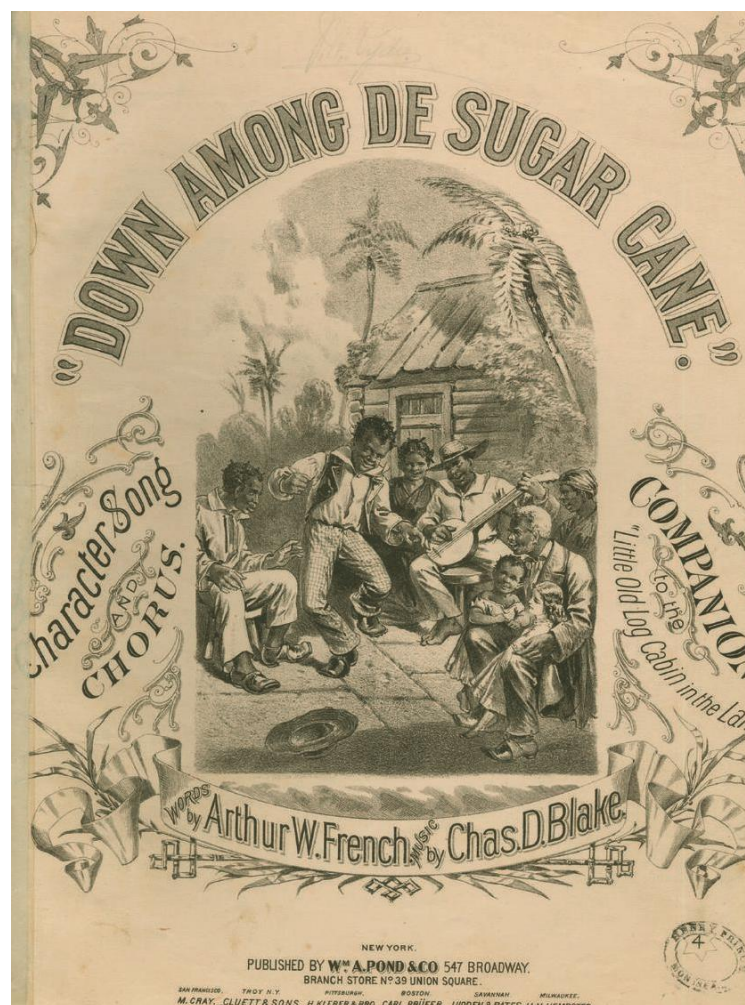
Many African-Americans aspired to own or rent their own sugar-cane farms in the late 19th century, but faced deliberate efforts to limit black farm and land owning. The historian Rebecca Scott found that although "black farmers were occasionally able to buy plots of cane land from bankrupt estates, or otherwise establish themselves as suppliers, the trend was for planters

to seek to establish relations with white tenants or sharecroppers who could provide cane for the mill."

By World War II, many black people began to move not simply from one plantation to another, but from a cane field to a car factory in the North. By then, harvesting machines had begun to take over some, but not all, of the work. With fewer and fewer black workers in the industry, and after efforts in the late 1800s to recruit Chinese, Italian, Irish and German immigrant workers had already failed, labor recruiters in Louisiana and Florida sought workers in other states.

In 1942, the Department of Justice began a major investigation into the recruiting practices of one of the largest sugar producers in the nation, the United States Sugar Corporation, a South Florida company. Black men unfamiliar with the brutal nature of the work were promised seasonal sugar jobs at high wages, only to be forced into debt peonage, immediately accruing the cost of their transportation, lodging and equipment — all for \$1.80 a day. One man testified that the conditions were so bad, "It wasn't no freedom; it was worse than the pen." Federal investigators agreed. When workers tried to escape, the F.B.I. found, they were captured on the highway or "shot at while trying to hitch rides on the sugar trains." The company was indicted by a federal grand jury in Tampa for "carrying out a conspiracy to commit slavery," wrote Alec Wilkinson, in his 1989 book, "Big Sugar: Seasons in the Cane Fields of Florida." (The indictment was ultimately quashed on procedural grounds.) A congressional investigation in the 1980s found that sugar companies had systematically tried to exploit seasonal West Indian workers to maintain absolute control over them with the constant threat of immediately sending them back to where they came from.

At the Whitney plantation, which operated continuously from 1752 to 1975, its museum staff of 12 is nearly all African-American women. A third of them have immediate relatives who either worked there or were born there in the 1960s and '70s. These black women show tourists the same slave cabins and the



Sheet music to an 1875 song romanticizing the painful, exhausted death of an enslaved sugar-plantation worker.

same cane fields their own relatives knew all too well.

**Farm laborers**, mill workers and refinery employees make up the 16,400 jobs of Louisiana's sugar-cane industry. But it is the owners of the 11 mills and 391 commercial farms who have the most influence and greatest share of the wealth. And the number of black sugar-cane farmers in Louisiana is most likely in the single digits, based on estimates from people who work in the industry. They are the exceedingly rare exceptions to a system designed to codify black loss.

And yet two of these black farmers, Charles Guidry and Eddie Lewis III, have been featured in a number of prominent news items and marketing materials out of proportion to their representation and economic footprint in the industry.

Lewis and Guidry have appeared in separate online videos. The American Sugar Cane League has highlighted the same pair separately in its online newsletter, Sugar News.

Lewis has no illusions about why the marketing focuses on him, he told me; sugar cane is a lucrative business, and to keep it that way, the industry has to work with the government. "You need a few minorities in there, because these mills survive off having minorities involved with the mill to get these huge government loans," he said. A former financial adviser at Morgan Stanley, Lewis, 36, chose to leave a successful career in finance to take his rightful place as a fifth-generation farmer. "My family was farming in the late 1800s" near the same land, he says, that his enslaved ancestors once worked. Much of the 3,000 acres he now farms comes from

# Pecan Pioneer: The Enslaved Man Who Cultivated the South's Favorite Nut

By Tiya Miles

Pecans are the nut of choice when it comes to satisfying America's sweet tooth, with the Thanksgiving and Christmas holiday season being the pecan's most popular time, when the nut graces the rich pie named for it. Southerners claim the pecan along with the cornbread and collard greens that distinguish the regional table, and the South looms large in our imaginations as this nut's mother country.

The presence of pecan pralines in every Southern gift shop from South Carolina to Texas, and our view of the nut as regional fare, masks a crucial chapter in the story of the pecan: It was an enslaved man who made the wide cultivation of this nut possible.

Pecan trees are native to the middle southwestern region of the Mississippi River Valley and the Gulf Coast of Texas and Mexico. While the trees can live for a hundred years or more, they do not produce nuts in the first years of life, and the kinds of nuts they produce are wildly variable in size, shape, flavor and ease of shell removal. Indigenous people worked around this variability, harvesting the nuts for hundreds and probably thousands of years, camping near the groves in season, trading the nuts in a network that stretched across the continent, and lending the food the name we have come to know it by: *paccan*.

Once white Southerners became fans of the nut, they set about trying to standardize its fruit by engineering the perfect pecan tree. Planters tried to cultivate pecan trees for a commercial market beginning at least as early as the 1820s, when a well-known planter from South Carolina named Abner Landrum published detailed descriptions of his attempt in the *American Farmer* periodical. In the mid-1840s, a planter in Louisiana sent cuttings of a much-prized pecan tree over to

his neighbor J. T. Roman, the owner of Oak Alley Plantation. Roman did what many enslavers were accustomed to in that period: He turned the impossible work over to an enslaved person with vast capabilities, a man whose name we know only as Antoine. Antoine undertook the delicate task of grafting the pecan cuttings onto the limbs of different tree species on the plantation grounds. Many specimens thrived, and Antoine fashioned still more trees, selecting for nuts with favorable qualities. It was Antoine who successfully created what would become the country's first commercially viable pecan varietal.

Decades later, a new owner of Oak Alley, Hubert Bonzano, exhibited nuts from Antoine's trees at the Centennial Exposition of 1876, the World's Fair held in Philadelphia and a major showcase for American innovation. As the horticulturalist Lenny Wells has recorded, the exhibited nuts received a commendation from the Yale botanist William H. Brewer, who praised them for their "remarkably large size, tenderness of shell and very special excellence." Coined "the Centennial," Antoine's pecan varietal was then seized upon for commercial production (other varieties have since become the standard).

Was Antoine aware of his creation's triumph? No one knows. As the historian James McWilliams writes in "The Pecan: A History of America's Native Nut" (2013): "History leaves no record as to the former slave gardener's location — or whether he was even alive — when the nuts from the tree he grafted were praised by the nation's leading agricultural experts." The tree never bore the name of the man who had handcrafted it and developed a full-scale orchard on the Oak Alley Plantation before he slipped into the shadow of history.

relationships with white landowners his father, Eddie Lewis Jr., and his grandfather before him, built and maintained.

Lewis is the minority adviser for the federal Farm Service Agency (F.S.A.) in St. Martin and Lafayette Parish, and also participates in lobbying federal legislators. He says he does it because the stakes are so high. If things don't change, Lewis told me, "I'm probably one of two or three that's going to be farming in the next 10 to 15 years. They're trying to basically extinct us." As control of

the industry consolidates in fewer and fewer hands, Lewis believes black sugar-cane farmers will no longer exist, part of a long-term trend nationally, where the total proportion of all African-American farmers has plummeted since the early 1900s, to less than 2 percent from more than 14 percent, with 90 percent of black farmers' land lost amid decades of racist actions by government agencies, banks and real estate developers.

"There's still a few good white men around here," Lewis told me. "It's not

to say it's all bad. But this is definitely a community where you still have to say, 'Yes sir,' 'Yes, ma'am,' and accept 'boy' and different things like that."

One of the biggest players in that community is M. A. Patout and Son, the largest sugar-cane mill company in Louisiana. Founded in 1825, Patout has been known to boast that it is "the oldest complete family-owned and operated manufacturer of raw sugar in the United States." It owns three of the 11 remaining sugar-cane mills in Louisiana, processing roughly a third of the cane in the state.

The company is being sued by a former fourth-generation black farmer. As first reported in *The Guardian*, Wenceslaus Provost Jr. claims the company breached a harvesting contract in an effort to deliberately sabotage his business. Provost, who goes by the first name June, and his wife, Angie, who is also a farmer, lost their home to foreclosure in 2018, after defaulting on F.S.A.-guaranteed crop loans. June Provost has also filed a federal lawsuit against First Guaranty Bank and a bank senior vice president for





**The Rhinelander Sugar House, a sugar refinery and warehouse on the site of what is now the headquarters of the New York Police Department, in the late 1800s. When it was built in 1763, the building was one of the largest in the colony.**

claims related to lending discrimination, as well as for mail and wire fraud in reporting false information to federal loan officials. The suit names a whistle-blower, a federal loan officer, who, in April 2015, “informed Mr. Provost that he had

been systematically discriminated against by First Guaranty Bank,” the lawsuit reads.

(In court filings, M.A. Patout and Son denied that it breached the contract. Representatives for the company did not respond to requests

for comment. In court filings, First Guaranty Bank and the senior vice president also denied Provost’s claims. Their representatives did not respond to requests for comment.)

Lewis is himself a litigant in a separate petition against white

landowners. He claims they “unilaterally, arbitrarily and without just cause terminated” a seven-year-old agreement to operate his sugar-cane farm on their land, causing him to lose the value of the crop still growing there. Lewis is seeking damages of more than \$200,000, based on an independent appraisal he obtained, court records show. The landowners did not respond to requests for comment.

But the new lessee, Ryan Doré, a white farmer, did confirm with me that he is now leasing the land and has offered to pay Lewis what a county agent assessed as the crop’s worth, about \$50,000. Doré does not dispute the amount of Lewis’s sugar cane on the 86.16 acres. What he disputes is Lewis’s ability to make the same crop as profitable as he would. Doré, who credits M.A. Patout and Son for getting him started in sugar-cane farming, also told me he is farming some of the land June Provost had farmed.

Lewis and the Provosts say they believe Doré is using his position as an elected F.S.A. committee member to gain an unfair advantage over black farmers with white landowners. “He’s privileged with a lot of information,” Lewis said.

Doré denied he is abusing his F.S.A. position and countered that “the Lewis boy” is trying to “make this a black-white deal.” Doré insisted that “both those guys simply lost their acreage for one reason and one reason only: They are horrible farmers.”

It’s impossible to listen to the stories that Lewis and the Provosts tell and not hear echoes of the policies and practices that have been used since Reconstruction to maintain the racial caste system that sugar slavery helped create. The crop, land and farm theft that they claim harks back to the New Deal era, when Southern F.S.A. committees denied black farmers government funding.

“June and I hope to create a dent in these oppressive tactics for future generations,” Angie Provost told me on the same day this spring that a congressional subcommittee held hearings on reparations. “To this day we are harassed, retaliated against and denied the true DNA of our past.” ♦



● Sept. 15, 1963: A group of Ku Klux Klansmen bomb the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala., a center of the civil rights movement. Four young girls are killed, and at least 14 people are injured. Years later, three of the four conspirators are brought to trial and convicted; the fourth dies before he is tried.



This morning's already good — summer's cooling, Addie chattering like a magpie — but today we are leading the congregation. Ain't *that* a fine thing! All in white *like angels*, they'll be sighing when we appear at the pulpit and proclaim "Open your hymnals —" Addie, what's the page number again? Never mind, it'll be posted. I think. I hope. Hold still, Carole, or else this sash will never sit right! There. Now you do mine. Almost eleven. I'm ready. My, don't we look — what's that word the Reverend used in last Sunday's sermon? Oh, I got it: *ethereal*.

By Rita Dove

My daughter's three months old. A nightmare rocks me awake, and then fourteen words: *Brevity*.

*As in four girls; Sunday dresses: bone, ash, bone, ash, bone. The end.* 1963, but still burning. My darkening girl

lies beside me, her tiny chest barely registering breath. Had they lived beyond that morning, all the other explosions

shattering Birmingham — even some who called it home called it Bombingham — three of the girls would be 70,

the other 67. Somebody's babies. The sentences I rescue from that nightmare, I make a poem. Four names,

grayscaled at the bottom of the page:

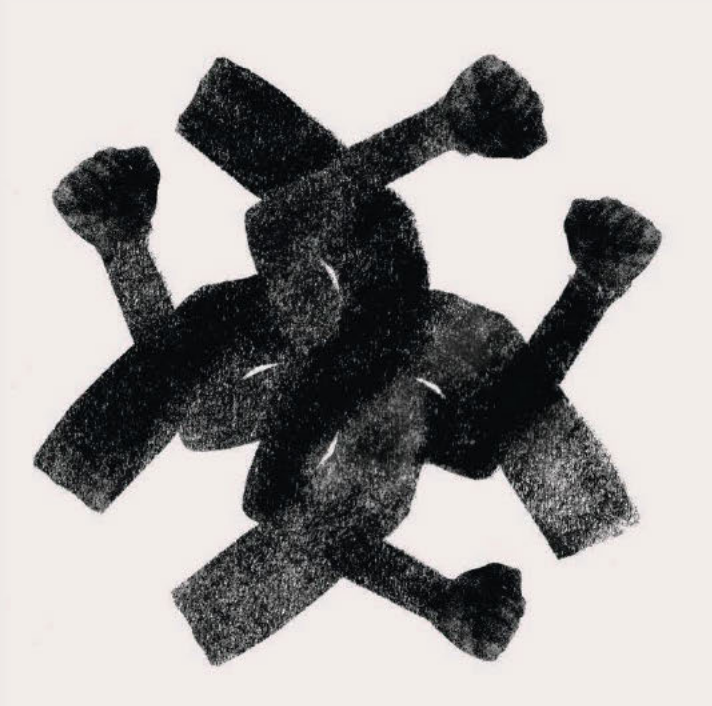
Addie Mae Collins. Cynthia Wesley. Carole Robertson. Denise McNair.

Revision is a struggle toward truth. In my book I won't keep, *The end*.

For such terrible brevity — dear black girls! sweet babies — there's been no end.

By Camille T. Dungy

● Oct. 15, 1966: In response to police brutality against African-Americans, the Merritt College students Huey Newton and Bobby Seale create the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. The organization, declared an enemy of the government by J. Edgar Hoover's F.B.I., holds that ending the economic exploitation of black people is central to achieving racial equity.



*With a line from Tavia Nyong'o*

Anything that wants to be can be a panther. The black lion or ocelot, the black cheetah or cornrowed uptown girl sprinting up her neighborhood block just like one, in dogged pursuit of the future world. In this frame, I imagine Huey and Bobby as boys in the sense of gender and genre alike, an unbroken line reading: *my life is an armor for the other*. Before black berets or free breakfasts, then, there is friendship. Before gun laws shifting in the wake of organized strength, leather jackets shimmering like gypsum in the Northern California twilight — or else magazine covers running the world over, compelling everyday ordinary people across the spectrum of context or color to sing *who wants to be a panther ought to be he can be it* — there is love. The panther is a virtual animal. The panther strikes only when it has been assailed. The panther is a human vision, interminable refusal, our common call to adore ourselves as what we are and live and die on terms we fashioned from the earth like this. Our precious metal metonym. Our style of fire and stone.

By Joshua Bennett



Slavery gave *America* a fear of black people and a taste for violent punishment. Both still define our criminal-justice system.



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By Bryan Stevenson

**Several years ago**, my law office was fighting for the release of a black man who had been condemned, at the age of 16, to die in prison. Matthew was one of 62 Louisiana children sentenced to life imprisonment without parole for nonhomicide offenses. But a case I'd argued at the Supreme Court was part of a 2010 ruling that banned such sentences for juveniles, making our clients eligible for release.

Some had been in prison for nearly 50 years. Almost all had been sent to Angola, a penitentiary considered one of America's most violent and abusive. Angola is immense, larger than Manhattan, covering land once occupied by slave plantations. Our clients there worked in fields under the supervision of horse-riding, shotgun-toting guards who forced them to pick crops, including cotton. Their disciplinary records show that if they refused to pick cotton — or failed to pick it fast enough — they could be punished with time in "the hole," where food was restricted and inmates were sometimes tear-gassed. Still, some black prisoners, including Matthew, considered the despair of the hole preferable to the unbearable degradation of being forced to pick cotton on a plantation at the end of the 20th century. I was fearful that such clients would be denied parole based on their disciplinary records. Some were.

The United States has the highest rate of incarceration of any nation on Earth: We represent 4 percent of the planet's population but 22 percent of its imprisoned. In the early 1970s, our prisons held fewer than 300,000 people; since then, that number has grown to more than 2.2 million, with 4.5 million more on probation or parole. Because of mandatory sentencing and "three strikes" laws, I've found myself representing clients sentenced to life without parole for stealing a bicycle or for simple possession of marijuana. And central to understanding this practice of mass incarceration and excessive punishment is the legacy of slavery.

**It took only** a few decades after the arrival of enslaved Africans in Virginia before white settlers demanded a new world defined by racial caste. The 1664 General Assembly of

Maryland decreed that all Negroes within the province "shall serve *durante vita*," hard labor for life. This enslavement would be sustained by the threat of brutal punishment. By 1729, Maryland law authorized punishments of enslaved people including "to have the right hand cut off ... the head severed from the body, the body divided into four quarters, and head and quarters set up in the most public places of the county."

Soon American slavery matured into a perverse regime that denied the humanity of black people while still criminalizing their actions. As the Supreme Court of Alabama explained in 1861, enslaved black people were "capable of committing crimes," and in that capacity were "regarded as persons" — but in most every other sense they were "incapable of performing civil acts" and considered "things, not persons."

The 13th Amendment is credited with ending slavery, but it stopped short of that: It made an exception for those convicted of crimes. After emancipation, black people, once seen as less than fully human "slaves," were seen as less than fully human "criminals." The provisional governor of South Carolina declared in 1865 that they had to be "restrained from theft, idleness, vagrancy and crime." Laws governing slavery were replaced with Black Codes governing free black people — making the criminal-justice system central to new strategies of racial control.

These strategies intensified whenever black people asserted their independence or achieved any measure of success. During Reconstruction, the emergence of black elected officials and entrepreneurs was countered by convict leasing, a scheme in which white policymakers invented offenses used to target black people: vagrancy, loitering, being a group of black people out after dark, seeking employment without a note from a former enslaver. The imprisoned were then "leased" to businesses and farms, where they labored under brutal conditions. An 1887 report in Mississippi found that six months after 204 prisoners were leased to a white man named McDonald, dozens were dead or dying, the prison hospital filled with men whose bodies bore "marks of the most inhuman

and brutal treatment ... so poor and emaciated that their bones almost come through the skin."

Anything that challenged the racial hierarchy could be seen as a crime, punished either by the law or by the lynchings that stretched from Mississippi to Minnesota. In 1916, Anthony Crawford was lynched in South Carolina for being successful enough to refuse a low price for his cotton. In 1933, Elizabeth Lawrence was lynched near Birmingham for daring to chastise white children who were throwing rocks at her.

It's not just that this history fostered a view of black people as presumptively criminal. It also cultivated a tolerance for employing any level of brutality in response. In 1904, in Mississippi, a black man was accused of shooting a white landowner who had attacked him. A white mob captured him and the woman with him, cut off their ears and fingers, drilled corkscrews into their flesh and then burned them alive — while hundreds of white spectators enjoyed deviled eggs and lemonade. The landowner's brother, Woods Eastland, presided over the violence; he was later elected district attorney of Scott County, Miss., a position that allowed his son James Eastland, an avowed white supremacist, to serve six terms as a United States senator, becoming president pro tempore from 1972 to 1978.

This appetite for harsh punishment has echoed across the decades. Late in the 20th century, amid protests over civil rights and inequality, a new politics of fear and anger would emerge. Nixon's war on drugs, mandatory minimum sentences, three-strikes laws, children tried as adults, "broken windows" policing — these policies were not as expressly racialized as the Black Codes, but their implementation has been essentially the same. It is black and brown people who are disproportionately targeted, stopped, suspected, incarcerated and shot by the police.

**Hundreds of years** after the arrival of enslaved Africans, a presumption of danger and criminality still follows black people everywhere. New language has emerged for the non-crimes that have replaced the Black

Codes: driving while black, sleeping while black, sitting in a coffee shop while black. All reflect incidents in which African-Americans were mistreated, assaulted or arrested for conduct that would be ignored if they were white. In schools, black kids are suspended and expelled at rates that vastly exceed the punishment of white children for the same behavior.

Inside courtrooms, the problem gets worse. Racial disparities in sentencing are found in almost every crime category. Children as young as 13, almost all black, are sentenced to life imprisonment for nonhomicide offenses. Black defendants are 22 times more likely to receive the death penalty for crimes whose victims are white, rather than black — a type of bias the Supreme Court has declared "inevitable."

The smog created by our history of racial injustice is suffocating and toxic. We are too practiced in ignoring the victimization of any black people tagged as criminal; like Woods Eastland's crowd, too many Americans are willing spectators to horrifying acts, as long as we're assured they're in the interest of maintaining order.

This cannot be the end of the story. In 2018, the Equal Justice Initiative, a nonprofit I direct, opened a museum in Montgomery, Ala., dedicated to the legacy of slavery and a memorial honoring thousands of black lynching victims. We must acknowledge the 400 years of injustice that haunt us. I'm encouraged: Half a million people have visited. But I'm also worried, because we are at one of those critical moments in American history when we will either double down on romanticizing our past or accept that there is something better waiting for us.

I recently went to New Orleans to celebrate the release of several of our Angola clients, including Matthew — men who survived the fields and the hole. I realized how important it is to stay hopeful: Hopelessness is the enemy of justice. There were moments of joy that night. But there was also heaviness; we all seemed keenly aware that we were not truly free from the burden of living in a nation that continues to deny and doubt this legacy, and how much work remains to be done. ♦



*A vast wealth gap, driven by segregation, redlining, evictions and exclusion, separates white and black America.*



---

By Trymaine Lee



**Elmore Bolling, whose** brothers called him Buddy, was a kind of one-man economy in Lowndesboro, Ala. He leased a plantation, where he had a general store with a gas station out front and a catering business; he grew cotton, corn and sugar cane. He also owned a small fleet of trucks that ran livestock and made deliveries between Lowndesboro and Montgomery. At his peak, Bolling employed as many as 40 people, all of them black like him.

One December day in 1947, a group of white men showed up along a stretch of Highway 80 just yards from Bolling's home and store, where he lived with his wife, Bertha Mae, and their seven young children. The men confronted him on a section of road he had helped lay and shot him seven times — six times with a pistol and once with a shotgun blast to the back. His family rushed from the store to find him lying dead in a ditch.

The shooters didn't even cover their faces; they didn't need to. Everyone knew who had done it and why. "He was too successful to be a Negro," someone who knew Bolling told a newspaper at the time. When Bolling was killed, his family estimates he had as much as \$40,000 in the bank and more than \$5,000 in assets, about \$500,000 in today's dollars. But within months of his murder nearly all of it would be gone. White creditors and people posing as creditors took the money the family got from the sale of their trucks and cattle. They even staked claims on what was left of the family's savings. The jobs that he provided were gone, too. Almost overnight the Bollings went from prosperity to poverty. Bertha Mae found work at a dry cleaner. The older children dropped out of school to help support the family. Within two years, the Bollings fled Lowndes County, fearing for their lives.

**The period that** followed the Civil War was one of economic terror and wealth-stripping that has left black people at lasting economic disadvantage. White Americans have seven times the wealth of black Americans on average. Though black people make up nearly 13 percent of the United States population, they hold less than 3 percent of the nation's total wealth. The median family

wealth for white people is \$171,000, compared with just \$17,600 for black people. It is worse on the margins. According to the Economic Policy Institute, 19 percent of black households have zero or negative net worth. Just 9 percent of white families are that poor.

Today's racial wealth gap is perhaps the most glaring legacy of American slavery and the violent economic dispossession that followed. The fate suffered by Elmore Bolling and his family was not unique to them, or to Jim Crow Alabama. It was part of a much broader social and political campaign. When legal slavery ended in 1865, there was great hope for formerly enslaved people. Between 1865 and 1870, the Reconstruction Amendments established birthright citizenship — making all black people citizens and granting them equal protection under the law — and gave black men the right to vote. There was also the promise of compensation. In January 1865, Gen. William Sherman issued an order reallocating hundreds of thousands of acres of white-owned land along the coasts of Florida, Georgia and South Carolina for settlement by black families in 40-acre plots. Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau to oversee the transition from slavery to freedom, and the Freedman's Savings Bank was formed to help four million formerly enslaved people gain financial freedom.

When Lincoln was assassinated, Vice President Andrew Johnson effectively rescinded Sherman's order by pardoning white plantation owners and returning to them the land on which 40,000 or so black families had settled. "This is a country for white men, and by God, as long as I am President, it shall be a government for white men," Johnson declared in 1866. The Freedmen's Bureau, always meant to be temporary, was dismantled in 1872. More than 60,000 black people deposited more than \$1 million into the Freedman's Savings Bank, but its all-white trustees began issuing speculative loans to white investors and corporations, and when it failed in 1874, many black depositors lost much of their savings.

"The origins of the racial wealth gap start with the failure to provide

the formerly enslaved with the land grants of 40 acres," says William A. Darity Jr., a professor of public policy and African-American studies at Duke University. Any financial progress that black people made was regarded as an affront to white supremacy. After a decade of black gains under Reconstruction, a much longer period of racial violence would wipe nearly all of it away.

To assuage Southern white people, the federal government pulled out the Union troops who were stationed in the South to keep order. During this period of so-called Redemption, lawmakers throughout the South enacted Black Codes and Jim Crow laws that stripped black people of many of their freedoms and property. Other white people, often aided by law enforcement, waged a campaign of violence against black people that would rob them of an incalculable amount of wealth.

Armed white people stormed prosperous majority-black Wilmington, N.C., in 1898 to murder dozens of black people, force 2,000 others off their property and overthrow the city government. In the Red Summer of 1919, at least 240 black people were murdered across the country. And in 1921, in one of the bloodiest racial attacks in United States history, Greenwood, a prosperous black neighborhood in Tulsa, Okla., was burned and looted. It is estimated that as many as 300 black people were murdered and 10,000 were rendered homeless. Thirty-five square blocks were destroyed. No one was ever convicted in any of these acts of racist violence.

"You have limited opportunity to accumulate wealth, and then you have a process where that wealth is destroyed or taken away," Darity says. "And all of that is prior to the effects of restrictive covenants — redlining, the discriminatory application of the G.I. Bill and other federal programs."

The post-Reconstruction plundering of black wealth was not just a product of spontaneous violence, but etched in law and public policy. Through the first half of the 20th century, the federal government actively excluded black people from government wealth-building programs. In the 1930s, President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal helped build a solid

middle class through sweeping social programs, including Social Security and the minimum wage. But a majority of black people at the time were agricultural laborers or domestic workers, occupations that were ineligible for these benefits. The establishment of the Home Owners Loan Corporation in 1933 helped save the collapsing housing market, but it largely excluded black neighborhoods from government-insured loans. Those neighborhoods were deemed "hazardous" and colored in with red on maps, a practice that came to be known as "redlining."

The G.I. Bill is often hailed as one of Roosevelt's most enduring legacies. It helped usher millions of working-class veterans through college and into new homes and the middle class. But it discriminatorily benefited white people. While the bill didn't explicitly exclude black veterans, the way it was administered often did. The bill gave veterans access to mortgages with no down payments, but the Veterans Administration adopted the same racially restrictive policies as the Federal Housing Administration, which guaranteed bank loans only to developers who wouldn't sell to black people. "The major way in which people have an opportunity to accumulate wealth is contingent on the wealth positions of their parents and their grandparents," Darity says. "To the extent that blacks have the capacity to accumulate wealth, we have not had the ability to transfer the same kinds of resources across generations."

**Seventy years later,** the effects of Bolling's murder are still felt by his children and their children. "There was no inheritance, nothing for my father to pass down, because it was all taken away," says Josephine Bolling McCall, the only one of Bolling's children to get a college degree. Of the seven siblings, those with more education fared best; the men struggled most, primarily working as low-paid laborers. Of Elmore and Bertha Mae's 25 grandchildren, only six graduated from college; of those, two are McCall's children. The rest are unemployed or underemployed. They have never known anything like the prosperity of their grandparents. ♦



● Sept. 16, 1979: During the 1970s, hip-hop evolves as an art form in the South Bronx. Often performed at street parties, the phenomenon goes mainstream with Sugarhill Gang's 'Rapper's Delight.'

Was it the loud distorted bass of a speaker rattling my windowpanes, beckoning me from my bedroom to a late-afternoon party in the schoolyard at P.S. 38? Or maybe it was the exuberance of teenagers streaming down my block toward what promised to be *the* end-of-the-summer jam.

Following the laughter, I found myself at one of those pop-up parties where everything felt improvised. The turntable was powered by jumper cables winding from the lamppost to the sound system, and the sparkling concrete was an unlikely dance floor. The schoolyard was so packed with hot, sweaty black and brown bodies that I had to scale the chain-link fence just to get a glimpse of the D.J. spinning the vinyl and the silky-smooth M.C. straining to punch his voice above a crowd hungry for his home-spun rhymes. Everybody was dancing with a furious urgency, driven on by the spontaneous bursts of inspiration that tumbled from the M.C.'s lyrical tongue. Plucking records from a stack of milk crates, the D.J. worked overtime to keep his twin turntables pumping a continuous groove, deconstructing and repurposing the disco beats to meet our youthful energy. Scratching and mixing, his hands created syncopated rhythms that hit our ears like musical bombs.

*Said*

*Hey! Ho!*

*Hey! Ho!*

The M.C. led us through a call-and-response like a master conductor. His words, a provocation to be loud and unapologetically ourselves. How could we know that the braggadocio of this young black M.C. was the beginning of a revolution?

Rumors were flying that the Crazy Homicides, a Puerto Rican street gang, were going to battle the Tomahawks. The danger added an edge of excitement, but the music brokered the peace — no one dared interrupt the reverie. Hard rocks, B-boys and B-girls in coordinated outfits wore the names of their crews proudly splashed across their T-shirts, the lettering rendered in thick graffiti markers or colorful iron-on decals. Jockeying for space, they formed spontaneous dance circles to show off their intricate moves. Popping and rocking, their bodies contorted in impossible and beautiful shapes that at once paid tribute to their African ancestors and the rebellious desire to be seen and heard in a city that had overlooked the majesty of their presence.

Then a dancer lost in the moment bumped the D.J.'s folding table, sending the needle screeching across the vinyl. An argument ensued — tempers that had been simmering throughout the evening threatened to bubble over. But the D.J. didn't lose a beat, offering a funky fresh musical salve to ease the tension.

*Rock it out, y'all*

*Don't stop, y'all*

*Said hip hop*

*Dance 'til ya drop, y'all*

Just as the M.C. resurrected the party, the power to the street lamp was shut off, and darkness brought a close to the festivities. Someone used a wrench to turn on the fire hydrant, and we all ran through the water to cool down our overheated bodies — the ritual cleansing marking an official ending to the party, but not the movement.

By Lynn Nottage

● July 17, 1984: The Rev. Jesse Jackson gives a his in San Francisco, where he describes the need for minister who was the most prominent black candidate to lose the Democratic nomination to Walter Mondale.



My older sister, Rae, makes me write 500 words every night before I go to bed. Tonight, I want to write five million because of this speech by Jesse Jackson, a black man with big, beautiful eyeballs.

While we were working on the Barnett house tonight, Rae kept saying that Jesse's speech was going to do for us what Ronald Reagan's speech did for white folks at the Neshoba County Fair four years ago. Ronald Reagan came to the fair and said some words about "states' rights." Those words made a lot of white folks at the fair happier than Christmas Eve. Those words made Rae, Mama, Granny and our whole church so scared we had to leave. When we got in the van, Rae told me that Ronald Reagan came to Mississippi to offer white folks an all-you-can-eat buffet of black suffering.

I asked Rae if white folks left full. She sucked her teeth.

Dafinas, who worked on the house with us this summer, stayed to watch the speech, too. He's from Oaxaca, Mexico, and his grandmother was just stolen by police and sent back to Oaxaca. I don't know if Rae and Dafinas go together, but they look at each other's hands like they do.

All of us watched Jesse Jackson say the names of people I never heard of at school. He talked about Goodman, Chaney and Schwerner. He talked about Fannie Lou Hamer, Martin King and Rabbi Abraham Heschel. He talked about Hispanic-Americans, Arab-Americans, African-Americans. He talked about lesbian and gay Americans having something called equal protection under the law. He talked about powerful coalitions made of rainbows.

Jackson: Paul Sequeira/Getty images; Getty images



historic speech at the Moscone Center  
for a 'rainbow coalition.' Jackson, a Baptist  
candidate for president at the time, would  
nadaled.



When we walked out of the Barnett house, a house we were building, in a white neighborhood where none of us would ever be allowed to live, I watched Dafinas and Rae hug for eight seconds.

On the way home, I asked Rae why she seemed so sad. "Rainbows, they're pretty, but they ain't real," she said. "Only thing real down here is suffering. And work. And love."

I told Rae that I liked her more than apple Now and Later. But if believing in rainbows makes us love better, then rainbows can be just as real as work. And love. And if we really believed, we might be able to bring Dafinas's granny back. And one day, instead of building houses for white folks, in neighborhoods we could never even visit if we weren't working there, we could maybe build beautiful houses with gardens where all our grannies could sit on porches, and safely tell lies that sound true.

"I never seen a black-and-brown rainbow," Rae said, "but I'll always believe in us."

"I'll be sad when you go to college," I told her. "But mostly, I'll be fine, because I can't stop believing that rainbows are real. And the land and the black and brown folks under those rainbows, we will one day be free."

By Kiese Laymon

● August 2005: After Hurricane Katrina, 30,000 evacuees, most of them black, take refuge in the Louisiana Superdome. The chaotic, desperate scene that unfolded there would become a symbol of the city's rampant racial inequality.

A helicopter hovers overhead like a black cloud of smoke, its blades dismembering the pewter sky. Men in uniform stand outside with guns nested under their arms & the hot,

wet air of August licking their weary faces. Two women push a homemade raft through warm, brown water that rises up & hugs their chests. There is an old man inside the raft

who was once a stranger to them, when such a word meant something other than please help me. Inside, children are running across the emerald turf jumping through rings of light that

spill from the sky onto the field. Their small bodies sprinting between the archipelago of sprawled cots. There is a mother who sits high in the seats of the stadium rocking her baby

back & forth, her voice cocooning the child in a shell of song. Before desperation descended under the rounded roof, before the stench swept across the air like a heavy fog, before the

lights went out & the buses arrived, before the cameras came inside & showed the failure of an indifferent nation, there were families inside though there were some who failed to call them

families. There were children inside though there were some who gave them a more callous name. There were people inside though there were some who only saw a parade of disembodied shadows.

By Clint Smith



*Their ancestors  
were enslaved by law.  
Today, they are  
graduates of the  
nation's pre-eminent  
historically black  
law school.*

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**Photographs by Djeneba Aduayom**  
*Introduction by Nikole Hannah-Jones*  
*Captions by Wadzanai Mhute*

August 18, 2019





In the history of the United States, black Americans were the only group for whom it was ever illegal to learn to read or write. And so when emancipation finally came, schools and colleges were some of the first institutions that the freed people clamored to build. Black Americans believed that education meant liberation, and just eight months after the Civil War, the first historically black college opened in the South.

Howard University is among the most venerable of these institutions. Chartered in Washington in 1867, the school has educated some of the nation's most notable black Americans, including Toni Morrison, Andrew Young, Zora Neale Hurston and Paul Laurence Dunbar. But where Howard has had perhaps the most indelible impact on black lives — and on the country — has been its law school. Leading up to the civil rights movement, Howard was virtually the only law school in the South that served black students. It became an incubator for those who would use the law to challenge racial apartheid in the North and the South and help make the country more fair and democratic. Many of the architects of campaigns for black equality either taught at or graduated from Howard, including Mary Ann Shadd Cary and Thurgood Marshall.

The school continues that legacy today, producing more black lawyers than perhaps any other institution. In May, it graduated its 148th class, and the four newly minted lawyers featured here were among the graduates. All of them descended from people enslaved in this country. We asked Kenyatta D. Berry, a genealogist who specializes in tracing black Americans' roots back to slavery, to research their families and tell each of them, and us, something about one of those enslaved ancestors.

What Berry could and could not find reveals its own story about the occluded heritage of black Americans. Because enslaved people were treated as chattel, they are rarely found in government birth and death records but instead must be traced through the property ledgers of the people who owned them. Berry often has to work backward through documents, locating ancestors in the 1870 census, when they were

counted as people for the first time, or through the records of the Freedmen's Bureau. Because 95 percent of enslaved people were illiterate at the end of the Civil War, the chances of finding old letters — or diaries or family trees stuffed in Bibles — are exceedingly low. And so for these graduates, like many black Americans, the holes in their family histories can outnumber the answers.

Still, more than any written record, today's nearly 44 million black Americans are themselves the testimony of the resiliency of those who were enslaved, of their determination to fight and survive so that future generations would have the opportunities that they never would. The story of black America is one of tragedy and triumph. These graduates represent nothing less than their ancestors' wildest dreams.

Elijah Porter, 26  
(Previous page, with his father, Elijah)

**Hometown:** Atlanta  
**Post-law-school plans:** He has been hired as a corporate associate at a law firm in Mountain View, Calif., where he aims to become a partner in five years.

Elijah Porter's ancestor Moses Turner was born in April 1839 in Georgia. At the time of the 1870 census, he and his wife, Sarah, had five children between 6 months and 9 years. The family lived on 265 acres valued at \$750 (\$14,665 in today's dollars). Turner was an employer, and the farm produced cotton, sweet potatoes, molasses, butter and Indian corn.

By 1910 the Turners had no mortgage and were living with three daughters who worked as laborers on their farm. Turner died in 1917 and did not leave a will; his wife was the administrator of his estate.

"The way the story is always told is that we were slaves, we got free and now here we are and we didn't make any positive contributions to America," Porter said. "So when I am reading about Moses Turner, not only is he a landowner but he is contributing to the American economy, he knows agriculture, he is married and has children. I was really in shock because I always wanted to know my history." Porter also found some irony in the story of Turner's death. "The interesting thing was he died without a will," he said. "The story of me becoming an attorney was already written before I knew about it."



Septembra LeSane, 29  
(Above, with her grandmother Leola, left, and her mother, Debra, middle)

**Hometown:** Pompano Beach, Fla.  
**Post-law-school plans:** To start a practice focusing on environmental civil rights and entertainment law.

Septembra LeSane's maternal great-great-grandmother Georgia Wilcox was born after the Civil War, in 1885, to Sandy Wilcox, who was born into slavery around 1854, in Wilcox County, Ga. (Sandy married Artimisha Roundtree in 1873, but Roundtree is not listed in any available documents as Georgia's





mother.) Georgia's paternal grandfather, Silas Wilcox, was born enslaved in 1822 in Georgia. In 1867 Wilcox took an oath of allegiance to the United States in order to register to vote in Pulaski County, Ga. According to the 1880 Agricultural Census Schedule, Silas was a sharecropper.

"It gave me chills," LeSane said. "Chills to know that slavery was not that long ago, to feel the connection. My grandmother knew her grandmother, and her grandmother was the daughter of slaves."

LeSane is one of seven children. She said her family used to return to

Georgia for vacations when she was younger and they walked through cotton fields. She remembers the vastness of the land and thinking of her ancestors working in the hot sun on the same land. Learning more about Georgia Wilcox and her other ancestors, she said, "brought those images back to me. It showed

me what they endured; they never wavered, they endured, so we wouldn't experience any of that. As a sixth-generation descendant of slavery, I am essentially a part of the first generation of descendants to carry the torch that was lit by my ancestors into true freedom."

Ky'Eisha Penn, 28  
(With her mother, Teresa, right)

**Hometown:** Miami and Augusta, Ga.

**Post-law-school plans:** To be a civil rights lawyer; she begins a fellowship at the A.C.L.U. in New Jersey in September.

Ky'Eisha Penn's ancestors on her mother's side include Phillip Officer, who was born into slavery on Oct. 18, 1837, in Tennessee. His unusual surname apparently connects him to a nearby landowner: The 1850 U.S. Census Agricultural Schedule indicates that James C. Officer had 19 slaves, one of them a boy whose age matched Phillip's.

By the time of the 1870 census, Phillip Officer was working as a farm laborer, probably a sharecropper, which would explain why census records indicate he was living in the household of a woman named Sarah Turney. Within a decade, Officer was married to a woman named Emeline (her maiden name and origins are unknown) with two sons and had become a landowner himself. According to the 1880 Agricultural Schedule, he owned 66 acres, and his farm was worth \$400 (\$10,045 in today's dollars); his livestock and machinery were valued at \$200 (\$5,022). By 1900, Officer owned his farm outright.

"My mom and I were dissecting this history, and we were wowed by it," Penn said. "He was a slave, but when he died he owned land." Her ancestor's story resonated with her, she said, as a person who was raised by a single mother with limited resources and who has just graduated with a dual degree in law from Howard and a master's in African-American history from Florida A.& M. "I wanted to be challenged by the history, molded by the history and then become a part of it," she said. "I wanted so much more for my life and for my children in the future, to work hard and set a legacy. My ancestors were doing that, they were not born in the right circumstances but made something by the time they died."





August 18, 2019











**Yasiman Montgomery, 24**  
(Between her father, Alfred, and her mother, Cecily)

**Hometown:** Washington, D.C.  
**Post-law-school plans:** She will work as a litigator in New York, after which she intends to return to Washington to work in the federal government.

Charles McDuffie Wilder, Yasiman Montgomery's ancestor on her father's side, was born around 1835 in Sumter, S.C., and is absent from public records for the first several decades of his life.

By 1866, Wilder was a member of the South Carolina General Assembly, where he represented Richland County throughout Reconstruction. He was also appointed a deputy marshal — the U.S. marshal for South Carolina, J.P.M. Epping, said he "could not find a white man who could take the oath who had honesty and capacity enough for the position."

In 1869, Wilder was named postmaster for Columbia, S.C., a presidential appointment that required confirmation by the State Senate, becoming the first known freedman to receive such an appointment. Coverage in *The Columbia Daily Phoenix* included this paragraph: "Charles M. Wilder, the newly appointed postmaster at Columbia, is an intelligent colored man, fully competent to discharge the duties of the office to which he has been appointed, and is highly esteemed, as a colored man, by the whole community. The only objection made against him by opponents of the present Federal and State Governments is, that he is a negro." He held the job for 16 years, under four presidents. During this span Wilder was also a member of the Columbia City Council and attended the National Republican Conventions as a delegate.

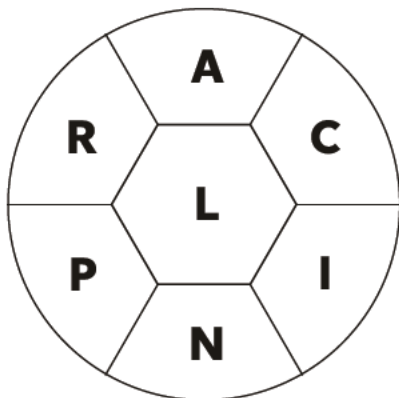
Montgomery grew up in Washington and knew of Wilder, who, she said, a lot of people in the area trace their history back to. "Reading about it makes me feel more purposeful," she said, "because I am attached to that legacy." She credits her parents, Alfred and Cecily, for instilling in her an appreciation for her heritage. "They were older and grew up in segregation," she said. "They took me to look at archives together; they wanted me to learn my history. I have a lot of pride in being black and that's because I know my heritage. It's important to start the conversation before slavery. We didn't just pop up in America, we were part of a culture."

# SPELLING BEE

By Frank Longo

How many common words of 5 or more letters can you spell using the letters in the hive? Every answer must use the center letter at least once. Letters may be reused in a word. At least one word will use all 7 letters. Proper names and hyphenated words are not allowed. Score 1 point for each answer, and 3 points for a word that uses all 7 letters.

Rating: 7 good; 12 excellent; 17 genius



Our list of words, worth 20 points, appears with last week's answers.

# CRAZY EIGHTS

By Patrick Berry

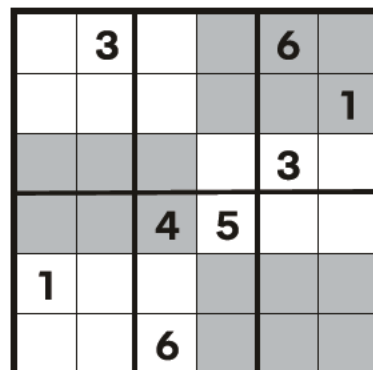
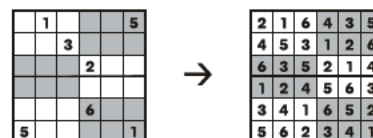
Fill letters in the empty squares in the middle of each grid to complete four 8 letter words reading across and four 8 letter words reading down.



# SIXY SUDOKU

By Peter Ritmeester

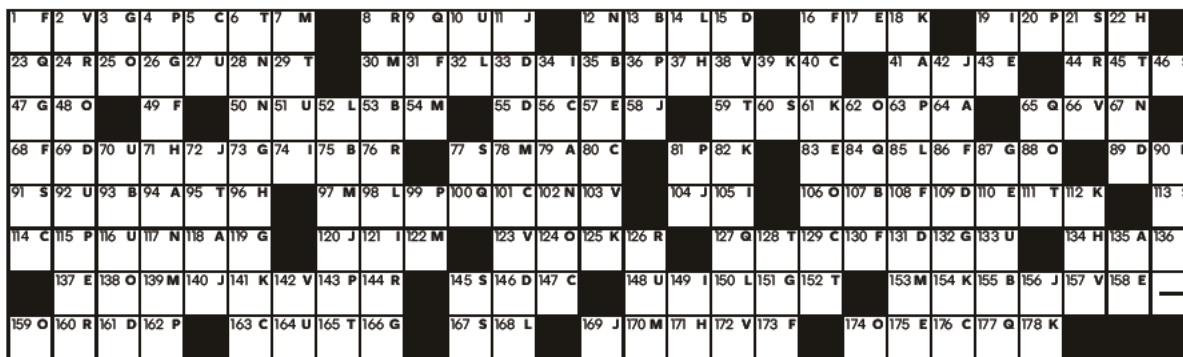
Insert the digits 1 to 6 just once in each a) row, b) column, c) bold outlined area and d) white or gray rectangle.



# ACROSTIC

By Emily Cox & Henry Rathvon

Guess the words defined below and write them over their numbered dashes. Then transfer each letter to the correspondingly numbered square in the pattern. Black squares indicate word endings. The filled pattern will contain a quotation reading from left to right. The first letters of the guessed words will form an acrostic giving the author's name and the title of the work.



## A. Up and down diversion

64 118 94 79 41 135

## B. Built in low end digital protection

93 13 155 107 53 35 75

## C. BBC soap opera since 1985

5 56 40 80 101 129 147 176 114 163

## D. Activity seen on Jupiter's moon Io

161 69 109 89 131 146 33 15 55

## E. Pleasing pop tunes (2 wds.)

175 17 83 137 110 57 43 158

## F. Playing card, geometrically

68 130 16 1 49 31 108 86 173

## G. Like hypoallergenic products, often

3 151 166 47 87 73 132 26 119

## H. Gear of use to clowns and fruit pickers

96 134 37 171 71 22

## I. Home of Elysian Fields, site of the first organized baseball games (1846)

121 136 34 149 19 74 105

## J. Ratchet up, escalate

104 156 120 11 42 140 72 169 58

## K. What Boreas personifies (2 wds.)

39 125 18 141 178 154 61 82 112

## L. One with a hat in the ring; aspirant

32 98 14 52 168 150 85

## M. Northernmost member of the Big 12 Conference (2 wds.)

30 78 97 139 7 153 170 54 122

## N. New York's official gemstone

50 28 102 117 67 12

## O. Civilian sector in wartime (2 wds.)

48 124 25 106 159 88 138 62 174

## P. News delivery

99 20 4 81 143 36 115 63 162

## Q. "Crocodile Dundee" setting

84 9 177 127 65 23 100

## R. One backing the British Crown in the American Revolution

44 90 76 24 126 160 144 8

## S. Welcome call for a restive crew (2 wds.)

77 145 46 113 91 60 167 21

## T. Handed over in good faith

6 111 59 95 45 29 165 128 152

## U. Update in terms of interior design

51 164 148 70 27 10 116 92 133

## V. Subject best avoided (2 wds.)

172 38 66 142 103 123 2 157



## Contributors

(Continued from Page 11)

### Anne C. Bailey (Page 98)

is a professor of history at Binghamton University and the author of “The Weeping Time: Memory and the Largest Slave Auction in American History.”

### Mehrsa Baradaran (Pages 32, 35, 36)

is a professor at U.C. Irvine School of Law and author of “The Color of Money” and “How the Other Half Banks.”

### Reginald Dwayne Betts (Page 43)

is a contributing writer for the magazine whose essay about the time he served in prison won a National Magazine Award. He is the author of a coming collection of poetry, “Felon.”

### Matthew Desmond (Page 30)

is a professor of sociology at Princeton University and a contributing writer for the magazine. He last wrote a feature about the benefits of a living wage.

### Rita Dove (Page 78)

is a professor of English at the University of Virginia, a former United States poet laureate and the magazine’s former poetry editor. She is a recipient of the Pulitzer Prize for poetry.

### Camille T. Dungy (Page 78)

is the author of four books of poetry, including “Trophic Cascade,” and the memoir in essays “Guidebook to Relative Strangers.” Dungy is currently a professor at Colorado State University and a 2019 Guggenheim fellow.

### Eve L. Ewing (Page 42)

is the author of “1919,” the “Ironheart” series, “Ghosts in the Schoolyard: Racism and School Closings on Chicago’s South Side” and “Electric Arches.” She is from Chicago.

### Yaa Gyasi (Page 68)

was born in Ghana, raised in Huntsville, Ala., and lives in Brooklyn. Her first novel, “Homegoing,” won the PEN/Hemingway Award and the National Book Critics Circle’s John Leonard Prize.

### Lyle Ashton Harris (Page 30)

is an artist who works in photography, collage and performance. He currently has works in two group exhibitions at the Guggenheim in New York.

### Barry Jenkins (Page 46)

was born and raised in Miami. He is a director and writer known for his adaptation of James Baldwin’s “If Beale Street Could Talk” and “Moonlight,” which won the Academy Award for Best Picture.

### Yusef Komunyakaa (Page 29)

is a poet whose books include “The Emperor of Water Clocks” and “Neon Vernacular,” for which he received the Pulitzer Prize. He teaches at N.Y.U.

### Kiese Laymon (Page 84)

is a professor of English at the University of Mississippi and the author of “Long Division,” “How to Slowly Kill Yourself and Others in America” and “Heavy: An American Memoir.”

### Wadzanai Mhute (Page 86)

is a New York Times community moderator and writer. She holds a master’s degree from Columbia University’s Graduate School of Journalism.

### Tiya Miles (Pages 22, 40, 76)

is a professor in the history department at Harvard and the author, most recently, of “The Dawn of Detroit: A Chronicle of Slavery and Freedom in the City of the Straits.”

### ZZ Packer (Page 59)

is the author of a story collection, “Drinking Coffee Elsewhere.” She was a 2005 Guggenheim fellow and a 2018–19 Hutchins fellow at Harvard.

### Darryl Pinckney (Page 59)

is the author of two novels, “High Cotton” and “Black Deutschland.”

### Clint Smith (Pages 28, 85)

is a doctoral candidate at Harvard University and the author of the poetry collection “Counting Descent,” as well as a coming nonfiction book, “How the Word Is Passed.”

### Jesmyn Ward (Page 47)

is the author of “Sing, Unburied, Sing,” which won a National Book Award. She was a 2017 MacArthur fellow.

### Jacqueline Woodson (Page 69)

is the author of the National Book Award winner “Brown Girl Dreaming.” She serves as the Library of Congress’s national ambassador for young people’s literature. Her novel “Red at the Bone” will be published in September.

## The New York Times Magazine

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REVOLUTIONARY

By David Steinberg

David Steinberg sold his first crossword to The Times in 2011, when he was 14 and just finishing the eighth grade. A prolific contributor since then, he has had 94 crosswords in the paper altogether. A 2019 graduate of Stanford University, studying psychology and computer science, David recently moved to Kansas City, Mo., to edit crosswords for Andrews McMeel Universal syndicate. — W.S.

ACROSS

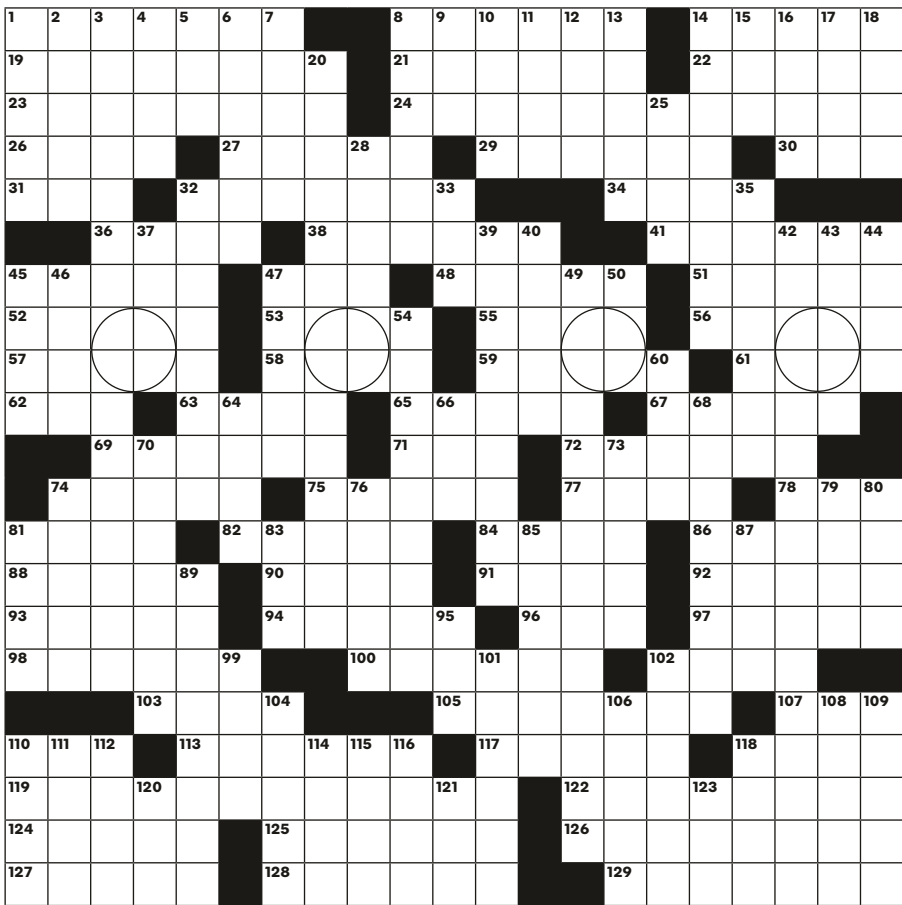
- 1 Passes along, as a present
- 8 What 13 Down means in poker
- 14 Book in a mosque
- 19 Antarctic mass
- 21 Major British tabloid
- 22 Yogurt container words
- 23 Celebratory Native American feast
- 24 Drives around awhile ... as suggested by this puzzle's visual elements?
- 26 If's counterpart, in programming
- 27 "S.N.L." alum Cheri
- 29 Military alert system
- 30 Sow's home
- 31 Small criticism
- 32 Baa dly needing a haircut?
- 34 "Today" co host Hoda
- 36 Challenges for infielders
- 38 "De e e eluxe!"
- 41 Cherry brandy
- 45 Certain rideshares
- 47 Deposit box?
- 48 Morning hour
- 51 Many a Stan Lee film role
- 52 Capital NE of Casablanca
- 53 Idris of "The Dark Tower"
- 55 Ones or tens place
- 56 0 0 0
- 57 Wafer brand
- 58 Hockey shot sound
- 59 Shots in the dark
- 61 Beginning of the Joint Army/Navy Phonetic Alphabet
- 62 Camera type, for short
- 63 Very funny person
- 65 Extremely cold
- 67 River through Pakistan
- 69 Sea creatures that may employ camouflage when hunting
- 71 Blood type system
- 72 Ones generating buzz in the music world?
- 74 Play at full volume

75 Super \_\_ (game series)

- 77 Help with a job
- 78 Wrath
- 81 Eco friendly car introduced in 2011
- 82 Something the nose knows
- 84 \_\_ Pictures
- 86 First name on the Supreme Court
- 88 Quits a program
- 90 Dennis the Menace, e.g.
- 91 Burnt barbecue bits
- 92 Shooting stars, some think
- 93 Kind of salami
- 94 Pool components
- 96 Type units
- 97 Like going all in, maybe
- 98 Diamond pattern
- 100 Slowly, musically
- 102 Some are liberal
- 103 Meyers of late night
- 105 Producer of brown eggs
- 107 Black \_\_
- 110 Arborist's tool
- 113 Laid, as a claim
- 117 "Spider Man" director
- 118 Hit hard
- 119 1965 No. 1 Byrds hit ... as suggested by this puzzle's visual elements?
- 122 Australia's smallest state
- 124 Upstate New York city
- 125 Topic of Article I, Section 3 of the Constitution
- 126 Up and coming
- 127 Wrinkle treatment
- 128 Shaman, for one
- 129 Newspaper sections that often fall out

DOWN

- 1 Age
- 2 Romaine concern
- 3 Kicks things off
- 4 Land in the water
- 5 Mortgage org.
- 6 Mountains just south of Yellowstone



## Answers to puzzles of 8.11.19

### BIRD PLAY

P	O	S	T			C	H	A	R	S		T	S	A		A	K	A
E	U	L	E	R		T	A	I	W	A	N		H	I	L	A	R	Y
S	C	E	N	E		O	R	G	A	N	A		A	M	E	S	I	O
T	H	E	P	L	O	T	T	H	I	C	K	E	N	S		E	A	T
	P	I	A	N	O		T	H	E	Y		S	A	L	O	N		
O	P	E	N	T	O		S	P	E	D		E	S	S	O			
F	A	R	S	I		V	E	R	D	I		S	C	O	F	F	B	I
T	A	C		N	E	A	L	E		P	O	P	U	L	A	R	K	I
E	V	A	N	G	E	L	I	Z	E		R	O	B		S	I	E	G
N	O	R	A		L	E	G		M	A	O	T	A	I		A	N	D
	P	S	S	T		G	E	R	M	S		P	O	R	N			
V	E	S	P	A		S	H	O	R	T	E		O	H	M		E	T
E	X	C	I	T	E		E	L	I		O	F	F	O	N	A	L	A
S	P	R	E	A	D	E	A	G	L	E		R	U	N	I	T		K
T	O	Y		N	E	W	T	O		S	P	O	S	E		E	M	E
				N	E	S	T		C	A	G	E		D	A	I	S	E
	P	L	E	B	S		H	E	A	L		S	A	L	S	A		
P	R	O	B	E		H	E	A	D	L	E	S	S	C	H	I	C	K
C	O	C	O	A	M	I	X		G	A	T	E	A	U		V	A	N
S	W	A	N	D	I	V	E		A	T	T	E	N	D		E	L	E
	S	L	Y		R	E	C		R	E	E	D	S			L	E	A

### KENKEN

2	1	3	4	5
4	2	1	5	3
5	4	2	3	1
3	5	4	1	2
1	3	5	2	4

3	7	6	4	2	5	1
2	5	7	6	3	1	4
7	4	5	2	1	3	6
1	3	4	7	5	6	2
5	1	2	3	6	4	7
4	6	3	1	7	2	5
6	2	1	5	4	7	3

### TRIGRAM TWO STEP

Group A: 1. PLA 2. CRE 3. CON 4. CAR 5. APP  
6. ENT 7. DES 8. PIL 9. MAS 10. RUM 11. SIL 12. SUP  
13. RES 14. DAM 15. TAR  
Group B: 1. STO 2. TOR 3. SEE 4. BAL 5. CHE  
6. MAR 7. COR 8. MAN 9. CHA 10. ENC 11. BUR 12. POR  
13. SHO 14. ANT 15. PAR  
Combined: 1. Pistol 2. Proust 3. Macron 4. Lambda  
5. Sappho 6. Brunet 7. Padres 8. "Carmen" 9. Sesame  
10. Cancer 11. Chisel 12. Poplar 13. Arches 14. Truman  
15. Carrot

### LOSS LEADERS

1. Mongoose (AMONG + LOOSE) 2. Boutique (ABOUT + PIQUE)  
3. Inedible (FINED + BIBLE) 4. Orphanage (MORPH + MANAGE)  
5. Tom Sawyer (ATOMS + LAWYER) 6. Equestrian (REQUEST + BRIAN)  
7. Weatherman (SWEAT + SHERMAN) 8. Avalanches (NAVAL + RANCHES)  
9. Paint roller (SPAIN + STROLLER)  
10. Exasperation (TEXAS + OPERATION)

### SIXY SUDOKU

1	6	2	4	3	5
4	5	3	1	2	6
2	3	6	5	4	1
5	1	4	2	6	3
6	2	1	3	5	4
3	4	5	6	1	2

## Answers to puzzle on Page 94

SPELLING BEE  
Principal (3 points). Also: Alpaca, appall, canal, carnal, carpal, cilia, clinic, clinical, cranial, lancia, lillac, papal, pillar, plain, racial, railcar, if you found other legitimate dictionary words in the beehive, feel free to include them in your score.

# KENKEN

Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 5x5 grid will use the digits 1-5. A 7x7 grid will use 1-7.

30×	20×			2-
	24×			
	15×	2	2÷	1-
1				
9+		6+		

9+	6	1-	140×	1-	
				2-	1-
					4
2-	4-		3÷		7+
	20+			11+	
5-	2-		3÷		4-
			4	2+	40×
4-		6×			

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"Picture yourself here. Because the first step to achieving something is not just to dream it, but to picture it."

—MICHELLE OBAMA

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### Shadow of the Past

**This spot** is the site of the largest auction of enslaved people in American history — an 1859 event the enslaved called the Weeping Time, in which 436 people were brought to the hammer to pay off the bad investments and gambling debts of Pierce M. Butler, the absentee owner of the Butler Island plantation. The auction was held at a playground of the local elite: the Ten Broeck Race Course, then on the outskirts of Savannah, Ga. It netted Butler the phenomenal sum of \$303,850.

A photograph cannot show you enslaved families herded into sheds that normally held horses. It cannot show you a man named Jeffrey, recorded in one contemporary writer's account begging in vain for his purchaser to also buy his love, Dorcas, Chattel No. 278: "Please buy Dorcas, Mas'r. We're be good sarvants to you long as we live. We're be married right soon, young Mas'r, and de chillun will be healthy and strong, Mas'r, and dey'll be good sarvants

too." A photo can't capture the contribution those 436 people made to the economy of their country, or the gifts and talents they lent it. (As part of the Gullah Geechee community, they were among those who gave the world a song of peace, "Kumbaya.") What you do see are two tracks, intersecting but going in different directions, toward different outcomes — a fitting metaphor, perhaps, for black and white life in America.

In 2008, the Georgia Historical Society and the City of Savannah erected a commemorative marker near this land, but no marker can capture the scars carried by those separated on the auction block. Today the site is home to a large regional plywood and lumber distributor. It also contains the Otis J. Brock III Elementary School, whose students are almost all black. This March, the school was the site of a moving commemoration of the 160th anniversary of the Weeping Time. *Anne C. Bailey*

The New York Times

# The 1619 Project In Schools

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*Teachers:* Looking for ways to use this issue in your classroom? You can find curriculums, guides and activities for students developed by the Pulitzer Center at **[pulitzercenter.org/1619](https://pulitzercenter.org/1619)**.  
And it's all free!

Resources include a lesson plan that introduces the issue, summaries of the articles, an index of historical terms used, suggested activities that engage students creatively and intellectually and opportunities to connect with New York Times journalists featured in this issue.

This curriculum supports students and teachers in using The 1619 Project to challenge historical narratives, redefine national memory and build a better world.

 Pulitzer Center

“Let us use history to inspire us to push a country forward, to help us believe that all things are possible and to demand a country lives up to its stated ideals.”

**Lonnie G. Bunch III**  
*14th Secretary of the Smithsonian*



[www.si.edu](http://www.si.edu)



The Washington Post

The worst-governed state now turns to indoctrination

7<sup>th</sup> February 2021

George F. Will

The worst-governed state — Illinois had triple the population loss of the state with the second-highest out-migration, 2010-2020 — is contemplating another incentive for flight. On Feb. 16, a joint committee of the state legislature will decide whether to turn into a legal requirement the State Board of Education's recommendation that — until a hasty and slight rewording last Monday — would mandate that all public-school teachers “embrace and encourage progressive viewpoints and perspectives.” If the board's policy is ratified, Illinois will become a place congenial only for parents who are comfortable consigning their children to “education” that is political indoctrination, audaciously announced and comprehensively enforced.

Imposing uniformity of thought is the Board of Education's agenda for “Culturally Responsive Teaching and Leading” (CRTL). This builds upon Illinois' 2015 law requiring teachers to implement “action civics,” which means leading their pupils in activism on behalf of various causes. CRTL would make explicit that only woke causes are worthy causes.

Fortunately, a member of the state legislature's joint committee, Rep. Steve Reick, is resisting CRTL. He notes that it will further burden teachers with mandates, and diminish teachers' autonomy and hence job satisfaction, during the state's teacher shortage: At the beginning of the 2020-2021 school year, Illinois schools were short 2,000 teachers. Already mandated teaching subjects include Black history, women's history, the “history, roles, and contributions of the LGBT community,” anti-bias and anti-bullying, “disability history and awareness,” “social and emotional learning,” “violence prevention and conflict resolution,” and “contributions of a number of defined ethnic groups made to Illinois and the U.S.” Literature, science, writing, arithmetic? Presumably, if there is any spare time.

Chicago's public schools are already implementing the curriculum of the “1619 Project,” the malevolently conceived and incompetently executed New York Times lens for seeing U.S. history as all about racism. After the project won a Pulitzer Prize with the splashy contention that the nation's true founding was the arrival of slaves in Virginia 402 years ago, the Times revised its demonstrably absurd contention that protecting slavery was a “primary reason” for the American Revolution. Instead, the Times said “some” colonists rebelled to defend slavery, and termed this a “small” revision.

Last Monday, the state board of education suddenly flinched. Sort of. It made a cosmetic change in the CRTL, substituting “inclusive” for “progressive.” So, if the joint legislative committee affirms CRTL, Illinois law will demand that teachers adhere to “viewpoints and perspectives” that are “inclusive” rather than “progressive.” This last-minute semantic sleight-of-hand reflects

the board's belief that people are too dimwitted to recognize a distinction without a difference: "Inclusive" is obviously a synonym for "progressive," given the high-octane progressivism that saturates CRTL.

CRTL would require teachers to (the following jargon salad is standard progressive patois) "assess how their biases ... affect ... how they access tools to mitigate their own behavior (racism, sexism, homophobia, unearned privilege, Eurocentrism, etc.)" Stanley Kurtz of Washington's Ethics and Public Policy Center notes that CRTL promises that its ideology will infuse the licensing and certification processes for aspiring teachers. This will be a coercive incentive to adhere to the progressive catechism, including the principle that systemic oppression and racism can always be detected in nonprogressive policies.

The national activists behind CRTL are determined that if it happens in Illinois, it will not be confined to Illinois. Although Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis called states laboratories of democracy, they can also be laboratories of government-mandated conformity. Trickle down from graduate schools to kindergartens, a common academic culture has oozed evenly across the country, and into CRTL, which would tell teachers to "intentionally embrace," among much else, "the wide spectrum and fluidity of identities." Teachers who doubt that there are many genders would not be welcome in Illinois, or in other states where educators, gripped by academic fads, emulate Illinois. So, the resistance of Reick and others to CRTL, which will culminate Feb. 16, in Springfield, Ill., might be of more long-term importance than anything that will come from Congress this year. It certainly matters more to one state.

While the Midwest was gaining 1.3 million residents between 2010 and 2020, Illinois was losing 253,015 — more than double the population of the capital, Springfield. The out-migration has been accelerating: From July 2019 to July 2020, almost 80,000 Illinoisans departed.

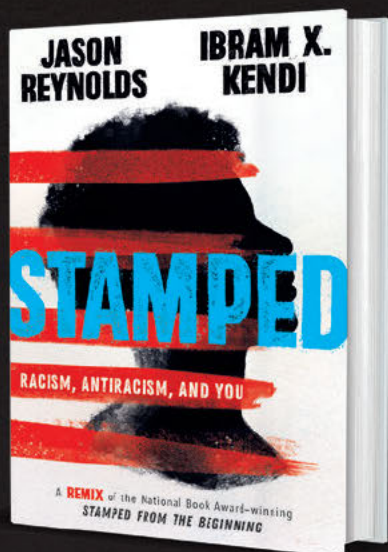
It is normal for families, when making their largest investment, the purchase of a house, to be strongly influenced by the quality of nearby schools. Where will many families choose to reside if Illinois effectively outlaws schools that deviate from monotone, monochrome progressivism? Elsewhere.



# EDUCATOR'S GUIDE

## AGES 12 & UP

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## DEAR EDUCATOR,

*Stamped: Racism, Antiracism, and You* by Jason Reynolds and Dr. Ibram X. Kendi explores the legacy of racism throughout the entire history of the United States of America. Further, it spotlights the work of antiracists and those who have resisted the racist ideas and policies that shape this nation.

A quick glance at textbooks used in classrooms across the country reveals the paucity of pages devoted to teaching about the origins of racism. And among these pages are obscured narratives that belie the realities of racism, as [recent headlines demonstrate](#). *Stamped* unveils this reality, which has often been hidden from students, by deconstructing false narratives and providing a comprehensive discussion of the history of race and racism in America.

Prior to engaging students in this unit, it is important that educators confront their own racist ideas by interrogating what they've come to understand about the racial groups and how they've acquired this knowledge. Reflecting on their own racial identities and ways they locate and implicate themselves in the work of racial justice is a vital process, which can help prevent educators from causing harm when facilitating conversations about race with students.

Further, sending a letter home to parents/guardians alerting them to the kinds of conversations that will occur throughout this unit is helpful. Because the United States has not provided in-depth teaching and learning opportunities on race and racism in K–12 schooling, family members may be learning alongside students and educators as they engage with this unit. Providing them with a copy of this guide can help make discussions more fluid between school and home.

This guide suggests a month-long approach to reading and discussing *Stamped* with middle-school and high-school readers in English, English Language Arts, Social Studies, History, and Humanities classrooms. A daily pacing recommendation is provided for reading *Stamped* in about three weeks. It suggests that students be given time to read both in school during part of their class

sessions and at home in order to keep momentum and energy high. Because students will be reading about ideas, people, and events that are challenging and emotional, it is also recommended that book clubs are formed so that small groups of students can read and journey through information that they will find fascinating, frustrating, and frightening. Having a core group of peers that students feel connected to can provide a supportive foundation for them to open up, take risks, and engage in conversations that can be transformative. This guide includes:

- **Essential Questions** offered throughout the reading for students to engage with in order to spark conversations that will inevitably branch into multiple directions. Encourage this.
- **Reader's Notebook** prompts and note-taking strategies that help students process and synthesize information they're learning, and reflection questions to make space for students to, as Reynolds suggests, inhale and exhale as they read and discuss *Stamped*. Because some prompts push students to locate and implicate themselves in ways that may feel deeply personal, students may choose not to share some of their responses.
- **Collaborative Club Work** recommended to give students time twice per week to process the reading and co-construct an **Antiracist Timeline**.
- **Research Modules** for each section of the book that invite students to work as a group, with a partner in their group, or in some cases individually to research and explore ideas, people, and events further. You may decide to prioritize certain modules over others depending on students' grade level, time, and other factors. Grade-level recommendations are provided.
- **Multimodal Culminating Project** recommendations that provide students with opportunities to synthesize their reflections and research.

Continued on the next page . . .



Glass has been used as a powerful metaphor for reading. Multicultural educator and scholar Dr. Rudine Sims Bishop uses it to describe the important purposes books serve for students: as mirrors, windows, and sliding glass doors. In his award-winning picture book *Martin's Big Words*, illustrator Bryan Collier shares that, to him, stained-glass windows serve as a metaphor for the life and work of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Glass, too, is a symbol for this unit on *Stamped*. Students are invited to peer through the looking glass to learn about the history of racist ideas in America. They are challenged to hold up a magnifying glass to identify and examine racist policies that are embedded within the fabric of this nation. Students are also empowered to look into the mirror to locate themselves in the work of stamping out racist thoughts in their lives today. May this book and this unit provide a window to view the path forward for leading antiracist lives.

### SUPPORTING NATIONAL ELA AND SOCIAL STUDIES STANDARDS

*Stamped* is a powerful text selection for middle-grade and high-school students for addressing ELA standards in reading informational texts and Social Studies standards such as, but not limited to, the Common Core Standards (CCSS), the Next Generation Standards, and the National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies. Educators are encouraged to think about this text through the lens of their state-specific and national standards.

### ESTABLISHING COMMUNITY AGREEMENTS

Although race has been an important factor in the way that the US and all its institutions have been designed, one of the biggest roadblocks to engaging in discourse about this is discomfort. Conversations about race and racism are inherently uncomfortable. And yet *Stamped*, as well as frequent news headlines about racist incidents, makes clear that we cannot allow discomfort to be a deterrent to this work. Instead, with continued practice, guided by educators who continuously reflect on and interrogate their own racial identities, these conversations become easier. Rather than seeking to create "safe spaces," which has become synonymous with *comfort*, the goal should be to foster "brave spaces" for conversations about race and racism that are grounded in mutual respect. Establishing community agreements and protocols for discussions about race is one way that educators can help students enter these brave spaces where listening to and valuing various perspectives and experiences is central.

Establishing community agreements prior to reading *Stamped* can help support students in having a more meaningful experience as they navigate this comprehensive, complex text and examine the ideas within it as well as their own. Provide opportunities to practice these agreements by facilitating conversations that help students develop a consciousness, or further their awareness, about race. For example, students can reflect on the ways they've noticed that race matters in society and the ways their racial identities have influenced their lives. Reflecting and sharing responses in small groups while practicing the community agreements can help students become more attuned to their own racialized experiences and the racialized experiences of others. Implementing community agreements in classrooms can make it possible for discussions about race and racism to be sustained across the school year, not simply across one unit or the reading of one text.

## A NOTE OF CAUTION

It is important to note that some of the language used in *Stamped* may be triggering for some students. It is recommended that educators and students discuss this up front and make decisions as a community about how they will navigate this in ways that foster a learning environment that mitigates the emotional labor of students of color. For example, the N-word appears in *Stamped*. Educators can help students understand that this word provokes intense emotions and reactions based on the truth behind its origins, its historical use toward people of color, and the legacy that remains today. A community agreement might include the provision that just because students will read this word doesn't mean they have to say this word during class discussions.



## DAY 1

### KEY CONCEPT

Understanding the legacy of racism in America is essential to building an antiracist America.

On this first day of the unit you'll begin to develop a sense of community among readers as they engage with ideas and work that will be challenging and transformative. Help students form book clubs that consist of four or five students.

Read the "Dear Reader" letter by Kendi aloud to students. Use the Essential Questions to frame how they listen to and think about the letter. Students might jot down their ideas on Post-its or in their Reader's Notebooks. You might also use a document camera to share the Essential Questions and to show and mark key parts of the letter as students engage in discussion within their book clubs.

Students will also read chapter 1 today and discuss the Essential Questions with their book club members.

### ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS (Opening Letter)

So much has been hidden from us. As you listen to this letter to readers by Kendi, think about and prepare to discuss the following:

- ✓ What are the consequences of continued omissions about the history of racism and antiracism in the US?
- ✓ What are the implications for you and the kind of thinking you might undertake, discussions you might have, and actions you might take up as you read this book?

### ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS (Introduction)

Read the following two sentences from the beginning of the introduction: "To know the past is to know the present. To know the present is to know yourself" (p. ix). Ask students to consider the following:

- ✓ How will you locate yourself in the work of antiracism as you read and discuss this book?
- ✓ How might learning about the source of racist ideas help you to know the present and yourself?

### ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS (Chapter 1)

- ✓ Discuss each of the three positions: assimilationist, segregationist, antiracist. In what ways do people, past and present, demonstrate their imperfections by embodying ideas from one or more of these positions?
- ✓ Reynolds has given Gomes Eanes de Zurara the title "World's First Racist." In doing so, Reynolds spotlights the power of the written word and how it can be used as a force for evil. What is history? How is history much more than simply a recording of dates and facts that are significant only to the past?

### READER'S NOTEBOOK

Remind students that their Reader's Notebook is a place to reflect on ideas they're learning as well as to construct written responses to the reading. For example, students may capture a brief description of each of the three positions in their notebooks and add to their thinking as they continue to read and their understanding deepens. These descriptions can include examples of people and events that support students' ideas. Encourage note-taking and responses in various forms including charts, diagrams, lists, and other ways students work to process information.

**HOMEWORK:** Read chapters 2 and 3.



## DAY 2

## KEY CONCEPT

Knitting slavery into America's religious and educational institutions helped solidify and justify racism.

Ask students to read chapter 4. Remind students that, as they read, an overarching goal is to connect issues and events of the past with the present.

## ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- ✓ In what ways is racism woven into the fabric of American institutions? Where do you see evidence of this today?
- ✓ Zurara's book *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* and Cotton Mather's book *Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions* are symbols of the power and consequences of writing. How does what we read influence our views of the world?

## READER'S NOTEBOOK

Invite students to consider in writing why words such as *race* and *privilege* seem to require, as Reynolds suggests, a "breath break" (p. 21). They might also consider how and why the definition of *White* shifts and changes as the institution of slavery is founded, and has continued to, even up to today.

**HOMEWORK:** Read chapter 5.

## DAY 3

## KEY CONCEPT

Racist ideas were embedded in the formation of the US government by the founding fathers, whose hypocrisy was manifested in documents that proclaimed freedom and equality for all.

Ask students to read chapters 6–8. Then provide time for book clubs to discuss the reading, including the connections they've made between the past and the present.

## ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- ✓ Nigerian author Chinua Achebe (1930–2013) shares the following African proverb in his acclaimed novel *Things Fall Apart*: "Until the lions have their own historians, this history of the hunt will always glorify the hunter." How does Reynolds's truth-telling about Thomas Jefferson compare to narratives typically told about him as one of our nation's founding fathers? How does this African proverb help shed light on why the storyteller matters when learning about events of the past and present?
- ✓ Evaluate the following statement: "Racism is the bedrock of the USA." How are the forming of our nation's government and the policies and practices of today emblematic of this statement?

## READER'S NOTEBOOK

Have students create a chart that helps them track and analyze the ways race influences social, economic, and political conditions for African Americans.

In addition to noting examples of the ways racism has been embedded in the policies and practices of our nation, students might also write about how they've come to develop understandings about race. Invite students to consider the messages they've learned about race from the media, their family, community, school, and peers.

**HOMEWORK:** Read chapters 9 and 10.



## DAY 4

### COLLABORATIVE CLUB WORK

*Inhale. Exhale.* Ask students to work collaboratively with their clubs to process all that they've been reading and learning. This is a sample script:

"Today you'll begin to co-construct an Antiracist Timeline that includes the antiracists you've been reading about, the work they've done, and how they've resisted racism and racism. Because you will be adding to this Antiracist Timeline throughout the unit, you'll want to construct it on paper that you trim and/or connect with tape to give you the space needed for this ongoing work. Also, you will want to use different sized Post-it notes for the names of people and events. That way, you'll have the ability to move ideas around and make space for others as you are presented with new information as you read."

"Kendi asserts, 'The first step to building an antiracist America is acknowledging America's racist past. By acknowledging America's racist past, we acknowledge America's racist present. In acknowledging America's racist present, we can work toward building an antiracist America' (p. xv). Therefore, the last entry on this timeline will be about each of you. So as you continue to read and co-construct this Antiracist Timeline, keep thinking about the question you considered on Day 1 of this unit: *How will you locate yourself in the work of antiracism as you read and discuss this book?*"

### READER'S NOTEBOOK

Suggest to students that they create and continue to develop a chart of the antiracists they're learning about as they read *Stamped*. As they consider how they will locate themselves in the work of antiracism, they can return to this chart to list and reflect on the words and actions of these antiracists and how they can be mentors for them.

**HOMEWORK:** Read chapters 11 and 12.

## DAY 5

### KEY CONCEPT

Racist ideas, along with economic greed, are central to the formation of this nation, its laws, policies, and practices. Meritocracy and the American Dream narrative are rooted in whiteness.

Ask students to read chapters 13 and 14. Use the following Essential Questions to help frame and support students' discussions as they make connections between the past and the present.

### ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- ✓ At the beginning of *Stamped* and in chapter 13, Reynolds asserts, "Life rarely fits neatly into a box. People are complicated and selfish and contradictory." Who are some of the complicated political figures, past and present, and what makes them complex?
- ✓ Reynolds uses the following simile to describe racism: "Freedom in America was like quicksand. It looked solid until a Black person tried to stand on it. Then it became clear, it was a sinkhole" (p. 108). He also uses the following metaphors and descriptors: "racist roadblocks," "racist loopholes," "potholes," and "political and physical violence working to break the bones of Black liberation" (p. 109–110). In what ways is racism embedded in practices, policies, and laws? What parallels can you draw between the past and present ways racist roadblocks, potholes, and loopholes continue to persist?
- ✓ Reynolds names the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments each as an example of a "big deal" that is far from a "done deal" (p. 110). When it comes to racism, why must we never let our guards down?

### READER'S NOTEBOOK/HOMEWORK

Ask students to reflect on the following question and respond in their Reader's Notebooks: How is your racial consciousness being challenged or changed as a result of reading and discussing *Stamped*?



## DAY 6

### COLLABORATIVE CLUB WORK

*Inhale. Exhale.* Ask students to continue to co-construct their Antiracist Timeline that includes the anti-racists they've been reading about, the work they've done, and how they've resisted racists and racism. What matters is not the wrongness or rightness of this work, but that students are grappling with the complexity of the people and events they're learning about and working together to understand the work of antiracists. Guide students in this work. For example, if students are wrestling with whether complicated figures like W. E. B. Du Bois should be positioned on the timeline, you might suggest that the names of some people be placed above or below the timeline until students deem whether their words and actions live up to their being an antiracist. Other figures may not be positioned on the timeline at all, and students can determine how and where to position them in their work later.

**HOMEWORK:** Read chapters 15 and 16.

## DAY 7

### KEY CONCEPT

Racist ideas are exposed within the complicated and contradictory approaches to liberation by Black assimilationists as well as in literature and media.

Ask students to read chapter 17. Facilitate and support discussions in ways that help students bridge events in the past to the present, helping them draw upon experiences in their local contexts and communities and those they've learned about in the headlines.

### ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- ✓ Du Bois and Booker T. Washington had distinct strategies and approaches to Black liberation. What does liberation mean to you? In what ways are some approaches to liberation in fact not always liberatory?
- ✓ Reynolds discusses *The Souls of Black Folk* by Du Bois and Du Bois's concept of "double consciousness." "A two-ness. A self that is Black and a self that is American" (p. 124). In what ways might people feel as if their identity is divided? In what ways might people feel as if their identity is unified?

### READER'S NOTEBOOK

Invite students to list some of their identities. Ask them to consider whether they feel as if their identity is divided in some way. If so, they might draw a line between those identities on their list to demonstrate how. Then, have students write about the ways they experience what Reynolds calls a "two-ness."

Students might also respond to the questions posed by researcher and scholar Dr. Beverly Daniel Tatum in the following quote: "The concept of identity is a complex one, shaped by individual characteristics, family dynamics, historical figures, and social and political contexts. Who am I? The answer depends in large part on who the world around me says I am. Who do my parents say I am? Who do my peers say I am? What message is reflected back to me in the faces of teachers, my neighbors, store clerks? What do I learn from the media about myself? How am I represented in the cultural images around me? Or am I missing from the picture altogether?" (Tatum, B. D. [2000]. The complexity of identity: "Who am I?" In Adams, M., Blumenfeld, W. J., Hackman, H. W., Zuniga, X., Peters, M. L. [Eds.], *Readings for Diversity and Social Justice* [pp. 9–14]. New York: Routledge.)

**HOMEWORK:** Read chapter 18.



## DAY 8

### KEY CONCEPT

From assimilationist to antiracist—a transformation of Du Bois and his politics begins as young leaders launch new movements for the liberation of Black people.

Ask students to read chapter 19.

### ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- ✓ Marcus Garvey spotlighted the issue of colorism, its origins, and the dangers of it. Is colorism equally as destructive as racism?
- ✓ Reynolds demonstrates how racist ideas in the fields of science and mathematics—from eugenics to the creation and purposes of IQ and standardized tests—have been created and used to oppress Black and Brown people. How do we decide what to believe about a scientific claim?
- ✓ *Stamped* traces Du Bois's complicated stance on race and racism. In what ways do assimilationist, segregationist, or antiracist stances show up in your daily lives?

### READER'S NOTEBOOK

Ask students to draft an infographic in their Reader's Notebook that summarizes what they're learning about a particular topic, event, or person. As students look across the research they've collected while reading *Stamped* and engaging with some of the Research Modules, they can consider the purpose of their infographic. If their goal is to inform, they might create a pictograph. To compare, they might construct a bar, pie, or stacked-column chart. To show change, they might use a timeline or line chart. Encourage students to consider how color, headers, and the size of words can help them communicate ideas easily and clearly. Later, they might use this notebook draft to create a digital version.

**HOMEWORK:** Read chapter 20.

## DAY 9

### COLLABORATIVE CLUB WORK

*Inhale. Exhale.* Ask students to continue working on their Antiracist Timelines with their club members. Remind students that the goal of this work is to process and reflect on all they are learning and discussing as they read *Stamped*. They may need to add more paper to extend the length of their timelines to reflect the names and events they've been reading about. Students may also choose to create and attach QR codes to digital resources they've accessed in their research on particular modules that can enhance antiracist understandings. Essentially, this timeline will capture what the work of antiracism looks like to better understand how to build an antiracist America.

**HOMEWORK:** Read chapters 21 and 22.



## DAY 10

## KEY CONCEPT

Black antiracists and Black political movements work to affirm the racial identities of Black people and their right to do more than just survive.

Ask students to read chapter 23.

## ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- ✓ When describing Black political movements such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Reynolds states, "The shift went from fighting for civil rights to fighting for freedom. The difference between the two is simple. One implies a fight for fairness. The other, a right to live" (p. 175). Expound on this idea. In what ways do you make a distinction between *fairness* and *life*?
- ✓ Racism is so embedded in our lives that even everyday expressions that might seem innocuous are in fact examples of the pervasive power of language and the ways words and phrases associate blackness with negativity. Examples include words and phrases such as *black sheep*, *blackballing*, *blackmail*, *blacklisting*, *black mark*, and *blackout*. Other words and phrases include *minority*, *ghetto*, *thug*, and *inner city*. Discuss the ways Reynolds sheds light on how Black people have worked collectively to resist such negativity. To what extent do all citizens of a democratic society have a responsibility to disrupt the racism that is embedded in the English language?

## READER'S NOTEBOOK/HOMEWORK

Ask students to reflect on the following and respond to the questions in their Reader's Notebooks. Stereotypes are learned and pervade our society, even if we don't agree with them. What stereotypes about people based on race do you know? Which stereotypes have you *learned*, which therefore influence your perception of people?

## DAY 11

## COLLABORATIVE CLUB WORK

*Inhale. Exhale.* Ask students to continue working on their Antiracist Timelines with club members and remind them to revisit previous ideas and revise or extend their thinking. For example, ask students to consider how their thinking about Du Bois is evolving and how they might demonstrate this. Also, ask how they might account for the silencing of antiracist leaders such as Bayard Rustin, James Baldwin, and Malcolm X during the March on Washington, as well as the overall silencing of Black women such as Angela Davis, on their timelines. Challenge students to reflect and recognize that the work of antiracism is just that. Work! Remind students to contribute their work and ideas from the Research Modules they've engaged with in the co-construction of this timeline.

**HOMEWORK:** Read chapter 24.



## DAY 12

## KEY CONCEPT

Racist ideas entrenched in political campaigns and presidencies wage war on the Black community.

Ask students to read chapter 25.

## ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- ✓ Discuss the legacy of coded racial policies such as the Southern Strategy, the War on Drugs, and the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act that devastated Black communities and the ways this continues today. How do racist policies tarnish or delegitimize the ideals and purposes of government?
- ✓ Watch the video for [“Fight the Power”](#) by Public Enemy. How was the emergence of hip-hop music a force for “driving change and empowerment” (p. 211)? In what ways does “Fight the Power” offer a powerful critique of mainstream America that is still relevant today? *Who* or *what* is the power?

## READER'S NOTEBOOK

Invite students to think more about power and *resilience*. They might reflect on the following questions in their Reader's Notebooks as they read *Stamped* and examine their own lives: Who has power? How is it used? How do people respond to injustice? In what ways do they take action?

**HOMEWORK:** Read chapter 26.

## DAY 13

## KEY CONCEPT

Racist ideas rooted in legislation shape the institution of education and its outcomes for Black children, while the nation's leaders assert that color blindness is the solution for racism.

Ask students to read chapter 27.

## ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- ✓ In *Stamped*, Reynolds exposes and debunks the myths of several master narrative themes such as: America is a meritocracy and anyone who works hard enough can succeed; truth and justice (or law and order) should be valued; people should be colorblind. In what ways is a color blindness approach toward race not only disingenuous but dangerous?
- ✓ Researcher and scholar Dr. Richard Milner IV argues that race is constructed physically, contextually, socially, legally, and historically. (*Rac[e]ing to Class: Confronting Poverty and Race in Schools and Classrooms*, Harvard Education Press, 2015.) How strong is the evidence that Reynolds and Kendi present to support Milner's assertion?

## READER'S NOTEBOOK

Challenge students to think about how closely examining and interrogating their own lives can provide insight into how they can disrupt racism. Encourage them to use their Reader's Notebooks as a space to do this work, responding to questions such as: Who are the people that are part of your daily life (family, friends, teachers, teammates, etc.)? How many are from a cultural, language, or social-class background that differs from your own? How does this influence your understandings about race and racism?

**HOMEWORK:** Read chapter 28.



## DAY 14

### COLLABORATIVE CLUB WORK

Prior to clubs working on their Antiracist Timelines, read the afterword aloud to students as a way to bring the reading of *Stamped* to a close as a community.

Provide students with time to independently reflect on and respond to the following questions in their Reader's Notebooks: What have you learned about how racism works and the work of antiracism? How has your racial consciousness been challenged or changed as a result of reading *Stamped*? Then invite students to share their thoughts with their club members.

With the remaining class time, ask students to continue working on their co-constructed Antiracist Timelines. Remind them of Kendi's assertion: "The first step to building an antiracist America is acknowledging America's racist past. By acknowledging America's racist past, we acknowledge America's racist present. In acknowledging America's racist present, we can work toward building an antiracist America" (p. xv). Ask students to consider how they locate themselves in the work of antiracism. Encourage students to consider their responses to the reflection questions in their Reader's Notebook today and use them to position themselves on their timeline along with the antiracist work they have done and pledge to do.

## DAYS 15–19

Provide students time to finalize their Antiracist Timelines and to determine the Multimodal Culminating Project they'd like to develop, which will be shared with the class on Day 20. Educators may decide with students whether the work they have done on Research Modules throughout this unit will be used in the culminating projects.

## DAY 20

Invite students to share their Antiracist Timelines and Multimodal Culminating Projects as a gallery-style experience in which students move from location to location to admire and celebrate one another's work.



# RESEARCH MODULES

As students read *Stamped*, they gain access to the people, ideas, events, and policies that have embedded racism in America, as well as the antiracists and movements that have worked to disrupt it. The following Research Modules are opportunities for students to continue to explore this information.

Provide students time to engage with one or more of the research modules for each section during their reading of *Stamped*. Students may decide to explore a research module together as a club or with a club partner, and in some cases students may work independently. Partnerships and individual students from a club may choose to explore different research modules. Such exploration can occur in class after students read and discuss the Essential Questions, and also on Collaborative Club Work days if students have finished work on their Antiracist Timeline for that day. Educators can anticipate that students may not complete an entire research module during a class session. The goal is for them to engage with topics they're interested in and curious about. Students can return to this work the next day or continue researching at home. Further, students may want to continue working with a particular research module as part of, or in place of, the options this guide suggests as their Multimodal Culminating Project.

Invite students to approach this work with their Reader's Notebooks in hand. For each topic students may select to explore, this guide suggests a specific task that includes a prompt that can frame their research. This task can be used in addition to, or be replaced by, the questions students generate on their own as they read *Stamped* and investigate a specific topic. Educators are encouraged to support students with quick and simple note-taking strategies they can use while exploring a research module. Charts, diagrams, mapping, outlines, and webs, for example, are strategies students can use to capture the most salient information during their research. Students can also add this information to their Antiracist Timelines.

There are numerous resources students can access to learn more about a specific topic. This guide makes recommendations about some of these options. Educators can include additional topics and resources, or invite students to do additional research. Grade-level suggestions are made regarding certain research modules and resources, particularly if the content is more accessible to older students. It is important that educators preview the content of modules first and remain alert to how students are taking in the images and language used in articles and videos that may cause discomfort. You may make further decisions about certain research modules based on the specific needs and interests of your students, concerns you have about content, or access to technology, as well as any time constraints your schedule might pose.

THIS IS **NOT** A HISTORY BOOK.  
 THIS IS A BOOK ABOUT THE  
 HERE AND NOW.  
 A BOOK ABOUT RACE.



RESEARCH MODULE FOR *STAMPED*: SECTION 1

TOPIC	TASK	TAGS
Destruction of the Black Body (MS/HS)	<p>Reynolds writes about the planters and missionaries of early America. Although they had conflicting approaches, their goal was the same: to control, exploit, and ultimately destroy the Black body.</p> <p>Read and research about racist events that demonstrate evidence of this.</p> <p>How do these events spotlight the ways White people and institutions work to control Black bodies?</p>	<p><u>Tracing the "Immortal" Cells of Henrietta Lacks</u></p> <p><u>Philadelphia Starbucks Arrests, Outrageous to Some, Are Everyday Life for Others</u></p> <p><u>Sleeping Student Uproar</u></p> <p><u>Referee's Questionable Call for Wrestler to Cut Dreadlocks</u></p>
The 1619 Project (HS)	<p>Reynolds explains that a Spanish ship called the <i>San Juan Bautista</i>, carrying enslaved Angolans, arrived on the shores of Jamestown, Virginia, in August 1619.</p> <p>Read about <b>Nikole Hannah-Jones</b> and her acclaimed work on The 1619 Project.</p> <p>In what ways does the 1619 Project re-frame American history to make explicit that slavery is the foundation on which America is built?</p>	<p><u>Nikole Hannah-Jones</u></p> <p><u>The 1619 Project</u></p> <p><u>The 1619 Audio Series: Introduction and Episodes 1–5</u></p>
Native American Removal (MS/HS)	<p>Reynolds asserts that "there's an obvious backdrop we need to discuss" regarding the history of racism in America: "The misinterpreted, misrepresented owners of this terrain—the Native Americans" whose land was "taken from them forcefully" (p. 24).</p> <p>Explore this online lesson created by the National Museum of the American Indian to learn about the removal of Native Americans.</p> <p>As you access this comprehensive lesson to learn about several Native American nations, make note of the ways interactions with Europeans brought accelerated and often devastating changes to American Indian cultures, as well as of the resistance and resilience of Native Americans past and present.</p>	<p><u>American Indian Removal: What Does It Mean to Remove a People?</u></p>

## RESEARCH MODULE FOR *STAMPED*: SECTION 2

TOPIC	TASK	TAGS
Phillis Wheatley (HS)	<p>Learn about the life and work of <b>Phillis Wheatley</b>, including the three intellectual movements she founded: the Black Literary Tradition, the American Poetic Tradition, and the Women's Literary Tradition.</p> <p>Read the poem "On Being Brought from Africa to America."</p> <p>In what ways are Wheatley and her poetry a disruption of the social constructions of race and gender as well as an interruption of whiteness and patriarchy?</p>	<p><u><a href="#">Phillis Wheatley Biography</a></u></p> <p><u><a href="#">"On Being Brought from Africa to America"</a></u> (Teaching Tolerance)</p> <p><u><a href="#">Phillis Wheatley—Clip from Great African American Authors Series</a></u></p>
Revolutions, Rebellions, Revolts, and Resisters (MS/HS—notations by each link)	<p>Throughout history, Black people have fought for liberation. Yet resistance is seldom taught in connection with slavery beyond the canned narratives of a few individuals.</p> <p>Learn about some of the important revolutions, rebellions, and resisters that are often minimized or silenced in history books.</p> <p>What surprises you about the information you've researched and read so far? Why do you think this information is not included in most social studies/history textbooks? How might this information shape students' thinking and understanding about racism if it were included?</p>	<p><u><a href="#">How Two Centuries of Slave Revolts Shaped American History</a></u> (National Geographic) (MS/HS)</p> <p><u><a href="#">Gabriel Prosser's Rebellion</a></u> (MS/HS) <u><a href="#">Forging Freedom: The Story of Gabriel's Rebellion</a></u></p> <p><u><a href="#">The Haitian Revolution</a></u> (MS/HS) <u><a href="#">15-Minute History: Episode 11: The Haitian Revolution</a></u></p> <p><u><a href="#">The Abaco Slave Revolt</a></u> (MS/HS) <u><a href="#">When Enslaved People Commandeered a Ship and Hightailed It to Freedom in the Bahamas</a></u> (Smithsonian magazine)</p> <p><u><a href="#">Nat Turner</a></u> (HS) <u><a href="#">Nat Turner Rebellion</a></u> <u><a href="#">Nat Turner's Rebellion</a></u></p> <p><u><a href="#">*Igbo Landing</a></u> (HS)</p> <p><i>*Please note that this resource discusses the suicide of Africans who were enslaved. Learning about and discussing sensitive topics such as suicide can be triggering for some students. For this reason, this resource may not be suitable for all learners.</i></p>



RESEARCH MODULE FOR *STAMPED*: SECTION 3

TOPIC	TASK	TAGS
Abolitionists and Antiracists (MS/HS)	<p>Reynolds names abolitionist <b>William Lloyd Garrison</b> as a central figure in the conversation around race and abolitionism.</p> <p>Learn more about the life and work of <b>William Lloyd Garrison</b>, <b>David Walker</b>, and <b>Frederick Douglass</b> and their specific ideas about liberation.</p> <p>How did abolitionists and antiracists use literature, writing, and language to advance the liberation of Black people? How effective were their approaches?</p>	<p><b>WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON</b></p> <p><u>Garrison Publishes the <i>Liberator</i></u></p> <p><u>William Lloyd Garrison and the <i>Liberator</i></u></p> <p><b>DAVID WALKER</b></p> <p><u>The David Walker Memorial Project</u></p> <p><u>David Walker’s “Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World”</u></p> <p><b>FREDERICK DOUGLASS</b></p> <p><u>Frederick Douglass: Orator, Abolitionist, Editor, and Statesman</u></p> <p><u>“The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro”</u> (speech read by actor Danny Glover)</p>
Black Women Resisters (MS/HS)	<p>Black women have always risen. Black women have always led the resistance.</p> <p>Learn about the life and work of <b>Harriet Tubman</b> and <b>Sojourner Truth</b>.</p> <p>Despite the historical ways that Black women have been marginalized and limited by the social constructions of race and gender, how have they specifically and intentionally worked to interrupt both whiteness and patriarchy in their leadership?</p>	<p><b>HARRIET TUBMAN</b></p> <p><u>Harriet Tubman’s Road to Freedom</u></p> <p><u>Explore—Harriet Tubman</u> (PBS)</p> <p><b>SOJOURNER TRUTH</b></p> <p><u>The Sojourner Truth Project</u></p> <p><u>Sojourner Truth</u> (PBS)</p> <p><u>Sojourner Truth: Abolitionist and Women’s Rights Activist</u> (MS)</p>
Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) (HS)	<p>Research the origins of HBCUs and their essential role in resisting racism.</p> <p>In what ways have Black people built their own institutions and spaces to, as Reynolds asserts, “survive and thrive”?</p>	<p><u>Five Things to Know: HBCU Edition</u></p> <p><u>New PBS Documentary Explores Evolution of Black Colleges and Universities in America</u></p> <p><u>Tell Them We Are Rising</u></p>

RESEARCH MODULE FOR *STAMPED*: SECTION 4

TOPIC	TASK	TAGS
Ida B. Wells (MS/HS—notations by each link)	<p>Throughout <i>Stamped</i>, Reynolds exposes the complex and at times racist thinking of Black men such as <b>W. E. B. Du Bois</b>, <b>Booker T. Washington</b>, and <b>Frederick Douglass</b>. He asserts that it took <b>Ida B. Wells-Barnett</b>, “a young Black antiracist woman to set these racist men straight.”</p> <p>Despite the historical ways that Black women have been marginalized and limited by the social constructions of race and gender, how did Wells-Barnett specifically and intentionally work to speak out against racial terror and racial injustice?</p>	<p><u>Ida B. Wells-Barnett</u> (MS/HS)</p> <p><u>Ida B. Wells—The Early Black Press</u> (MS/HS)</p> <p><u>Ida B. Wells—Pioneer of Civil Rights</u> (MS/HS)</p> <p><b>*Overlooked: Ida B. Wells</b> (HS)</p> <p><b>*When Ida B. Wells Took on Lynching, Threats Forced Her to Leave Memphis</b> (HS)</p> <p><b>*Ida B. Wells—Anti-Lynching Crusader</b> (HS)</p> <p><b>*Learning about lynching and racial terror can be difficult and triggering for students. Preview these texts and consider your learners. Engage them in discussion prior to them accessing these texts, during, and after.</b></p>
25th Infantry Regiment (MS/HS)	<p>About the 25th Infantry Regiment, also known as the Buffalo Soldiers, Reynolds writes, “These soldiers...were a point of pride for Black America. For them to be mistreated, as fighters for a country that had been fighting them their entire lives, was a blow to the Black psyche” (p. 126–127).</p> <p>Listen to “Buffalo Soldier” by Bob Marley and the Wailers. How does the lyric “Fighting on arrival, fighting for survival” connect to Reynolds’s words?</p> <p>Research and learn more about these soldiers. When we think of the image of an American soldier, who does that image tend to reflect? How might learning about the Buffalo Soldiers in the history books of our schools matter?</p>	<p><u>Learn How Buffalo Soldiers Fought on the American Frontier and Protected Yosemite and Sequoia National Parks</u></p> <p><u>25th Infantry Regiment (1866–1947)</u></p> <p><u>Buffalo Soldiers</u></p> <p><u>25th Infantry</u></p> <p><u>Bob Marley–Buffalo soldier</u></p>
Marcus Garvey (MS/HS– notations by each link)	<p>In <i>Stamped</i>, readers gain insight into the lives of flawed leaders, Black and White, throughout the history of America.</p> <p>Learn about <b>Marcus Garvey</b>. How do Garvey and the Garvey Movement contribute to and influence the legacy of the Black radical tradition and Black nationalism?</p>	<p><u>Marcus Garvey</u> (MS/HS)</p> <p><u>Marcus Garvey: Black Nationalism</u> (MS/HS)</p> <p><b>*The Story of Marcus Garvey: A Documentary</b> (HS)</p> <p><b>*Educators, please note that this is a two-hour documentary and the N-word is used at least once.</b></p>



RESEARCH MODULE FOR *STAMPED*: SECTION 4 (CONTINUED)

TOPIC	TASK	TAGS
The Harlem Renaissance (MS/HS)	<p><b>Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, Duke Ellington, Billie Holiday, and Jacob Lawrence</b> were some of the influential poets, writers, musicians, and artists of the Harlem Renaissance.</p> <p>Conduct research about the Harlem Renaissance and some of the leaders of this social movement. Learn about how these individuals and others spoke truth to power about life in America for Black people. In what ways were they active agents in this social movement? How did their work affirm Black people and culture as well as raise the consciousness of others about race and racism?</p>	<p><a href="#"><u>An Introduction to the Harlem Renaissance</u></a></p> <p><a href="#"><u>A Brief Guide to the Harlem Renaissance</u></a></p> <p><a href="#"><u>Harlem Renaissance</u></a></p> <p><b>LANGSTON HUGHES</b> <a href="#"><u>Langston Hughes: Leading Voice of the Harlem Renaissance</u></a></p> <p><a href="#"><u>"I, Too" by Langston Hughes</u></a></p> <p><b>ZORA NEALE HURSTON</b> <a href="#"><u>About Zora Neale Hurston</u></a></p> <p><a href="#"><u>Zora Neale Hurston Was Criticized for Writing in the "Black Voice." Now Her Novels Are Classics</u></a></p> <p><a href="#"><u>Zora Neale Hurston—American Folklorist</u></a></p> <p><b>JACOB LAWRENCE</b> <a href="#"><u>Revisiting the Great Migration Through Paintings and Poetry</u></a></p> <p><a href="#"><u>Why the Works of Visionary Artist Jacob Lawrence Still Resonate a Century After His Birth</u></a></p> <p><b>DUKE ELLINGTON</b> <a href="#"><u>Duke Ellington Biography</u></a></p> <p><a href="#"><u>Duke Ellington Mini Biography</u></a></p> <p><a href="#"><u>Duke Ellington's Melodies Carried His Message of Social Justice</u></a></p> <p><b>BILLIE HOLIDAY</b> <a href="#"><u>Billie Holiday—Bio, Music, Media, Timeline, Quotes</u></a></p> <p><a href="#"><u>Billie Holiday: Emotional Power Through Song</u></a></p>
Brown vs. BOE (MS/HS)	<p>When discussing <i>Brown vs. Board of Education</i> (1954) Reynolds writes, "What's really interesting about this case, though, something rarely discussed, is that it's actually a pretty racist idea" (p. 159).</p> <p>Learn more about <i>Brown vs. Board of Education</i> and the racist ideas Reynolds describes. What were some of the benefits and consequences of this landmark legislation?</p>	<p><a href="#"><u><i>Brown v. Board of Education</i></u></a></p> <p><a href="#"><u>School Segregation on the Rise 65 Years After <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i></u></a></p> <p><a href="#"><u>Revisionist History—Miss Buchanan's Period of Adjustment: (Malcolm Gladwell's podcast)</u></a></p>



RESEARCH MODULE FOR *STAMPED*: SECTION 4 (CONTINUED)

TOPIC	TASK	TAGS
Martin Luther King Jr.'s "Letter from Birmingham Jail" (HS)	<p>Reynolds writes, "Just as Du Bois had done in 1903, and later regretted, in his letter King erroneously conflated two opposing groups: the antiracists who hated racial discrimination and the Black separatists who hated White people (in groups like the Nation of Islam). King later distanced himself from both, speaking to a growing split within the civil rights movement" (p. 162).</p> <p>Read and annotate this letter to identify the conflation Reynolds explains. Also, note the techniques King uses in this call to action to convince his audience that they must fight for equality and do so nonviolently.</p>	<u>Martin Luther King Jr.'s "Letter from Birmingham Jail"</u>
"I Have a Dream" Speech (MS)	<p>Reynolds calls King's "I Have a Dream" speech "the most iconic speech of all time" (p. 164). And yet, most schools provide students with only a filtered-down version of this speech that primarily focuses on the idealism found in the last few pages.</p> <p>Read and listen to the entire speech and annotate it to spotlight the social, economic, and political conditions for Black Americans that King addresses. Also, note the techniques King uses in this call to action to convince his audience of the "fierce urgency of now."</p>	<u>"I Have a Dream," Address Delivered at the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom</u>
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (MS/HS)	<p>Reynolds states, "There was a youthful energy to the movement" (p. 160) as young activists organized sit-ins in efforts to desegregate southern lunch counters and businesses. Learn about SNCC and some of these young activists such as <b>Ella Baker</b> and Congressman <b>John Lewis</b>.</p> <p>What was their philosophy and what strategies and approaches did SNCC use to advance the work of social justice?</p>	<p><u>CNN: SNCC's Legacy: A Civil Rights History</u></p> <p><u>Ella Baker</u></p> <p><u>Ella Baker and the SNCC</u></p> <p><u>John Lewis History</u></p>

### RESEARCH MODULE FOR *STAMPED*: SECTION 5

TOPIC	TASK	TAGS
Black Power Movement (MS/HS)	<p>Reynolds writes that “Black people owning and controlling their own neighborhoods and futures, free of white supremacy” is what antiracist Stokely Carmichael meant by Black Power (p. 181).</p> <p>Learn about key leaders from the Black Power movement such as <b>Malcolm X</b> and <b>Stokely Carmichael</b>. What were their core beliefs for achieving liberation for Black Americans? How did the rally cry “Black Power” create a shift in the consciousness of Black people?</p>	<p><a href="#">The Foundations of Black Power</a></p> <p><a href="#">The Black Power Movement–Timeline Clip</a></p> <p><a href="#">Malcolm X</a></p> <p><a href="#">Malcolm X Mini Biography</a></p> <p><a href="#">Malcolm X’s Fiery Speech Addressing Police Brutality</a></p> <p><a href="#">Stokely Carmichael (SNCC Digital Gateway)</a></p> <p><a href="#">Stokely Carmichael, a Philosopher Behind the Black Power Movement</a></p>
Voting Rights Act (MS/HS)	<p>Reynolds calls the Voting Rights Act “the most effective piece of antiracist legislation ever passed by the Congress of the United States of America” (p. 177). Find out why. How does the right to vote continue to be challenged today for Black and Brown Americans?</p>	<p><a href="#">Primer: The Voting Rights Act</a></p> <p><a href="#">President Lyndon B. Johnson’s Voting Rights Act Speech</a></p> <p><a href="#">50 Years Ago, President Johnson Signed the Voting Rights Act</a></p> <p><a href="#">The Voting Rights Act at 50: How It Changed the World</a></p> <p><a href="#">Voter Suppression Is Warping Democracy</a></p> <p><a href="#">The Facts about Voter Suppression</a></p> <p><a href="#">The Facts about Voter Suppression Infographic</a></p> <p><a href="#">Fighting Voter Suppression: (TEDx Talk by Juevahn Scott)</a></p>
Black Panther Party (MS/HS—notations by each link)	<p>Reynolds writes, “Oakland, California. Two frustrated young men started their own two-man movement. They called themselves the Black Panther Party” (p. 182).</p> <p>Learn about the philosophy of the Black Panthers and the two founders, <b>Huey Newton</b> and <b>Bobby Seale</b>. What strategies did they use to work toward Black liberation? What does the BPP reveal about the resistance that occurs when those who are oppressed stand up to their oppressors?</p>	<p><a href="#">*Black Panthers Revisited (HS)</a></p> <p><a href="#">Inside the Black Panther Party (MS/HS)</a></p> <p><a href="#">A Huey P. Newton Story (MS/HS)</a></p> <p><a href="#">Reflections on the Black Panther Party 50 Years Later (MS/HS)</a></p> <p><a href="#">Feb. 17, 1942: Huey P. Newton Born (MS/HS)</a></p> <p><a href="#">Bobby Seale (MS/HS)</a></p> <p><b>*This text includes the use of the N-word along with images of police brutality that might cause discomfort for some learners.</b></p>



RESEARCH MODULE FOR *STAMPED*: SECTION 5 (CONTINUED)

TOPIC	TASK	TAGS
Black Women Resisters (MS/HS—notations by each link)	<p>In many history books, the monumental contributions of Black women and their work are either minimized or missing.</p> <p>How did pivotal Black women leaders such as <b>Angela Davis</b> and <b>Audre Lorde</b> help shape the meaning of the word <i>revolution</i>? Learn about their principles and the goals they worked toward to advance antiracism in America.</p>	<p><b>Angela Davis (1944–)</b> (MS/HS)</p> <p><b>*Angela Davis—Freedom Is a Constant Struggle</b> (HS)</p> <p><b>Angela Davis Is Beloved, Detested, Misunderstood. What Can a Lifelong Radical Teach the Resistance Generation?</b> (HS)</p> <p><b>Biography: Audre Lorde—Radical Feminist, Writer, and Civil Rights Activist</b> (MS/HS)</p> <p><b>(1981) Audre Lorde, “The Uses of Anger: Women Responding to Racism”</b> (HS)</p> <p><b>Audre Lorde</b> (HS)</p> <p><b>“A Litany for Survival” by Audre Lorde</b> (MS/HS)</p> <p><b>*The N-word is used in this text as well as descriptions of images that may be upsetting for students.</b></p>
Black Presidential Candidates (MS/HS)	<p>Before Barack Obama’s historic and victorious election, there was <b>Charlene Mitchell</b>, <b>Shirley Chisholm</b>, and <b>Jesse Jackson</b>.</p> <p>Learn more about the pioneering work of these leaders. In what ways were their actions groundbreaking and controversial? How did they work to amplify the voices of those who have been excluded from American society?</p>	<p><b>CHARLENE MITCHELL</b></p> <p><b>Charlene Mitchell, Candidate for President, 1968</b></p> <p><b>Charlene Mitchell on Presidential Election Laws (1968)</b></p> <p><b>SHIRLEY CHISHOLM</b></p> <p><b>Shirley Chisholm</b></p> <p><b>A Look at the First Black Woman in Congress</b></p> <p><b>JESSE JACKSON</b></p> <p><b>Jesse Louis Jackson Biography</b></p> <p><b>Jesse Jackson—1984 Presidential Campaign</b></p>
“A More Perfect Union,” Speech by Barack Obama (HS)	<p>Reynolds describes <b>Barack Obama’s</b> speech “A More Perfect Union” as one that “teetered back and forth between both painful assimilationist thought and bold antiracism” (p. 239).</p> <p>Listen to and read this speech. Annotate where both assimilationist and antiracist ideas are revealed. What does it mean to be truly antiracist?</p>	<p><b>Transcript: Barack Obama’s Speech on Race</b></p>



# MULTIMODAL PROJECTS

At the culmination of their reading and discussions of *Stamped*, invite students to work with their club members, in new small groups, in partnerships, or independently to create engaging multimodal culminating projects.

As readers of *Stamped*, students have been challenged by Dr. Ibram X. Kendi and Jason Reynolds to learn how racist ideas and their history permeate every facet of our lives today. These multimodal projects, therefore, provide opportunities for students to connect the past to the present in order to forge an antiracist future.

## TOPICS

The following three options invite students to continue to examine the racist policies, past and present, that shape American society. Further, students are encouraged to identify the antiracists working to disrupt racism, to reflect on what they find empowering, and to be the antiracists Kendi and Reynolds challenge them to be. Essential to the research and presentation of these projects are the ways students spotlight segregationist, assimilationist, and antiracist ideas in the topics they choose to explore. This guide recommends the following topics for students to develop their multimodal projects:

### REPRESENTATION OF RACE IN LITERATURE, ART, AND MEDIA

Examine key areas of popular culture. What patterns do you notice? Provide a historic and current perspective to identify the prevalence of racist practices in areas such as:

- ✓ **Children's literature**—Examine the statistics around books published about characters of color that are written by people of color. Then consider the classic texts that are often core books in English classes. Whose lives are centered? Whose are marginalized or silenced? And why does it matter who tells the story?
- ✓ **The Academy Awards**—Look across the history of the Academy Award winners for Best Actress/Best Actor. How do actors of color fare in comparison to their White counterparts? In what ways does the #OscarsSoWhite social media campaign illuminate racist practices?
- ✓ **Grammy Awards**—Look at the Record of the Year and Album of the Year categories for the past number of years. Who are the winners in these categories? In what ways can you identify racist practices?
- ✓ **Primetime television shows**—Identify the television show lineups for the major broadcast networks (NBC, ABC, CBS, FOX). What stories are told? Note the racial diversity of characters. Are the storylines for characters of color representative of full and complex lives?
- ✓ **Cultural appropriation**—In an article critiquing White rapper Post Malone, Shawn Satero writes, "Following a year in which White people took credit for cornrows, hoop earrings, and even Latin music, we now have Post Malone" ("Here's Why Post Malone Is a Problem," *Complex*, 2017). Examine how Black bodies are copied and embodied. In what ways do you see cultural appropriation in music, television advertisements, fashion, and so forth? What makes this a racist practice?

### ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM

Examine racist policies and practices that contribute to the disproportionate impact of environmental hazards on (Black, Indigenous, and people of color). Explore events such as:

- ✓ Hurricane Katrina and the Ninth Ward, 2005, New Orleans, Louisiana
- ✓ The Water Crisis in Flint, Michigan, 2014
- ✓ The South Dakota Pipeline Conflict #NoDAPL, 2016
- ✓ Hurricane Maria, 2017, Puerto Rico

Research the statistics around where landfills and hazardous waste sites are located, the children most affected by lead poisoning, and governmental response to natural disasters, paying careful attention to locations and communities. Author Ijeoma Oluo suggests three quick guidelines that can be used to determine if an issue is about race:

- 1) It is about race if a person of color thinks it is about race.
- 2) It is about race if it disproportionately or differently affects people of color.
- 3) It is about race if it fits into a broader pattern of events that disproportionately or differently affect people of color (*So You Want to Talk About Race*, Seal Press, 2018, p. 14–15).



Listen to the voices of BIPOC affected by these issues. How does listening to their voices help you understand that these issues are about race? In what ways have these events/issues, as well as governmental practices, policies, and responses, “disproportionately or differently” affected communities of color? Who are the antiracists working to stop this?

### **\*THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM, LIBERATION, AND JUSTICE CONTINUES**

Examine the legacy of police brutality and racial profiling and the ways these practices continue today. In *Stamped*, readers learn about Bull Connor, who maintained racist policies in Birmingham, Alabama, as commissioner of public safety during the civil rights movement. These policies and practices resulted in racial violence and terror toward unarmed African Americans at the hands of the police.

Look into the policies of past presidents such as the “tough on crime” policies of the Reagan administration and the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of the Clinton administration. In what ways have these policies continued the legacy of the death and mass incarceration of African Americans at the hands of government?

Examine the role of movements today. Research the philosophies and pillars of the Black Lives Matter and #SayHerName movements. How are movements today continuing the work of movements of the past? Who are the antiracists of these movements today that are advancing the work of racial equity?

*\*Educators, please consider the specific needs of your learners. Some of the content and images around police brutality can cause emotional distress. This project option can be presented to learners in ways that minimize trauma by narrowing the scope of what students research.*

### **ADDITIONAL OPTIONS**

Educators can invite students to further engage with topics from the research modules they explored during the reading of *Stamped*. Students can continue to research one of these topics in place of the three multimodal culminating project options described or include information they’ve learned from one of the modules in their multimodal project.

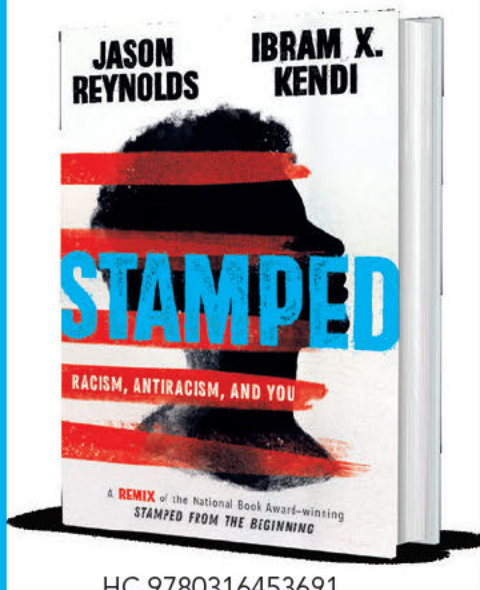
### **DIGITAL PLATFORMS AND PRESENTATION FORMATS**

There are a variety of digital platforms and formats students can engage with and consider for their multimodal culminating project. Digital platforms such as Flipgrid and Office Sway make it possible for students to develop interactive presentations. Padlet can support students in organizing and displaying information. iMovie and Adobe Spark can be utilized for visual storytelling and short videos. And students can access Weebly or Google to develop websites.

Encourage students to use technology in powerful ways that help them communicate their ideas and goals. Examples of presentation formats students might consider include websites, short videos, public service announcements, podcasts, blog posts, TED Talk–style presentations, infographics, and slide presentations.

**THE THIEF  
KNOWN AS  
RACISM IS ALL  
AROUND.**





HC 9780316453691

Also available in ebook  
and audio formats

## ABOUT THE BOOK

*Stamped: Racism, Antiracism, and You* is a timely, crucial, and empowering exploration of racism—and antiracism—in America.

The construct of race has always been used to gain and keep power, to create dynamics that separate and silence. This remarkable reimagining of Dr. Ibram X. Kendi's National Book Award-winning *Stamped from the Beginning* takes the reader on a race journey from then to now, shows you why we feel how we feel, and why the poison of racism lingers. It also proves that while racist ideas have always been easy to fabricate and distribute, they can also be discredited.

Through a gripping, fast-paced, and energizing narrative written by beloved award-winner Jason Reynolds, this book shines a light on the many insidious forms of racist ideas—and on ways readers can identify and stamp out racist thoughts in their daily lives.

## PRAISE FOR THE BOOK

★ "Powerful."  
—Publishers Weekly

★ "Required reading."  
—Booklist

★ "Highly recommended."  
—School Library Journal

★ "[A] monumental feat."  
—Kirkus

★ "Eye opening."  
—School Library Connection

"*Stamped* is the book I wish I had as a young person and am so grateful my own children have now."

—Jacqueline Woodson, bestselling author of *Brown Girl Dreaming*

"Refreshingly simple and deeply profound." —Renée Watson, bestselling author of *Piecing Me Together*

"Mark my words: This book will change everything." —Nic Stone, bestselling author of *Dear Martin*

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**JASON REYNOLDS** is a #1 *New York Times*–bestselling author; two-time National Book Award finalist; the recipient of a Newbery Honor, a Printz Honor, and multiple Coretta Scott King Honors; and the winner of a Kirkus Prize, two Walter Dean Myers Awards, and an NAACP Image Award, among other honors. He invites you to visit him online at [JasonWritesBooks.com](http://JasonWritesBooks.com).

**DR. IBRAM X. KENDI** is a *New York Times*–bestselling author and award-winning historian. He is a professor of history and international relations and the founding director of the Antiracist Research and Policy Center at American University. He is a columnist at *The Atlantic* and one of America's leading antiracist voices.



## ABOUT THE CURRICULUM DEVELOPER

**DR. SONJA CHERRY-PAUL** is a senior research associate at TCRWP (Teachers College Reading and Writing Project) as well as the co-founder and co-facilitator of the Institute for [Racial Equity in Literacy](#). Dr. Cherry-Paul leads presentations at national conferences and provides professional development for educators on reading and writing instruction and equity and inclusion. Her most recent book is *Breathing New Life into Book Clubs: A Practical Guide for Teachers* (2019). Follow her @SonjaCherryPaul.



Photo by Jett Lindsey



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