

From Here to Equality

REPARATIONS FOR BLACK AMERICANS

IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

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A Program of Black Reparations

Something that is often missing from “reparations talk” is a specific plan for repairing past tragedies. —Alfred Brophy, “Considering Reparations for the Dred Scott Case,” 2010

The speeches of Stevens and other radical leaders, in pamphlet form, along with the Bureau laws and regulations, the homestead laws and the Confiscation Acts, were sown thickly over the South; and the Bureau agents, the missionaries and the teachers, taking the cue from these, encouraged the belief in the “forty acres and a mule.” The negroes were told that since their labor had produced the property of the South, they ought at least to share it. Lincoln’s second inaugural message suggests the same thought in regard to the origin of Southern property. Probably this belief that the property of the South was due to uncompensated negro labor was held by many Northerners and inclined them to favor a proposition to confiscate land. —Walter Fleming, “Forty Acres and a Mule,” 1906

[Pappy said:] “It’s victory. . . . It’s freedom. Now we’es gwine be free.” . . . It seem like it tuck a long time for freedom to come. Everything jest kept on like it was. We heard that lots of slaves was getting land and some mules to setup for themselves. I never knowed any what got land or mules or nothing. —From an interview with ex-slave Mittie Freeman, 1938

In this chapter we present the “something that is often missing from ‘reparations talk’”: a detailed program of reparations for black Americans. We begin by calling upon the U.S. Congress to assert leadership and authorize payments to be made by the U.S. government. Many atrocities, indignities, and micro- and macroaggressions have occurred in the well of American racism.

In numerous instances particular individuals or institutions can be identified as the perpetrators. Examples include Georgetown University’s participation in the sale of 272 “head” of human property to sugar plantations in Louisiana to aid the institution’s financial survival in 1838. But actions like that taken by Georgetown’s leadership at that time occurred in a context of state-sanctioned white supremacy.

While it makes complete sense to seek recompense from clearly identified perpetrators, when the entire political order is complicit, it is not sufficient

to bill individual perpetrators. *Laissez-faire* or *piecemeal reparations* may assuage individual guilt but cannot meet the collective national obligation. The invoice for reparations must go to the nation’s government.¹ The U.S. government, as the federal authority, bears responsibility for sanctioning, maintaining, and enabling slavery, legal segregation, and continued racial inequality.

Specifically, the invoice should go directly to the U.S. Congress, the legislative branch of the national government. Jurisdiction over the matter of black reparations should be removed from the judicial system for three fundamental reasons: (1) Lawsuits brought against corporations, colleges, and universities for their participation in slavery are unlikely to succeed because slavery was legal at the time that they engaged in the practice. Their activities were undoubtedly immoral, but they were not illegal at the time. (2) In order to sue the U.S. government for reparations for the continuation of racial violence and discrimination in the post-Civil Rights legislation era, one would have to establish that U.S. government agencies knowingly and intentionally did not enforce the new laws. This would require an effort of Xena-esque proportions. (3) The courts do not have the capacity to implement or enforce any legal mandate they might hand down for black reparations.

As the Supreme Court’s school desegregation decisions demonstrate, legal mandates without broad popular support will be blocked and deflected.² If popular support is a prerequisite for success in obtaining black reparations, then it is best to develop that support and push Congress to vote for a substantive program of black reparations.

Given its traditional connection to these issues, the legislative branch can lay the groundwork for the design of a reparations program, first by establishing a commission that can investigate the history of racial injustice in the United States. This would be a commission similar to the one Congress created to investigate the circumstances of the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.³

The report, produced by a commission that does a thorough analysis and constructs an official statement of the record of American racial injustice, can be a valuable instrument in widening public support for the reparations project.⁴ Congressional approval of H.R. 40—originally developed by former representative John Conyers and now managed by Representative Sheila Jackson Lee to establish a congressional commission to investigate slavery and its multigenerational effects and assess the feasibility of recompense—could be an important step on the road to reparations.

The current legislation calls for it to be known as the Commission to Study and Develop Proposals for Reparations for African-Americans.

Again, whether such a commission is established via congressional action or presidential fiat, it is imperative that the appointees make an authentic commitment to developing a comprehensive program of reparations and that the commission have an eighteen-month deadline to issue its report.

We advance two criteria to determine eligibility for a black reparations program. First, U.S. citizens would need to establish that they had at least one ancestor who was enslaved in the United States after the formation of the republic. Second, they would have to prove that they self-identified as “black,” “Negro,” “Afro-American,” or “African American” *at least twelve years before* the enactment of the reparations program or the establishment of a congressional or presidential commission “to study and develop reparations for African Americans”—whichever comes first. The first criterion, of course, could produce lucrative opportunities for private genealogists, but these investigations also could be facilitated by an arm of the professional (civil service) staff specializing in genealogical research for the agency that administers the reparations program.

The internet and the possibility of sharing information on dedicated websites also can facilitate the genealogical research that can assist individuals in establishing that they are descended from an enslaved ancestor (or several). For example, in the aftermath of its revelations, Georgetown University created the Georgetown Slavery Archive, and an independent organization founded the Georgetown Memory Project, websites used to identify descendants of the persons who were sold by the school.⁵ As the Georgetown case indicates, researchers can start with the archived list of persons sold by the university to locate their living descendants. Alternatively, individuals can go backward in time to reconstruct their family tree to identify their enslaved ancestor(s), especially using census records.

The detective-like archival procedures displayed on recent television programs like the TLC network’s *Who Do You Think You Are?* and PBS’s *Finding Your Roots* also can provide templates for conducting the genealogical research that would be needed for the reparations program.⁶ The archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) also afford a valuable database that could be helpful in the construction of any individual’s ancestral history.⁷

Furthermore, if a black American has an ancestor who appears in the 1870 or 1880 U.S. Census and was old enough to have been alive before the

Civil War but is not present in the 1860 U.S. Census, it is reasonable to conclude that this ancestor was enslaved—since the censuses typically *did not enumerate enslaved persons by name*, even in the separate slave censuses taken in 1850 and 1860.

Still, those slave schedules may be helpful in genealogical research insofar as, in some instances, the first name of the enslaved person is indicated under the owners’ names. More important, if individuals believe they have an ancestor who was enslaved by a particular owner, they can check the slave schedules to find the age and gender of each person he or she owned. This preliminary research can inform the examination of other documents that may be more specific in identifying the persons owned by the slaveholder in question: wills, deeds, estate records, or court records.⁸

With respect to the second criterion, any official government-issued document that indicates the individual’s race would provide acceptable proof of racial identity. Everyone also has the right to make public their responses to any U.S. Census question; specifically, one’s self-identification as black in response to the race question—*before the existence of a reparations commission or reparations program makes it advantageous to do so*—also would establish eligibility.

How much should be paid for black reparations? What is the size of the bill? It is customary, in the American court system, to assign monetary values for damages to human lives. Monetary damages for the collective injuries inflicted on black lives are long overdue.

Several strategies have been advanced for calculating the monetary value of a reparations bill. For those researchers committed to slavery as the basis for black reparations, a number of approaches have been proposed. Most of these approaches require a present-value calculation for unpaid wages, the purchase prices of the human property, or the land promised to the formerly enslaved. These present-value estimates are generated by increasing earlier values at compound interest. In the estimates that follow, we typically employ three interest rates—4, 5, and 6 percent—to accommodate varying measures of the rates of return on foregone or lost income and the rate of inflation.⁹

A method introduced by economic historians Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch uses the concept of slave exploitation to construct their estimate. They defined slave exploitation as the difference between the value of what was produced by enslaved Africans and the value of what was given to them for maintenance in the form of food, shelter, or other consumption items. In short, Ransom and Sutch sought to calculate the pure profit of the slave

system to measure an appropriate bill for reparations. Their estimate over the interval of 1806 to 1860 compounded to 1983 came to \$3.4 billion.¹⁰

Compounding to 2018 at 4, 5, and 6 percent interest rates, their estimate now would amount to \$14 billion, \$19.7 billion, and \$27.7 billion, respectively. The researchers' method of estimation is problematic for at least three reasons: it excludes the profits from slavery during the first thirty years of the nation's existence; profits from the slave trade are not taken into account; and astonishingly, those enslaved are charged with the maintenance expenses of their own coerced labor. The result is the lowest bill for black reparations among those we examine here.

Economist Larry Neal's procedure also charges the enslaved for their own maintenance expenses but is slightly different from the Ransom and Sutch method. Neal subtracts slave owners' average expenditure for the maintenance of each of their enslaved Africans from the wage paid to nonenslaved laborers in the interval between 1620 and 1840. Neal's estimate comes to \$1.4 trillion when compounded to 1983.¹¹ By 2019, at each of the three interest rates we deploy here, present values are \$5.7 trillion, \$8.1 trillion, and \$11.4 trillion, respectively.

Note that Neal's estimate includes 156 years before 1776, or 164 years before 1783—his starting point appears to be the year after the first enslaved Africans were known to have been imported to colonial America—and omits the twenty years immediately before the Civil War. It also is important to take into account the extent to which the availability of enslaved laborers reduced market wage rates.

If blacks had not been captured and forcibly installed in the United States, there would have been a smaller pool of laborers and, correspondingly, higher wages. Consequently, the hypothetical wage that would have been earned by an African who migrated voluntarily to the United States would have been greater than the rate Neal used in his study.

Thomas Craemer has generated a provocative set of estimates of the slavery bill for black reparations by multiplying the prevailing average market wage by the number of hours "worked" by those enslaved over the interval of 1776 to 1865. Craemer assumes that each full twenty-four-hour day was stolen from the enslaved.

Using a 3 percent interest rate, by 2015 he estimates that the present value of U.S. chattel labor reaches \$14.2 trillion.¹² Using Craemer's interest rate, the 2019 present value amounts to \$15.7 trillion. At each of the three interest rates we use, the current values are \$16.4 trillion, \$17 trillion, and \$17.7 trillion, respectively.

Unlike either Ransom and Sutch or Neal, Craemer does not deduct slave maintenance costs from his bill, but again, despite the higher levels of his upper-bound estimate, his reliance on the market wage for nonslave labor yields a lower calculation than the hypothetical non-slave-labor wage that would have prevailed in the absence of captive enslaved Africans.

A different estimate of the bill for reparations from slavery has been produced by James Marketti using the idea of income diverted from enslaved persons. He derived a cumulative figure of \$2.1 trillion as of 1983.¹³ Again, using our three interest rates, the 2018 present value amounts to \$8.6 trillion, \$12.1 trillion, and \$17.1 trillion, respectively. The upper-bound estimate in Marketti's procedure is comparable to the upper-bound estimate in Craemer's study.

An alternative estimate is reached by calculating the present value of the wealth held in property in enslaved persons. On December 31, 1860, Judah P. Benjamin, who ultimately served in three different capacities in Jefferson Davis's Confederate cabinet, said, "Our slaves . . . directly and indirectly involve a value of more than four thousand million dollars."¹⁴ Four billion dollars in 1860 compounds to \$2 trillion, \$9.3 trillion, and a whopping \$42.2 trillion by 2019, at 4, 5, and 6 percent interest, respectively. With approximately 40 million black Americans in the United States today, the *per capita* amounts would come to about \$50,000, \$232,500, and \$1,050,000 at each of those interest rates.

The estimates based on Benjamin's \$4 billion valuation of slaves as property in 1860 would, in principle, involve the transfer of that entire amount in present dollars to the descendants of the enslaved. Nevertheless, all of these estimates have been made without incorporating the physical and emotional harms of slavery, the inherently coercive nature of the system, the denial of the ability to acquire property and some degree of autonomy, or the denial of control over one's own family life. So, as large as these estimates seem, they can be viewed, legitimately, as *underestimates*.

Another possibility is to focus on the land distribution that was promised—but never made—to the ex-slaves. The size of black reparations might be gauged by calculating the present value of the unfulfilled commitment of forty acres and a mule made to the formerly enslaved. We will focus here exclusively on the land allocation, although the mule as a stand-in for an array of farm implements and equipment is not to be dismissed. Furthermore, there were proposals afoot to provide larger plots of land or the forty acres with a "furnished cottage."¹⁵

Anuradha Mittal and Joan Powell conservatively report that the price of an acre of land in the United States in 1865 was about ten dollars.¹⁶ In the typical plan, forty acres were to be allocated to all heads of household, male or female, and all other adult males among the freedmen.¹⁷ If 4 million enslaved persons had gained emancipation by 1865, and the allocation rule meant that roughly forty acres would go to families of four, each formerly enslaved individual would have been allocated about ten acres.¹⁸ This, in turn, would have implied a total distribution of at least 40 million acres of land.

At \$10 per acre, the total value of the projected distribution of land to the freedmen would have been \$400 million in 1865.¹⁹ The present value of that sum compounded to the present at each of the three interest rates would be \$168 billion, \$733.2 billion, and \$3.1 trillion, respectively. Obviously the bill would be considerably higher if the conditions of the Southern Homestead Act, which provided for eighty acres of land to be sold to freedmen at \$5 total, is treated as the unfulfilled debt that must be paid.

At the time of emancipation, some observers interpreted *each* of the freedmen as being eligible to receive forty acres of land as an allocation.²⁰ Indeed, such an allocation would have been equivalent to the average size of land grants given to white families under the Homestead Acts between 1868 and 1934, which we reported in chapter 2 was 160 acres, or forty acres per member of a family of four. This larger allocation would have led to a much higher total value of the land to be distributed to freedmen after the war—amounting to \$1.6 billion in 1865. Compounded to 2019 at 4 percent interest, the present value is \$671 billion; at 5 percent interest, it is \$2.9 trillion; and at 6 percent interest, it is \$12.6 trillion.

Again, assuming there are approximately 40 million persons eligible for reparations, Craemer's original estimate at its 2019 value implies that the amount of reparations per person would be \$392,500. If, instead, we base the amount of the reparations fund exclusively on the most conservative size of the plots of land that were to be delivered to ex-slaves—ten acres per person—each eligible recipient would receive payments of about \$4,200, \$18,245, or \$74,500, depending on the interest rate.²¹ At the other extreme, if forty acres were to be allocated to *each* freedman—amounts consistent with the grants to beneficiaries of the Homestead Acts—the approximate per person amounts due to today's African Americans are \$16,800, \$74,500, or \$315,000, again contingent on the interest rate.

Other estimates of the reparations bill based on more recent economic injustices have been developed by concentrating on social penalties blacks incurred after slavery and well into the twentieth century. For example, Bernadette Chachere and Gerald Udinsky estimated the monetary benefits to

whites gained from employment discrimination in the interval of 1929–69. By assuming that 40 percent of the black-white income gap was due to discrimination in the labor market, they concluded that gains to whites amounted to \$1.6 trillion by the mid-1980s.²²

Since the charge frequently is made that social transfer programs, including Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, unemployment insurance, and other welfare programs—although not targeted specifically at blacks—already constitute reparations (see chapter 12), David Swinton subtracted the *total* cost of social transfer programs from the Chachere and Udinsky estimate over the same time span. He found that by the mid-1980s, there would still remain a \$500 billion net benefit to whites from employment discrimination.²³ Therefore, even if *all* social transfer payments were taken into account, there was still a significant financial gain for whites from labor market discrimination alone.

A technique for estimating the reparations bill proposed by Boris Bittker is to calculate the difference between black and white per capita incomes. In 2017, the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey reported that mean per capita income for whites *fifteen years of age and over* was \$49,609 and \$36,636 for blacks in the same age range.²⁴ This would constitute a basis for a payment of \$15,973 to each black American fifteen years of age and older.

However, as we indicated in chapter 2, we view wealth, or net worth, as a more powerful measure of economic well-being than income. *Indeed, we view the racial wealth gap as the most robust indicator of the cumulative economic effects of white supremacy in the United States.* The gap in mean household wealth by race derived from the 2016 Survey of Consumer Finances was about \$795,000.²⁵ If the average black household consists of 3.31 persons, the mean shortfall in wealth for individual black Americans would have been approximately \$240,000.

Multiplying \$795,000 by the U.S. Census Bureau's estimate of about 10 million black households yields an estimate of a total reparations bill of \$7.95 trillion. While the median is a more useful measure for calculating typical differences in wealth between blacks and whites because it is not affected by outlier values, the mean is the appropriate target measure for calculating the sum required to *eliminate the racial wealth gap*.²⁶ The wealth held by “outliers”—and more generally, whites in the upper two quintiles of the wealth distribution—must be taken into account when gauging the magnitude of the owed debt.²⁷

Another route for arriving at a similar estimate of the magnitude of a reparations bill that centers on eliminating the racial wealth gap is to calculate

which eligible blacks could apply for grants for various asset-building projects, including homeownership, additional education, or start-up funds for self-employment, or even vouchers for the purchase of financial assets.²⁹ An additional possibility is the use of the reparations fund to assist in developing endowments for historically black colleges and universities, which, despite their important role in the provision of higher education for black Americans, face steep financial challenges. Regardless, all uses of the funds must be directed at eliminating the racial wealth gap.³¹

Institution building as a use of reparations funds has a precedent in the reparations program developed by the German government in the aftermath of the Nazi Holocaust. In addition to payments made to individual victims and the relatives of victims, funds were given to the state of Israel to aid its economic development and financial stability. While a personal check or its equivalent need not be the only form in which the program makes payments, both the symbolism and the autonomy it conveys will be a key dimension of a black reparations program. *For both symbolic and substantive reasons*, an effective program of restitution must include direct payments to eligible recipients.

There are many effective options for financing a program of black reparations, even a program that would require a combined expenditure as large as \$15 to \$20 trillion. Obviously, lesser amounts would be managed more readily. For instance, even the full payout in 2016 based on our preferred standard—the racial gap in per capita wealth—would have amounted to less than half of the total national income.

Sequencing the payments over a series of years would increase the prospect of financing the reparations program by conventional means—the issue of new money, additional government borrowing, or even additional taxes—although, in principle, as we will show below, restitution could be financed without even altering tax rates.³² With a staggered scheme of outlays, amounts must be adjusted for any inflation that takes place after the first round of payments. The aim should be at least to eliminate the racial wealth gap within a decade.

Two additional mechanisms for funding reparations merit consideration. First, historians V. P. Franklin and Mary Frances Berry have called for a “reparations superfund” that would pool government funding with contributions made by institutions and organizations that benefited from slavery, Jim Crow, and the continued subordination of black Americans.³³ With the superfund administered by a federal agency and seeded with government funds, Berry proposes other revenue sources, including “monies [that] could come from institutions and corporations that profited from slave

the amount needed to give eligible black Americans a share of the nation’s wealth comparable to their share in the nation’s population. The eligible black population constitutes approximately 13 percent of the American community. The nation’s total household wealth reached \$107 trillion by the second quarter of 2018.²⁸ Thirteen percent of that figure amounts to \$13.91 trillion. If, as an upper bound, black Americans are currently estimated to hold 3 percent of the nation’s wealth, that amounts to \$3.21 trillion. To eliminate the difference will require a reparations outlay of \$10.7 trillion, or an average outlay of approximately \$267,000 per person for 40 million eligible black descendants of American slavery.

Since racial disparities in income and net worth have persisted over many, many years, Bittker proposed that payouts of this size should be made over a number of years, somewhat arbitrarily suggesting two decades. If a disparity still persists after the initial commitment based on the prevailing wealth gap has been met, additional funds should be distributed to ensure that the gulf is spanned.

We have introduced several compelling calculations for monetary restitution. These include the estimates advanced by Ransom and Sutch, Neal, Craemer, and Marketti; several estimates anchored on the present value of land that was promised to the ex-slaves; an estimate based on the monetary value of enslaved people to their owners on the eve of emancipation; estimates based on the postslavery costs of discrimination; and an estimate moored to the racial wealth gap. Monetary restitution is necessary because the failure to provide ex-slaves with an initial outlay of property in land and the repercussions on black wealth and economic well-being redound to the present.

*However, since today’s differential in wealth captures the cumulative effects of racism on living black descendants of American slavery, we propose mobilizing national resources to eradicate the racial wealth gap. The magnitude of ongoing shortfalls in wealth for blacks vis-à-vis whites provides the most sensible foundation for the complete monetary portion of the bill for reparations.*²⁹

Outlays under the reparations program can take multiple forms under an arrangement that can be called a “portfolio of reparations”: “[The sum of reparations payments] could partly take the form of a direct payout to eligible recipients. The payout need not take place in one lump sum but could be allocated over time. For example, German government payments to victims of the Nazi holocaust often have taken the form of \$100 monthly checks. Reparations also could take the form of ‘establishment of a trust fund to

labor; additional funds could come from banks and insurance companies that had been guilty of racial discriminatory practices, such as redlining and predatory financial lending.³⁴

The superfund strategy would meld public and private responsibility for American racial injustice in funding a program of black reparations. However, we view public responsibility as paramount, since the federal government established and maintained the legal structure and pattern of enforcement that enabled private actors to engage in racist practices with impunity.

Second, as journalist Matthew Yglesias has proposed, *Congress could direct the Federal Reserve to fund black reparations either in part or in total.*³⁵ Given the overnight transfer of \$1 trillion of funds from the Federal Reserve to investment banks during the Great Recession and monthly outlays of \$45 to \$55 billion to conduct “quantitative easing,” there can be no doubt that the Fed has vast capacity to provide the funds required for a properly designed and financed reparations program, particularly if the funds are disbursed over the course of three to five years. The Fed certainly could manage an annual outlay of \$1 to \$1.5 trillion without any difficulty—and this funding mechanism would not have to affect tax rates for any American. Moreover, the Federal Reserve is a *public bank* charged with conducting a public responsibility.

Some have cautioned that releasing sums of this size could lead to excessive inflation. Indeed, the inflation risk truly is the major barrier to any big increase in federal expenditures.³⁶ Attenuation of the inflation risk will depend on the extent to which new resources in the hands of black Americans stimulate greater overall employment and production in the U.S. economy. But another way to mitigate prospects of excessive inflation would be to prevent an uncontrolled jump in consumption expenditures by distributing portions of the reparations payments as less-liquid assets.

In addition to staggering the disbursements from the total commitment, trust funds and endowments could be set up on behalf of those eligible for the program that could not be used until a later date, particularly for younger recipients. Another related option would be to give recipients full discretion in the use of the annual interest on their trust accounts but require trustee judgment on any use they might propose for asset building and/or well-being enhancement by utilizing the principal. So, for example, if in the process of closing the racial wealth gap, each eligible recipient was given a trust account of \$250,000, normal interest earnings would generate an average

annual discretionary fund of approximately \$12,000 given a stable level of the principal.

A twelve-member reparations supervisory board will be established, elected by all those with established eligibility for the reparations program, with its own paid professional staff. The supervisors will select the team to serve as trust account managers (or trustees), who will determine which proposed projects justify use of the principal on an account. Board membership will be a full-time job to be held over a three-year term and compensated at the amount of at least \$200,000 in 2019 dollars.

Board members will not be able to serve consecutive terms, although they will be able to stand for reelection after sitting out a term. Elections to the board will take place successively—four members will be elected each year—to ensure that there always will be members on the board with previous experience and historical memory. By the third year, the Reparations Supervisory Board will reach its full complement of twelve members, and at the end of that year the first wave of elected members will cycle off the board.

To the extent that additional government spending can be metered to contain inflation risk, the program also could be funded by sheer deficit spending, again requiring no change in tax rates. If black reparations provide a growth stimulus to the overall American economy, they could generate the tax revenues to fund the program after it is put into effect. Instead of “pay as you go,” the operative regime would be one where you “go” first and pay later.³⁷ Regardless of the procedure, if the payments are made over time, their value must be maintained by use of appropriate cost-of-living adjustments to account for any general increase in prices.

An additional concern is the prospect that a uniform payout to all eligible black Americans could aggravate intraracial wealth inequality within the African American community. One strategy to generate a more equitable distribution of the reparations funds is to designate a portion of the funds for competitive application, with priority given to those applicants with lower current wealth or income positions. Applications might include proposals to launch a new business enterprise or pursue the development of a new invention. Again, the professional trustee team, appointed by the elected Reparations Supervisory Board, can judge which proposals merit funding.

In addition to the functions performed by the board, a National Reparations Bureau (NRB) will be established as the civil service agency responsible for day-to-day management and execution of the program.³⁸ The NRB will work closely with the General Accounting Office to ensure the financial fidelity of the black reparations program. The reparations agency’s staff will

provide recipients, on an ongoing basis, with information about scams and fraudulent schemes directed against them as well as other matters relevant to successful personal management of their resources.³⁹

The agency also will develop a financial management curriculum to be made available to all students and adults via public schools and other voluntary organizations, like communities of faith, starting before the inauguration of the reparations program. This will ensure that all recipients can receive pre-reparations preparation for managing their new portfolios.

In addition, the NRB will facilitate reparations recipients' engagement in participatory research and monitoring of the program themselves.⁴⁰ There will be a highly accessible and user-friendly website where participants (and potential participants) in the reparations program can report verifiable past and ongoing instances of racial injustice to maintain a complete public record, report internal abuses within the reparations program itself, and seek additional assistance validating claims about their ancestry that will enable them to establish eligibility for reparations.

Further, the NRB will be charged with implementing a concerted education effort to document, preserve, and communicate America's history of racial injustice—the conditions that led to the adoption of a reparations program—and the impact of the reparations program on African American well-being and the nation as a whole.

The intensive phase of the public education effort should last for a minimum of three generations, or ninety years. As was the case with the National Holocaust Museum's "Never Forget" campaign, it is vital that America's racial history be put at the fore of the conversations Americans have about the nation's past, present, and future. Therefore, beyond the intensive phase, the educational dimension of the reparations program should continue in perpetuity.

The reparations agency can promote age-appropriate textbooks and lesson plans designed to be used at all levels of public school.⁴¹ In addition, the agency can devote resources to support educators, historians, and artists in developing plays, music, visual art, video games, board games, documentary films, feature films, and new biographies and research studies that bring greater accuracy and depth to America's racial history.

With the support of the NRB, the National Museum of African American History and Culture, the National Register of Historic Places, state historic sites, plantations and Civil War battle sites all can contribute to a transformative national process of reinterpretation and learning. Dissemination of the most up-to-date knowledge and scholarship on race, history, and

reparations can take place via social media as well as traditional media (print journalism, television, radio—especially public television and public radio).

New plaques or markers can be installed that commemorate persons who were heroes of the struggle for racial equality and justice and commemorate victims of lynchings or riots conducted by white supremacists. New markers also can be installed at sites where there are statues of or buildings named after iconic figures from the Confederacy and the Lost Cause movement to provide descriptions of these figures' activities in the secession movement and/or white terror campaigns to eliminate black political participation after the Civil War. New national holidays can be adopted; for example, an Emancipation Day commemorating the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution would be fitting.

The work of national memory and national consciousness is an essential component of an effective program of black reparations.

Reparations will directly confront the particular structures of injustice that have freighted the lives of black Americans since the founding of the United States. A key question is how we create the political conditions that will lead the U.S. Congress to enact a program of black reparations. Mari J. Matsuda contends that a high degree of solidarity in support of the program from the community that has been subjected to the deep injustice is necessary for a reparations program to become a reality.⁴² Thus, Matsuda's perspective suggests that it is just as important to consolidate support for a reparations program within the black community as it is to build support from outside of it.

A number of whites descended from slave owners have asked us what they should do as acts of atonement. Our response has been to encourage them to build a lobbying organization to advocate, forcefully, for reparations for black Americans. Such an organization should be developed with the support of the colleges and universities discussed in chapter 3 that had explicit ties to slavery and the slave trade.

Student activists on college and university campuses—who increasingly are working to uncover the deep connection of many of their institutions to slavery, to the veneration of the Confederacy, and to the "scientific" perpetuation of ideas of black cognitive and cultural inferiority—can take on a new challenge. Instead of seeking *piecemeal reparations* from their institutions on a one-by-one basis, activists should push these institutions to join the lobbying effort for congressional approval of black reparations.

It will be far more useful for colleges and universities to become sponsors of a national effort for reparations than for them to individually address

reparations claims among their immediate constituents. Joining the charge in a national campaign for reparations would give these institutions an excellent opportunity to demonstrate both a recognition of their own complicity and the importance of mobilizing their considerable resources to compensate for the harms.⁴³

Of course, our hope is that this book will play a role in encouraging more Americans to recognize that black reparations are not only morally justified but practicable. We hope that the book will not only widen support for reparations among all Americans but also deepen support and intensify the championing of reparations among black Americans themselves.

A single book is unlikely to make a social movement, but the potential exists to mobilize growing support for reparations from a variety of activist efforts under way now. The indignation of Moral Mondays activism in North Carolina, the passion of the Black Lives Matter movement, the rise of the #ADOS movement, and the values and imagination shown by growing numbers of young Americans all point toward a groundswell of support for social justice that can energize the push for black reparations.⁴⁴

We seek a new tomorrow that will enable the nation to realize the long-unfulfilled dreams of the freedmen. Reparations for black America, finally, will open the door to that new tomorrow. At last, reparations will move America from here to equality.

With Gratitude

It is a pleasure to recall the many people who have made this book possible.

We happily credit Richard F. America for inviting William “Sandy” Darity Jr. to write an introductory essay on black reparations for Dick’s edited volume *The Wealth of Races: The Present Value of Benefits from Past Injustices* (1990). This task gave Sandy a chance to consolidate his thinking about redress for racial oppression and launched him on his path toward this project with A. Kirsten Mullen. We also thank Mary Frances Berry, author of the superb biography *My Face Is Black Is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (2005), a book that motivated us to press on and bring *From Here to Equality* to completion. Bernard Anderson’s sustained commitment to bold, transformative policies to achieve equity and racial justice in America also has been an inspiration.

We are delighted to acknowledge the good folks at the University of North Carolina Press: Sian Hunter reached out to us and convinced us to tackle the project; David “Carlos” Perry embraced and helped shape it; Joseph Parsons was an enthusiastic supporter and cheerleader when a coauthor began to make tentative steps to engage with the Twitterverse; and Mark Simpson-Vos, the Wyndham Robertson Editorial Director, with assistance from Associate Editor Jessica Newman, shepherded *From Here to Equality* through to conclusion with an expert helping hand. Finally, we also thank Managing Editor Mary Caviness for the care and sensitivity given to copyediting and production of the book.

Our heartfelt esteem extends to Sandy’s colleagues and students at Duke University, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC–Chapel Hill), and the University of Texas at Austin. A particular note of thanks goes to former students who have contributed directly to the literature on black reparations, Dania Frank Francis, Bidisha Lahiri, Tressie McMillan Cottom, and Kellin Stanfield.

A very special nod to Sandy’s most sustained coauthors, collaborators, and co-conspirators over the many years: Samuel L. Myers Jr., Darrick Hamilton, Ashwini Deshpande, Arthur Goldsmith, Rhonda V. Sharpe, Michael Syron Lawlor, Bobbie Horn, James Kenneth Galbraith, Arjumand Siddiqi, Patrick Mason, Sukhadeo Thorat, Alan Aja, Anne E. Price, Tod Hamilton,

62. Rebecca Skloot, *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks* (New York: Random House, 2010).

63. Lutz Kaelber, "Eugenics: Compulsory Sterilization in 50 States" (presentation at the Social Science History Association Meeting, Vancouver, Canada, 2012), <http://www.uvm.edu/~lkaelber/eugenics>.

64. Kaelber. On North Carolina, see also Gregory Price and William Darity Jr., "The Economics of Race and Eugenic Sterilization in North Carolina, 1958-1968," *Economics and Human Biology* 8, no. 2 (July 2010): 261-72.

65. Dorothy Roberts, "Forum: Black Women and the Pill," *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 32, no. 2 (March/April 2000), <https://www.guttmacher.org/about/journals/psrh/2000/03/forum-black-women-and-pill>.

66. Bryce Covert, "Environmental Racism," *Nation*, March 7, 2016, 5.

67. Covert, 5.

68. Heather Rogers, "Erasing Mossville," *Intercept*, November 4, 2015, <https://theintercept.com/2015/11/04/erasing-mossville-how-pollution-killed-a-louisiana-town>. The 2019 documentary film *Mossville: When Great Trees Fall*, directed by Alexander John Glustrom, provides a view of the deep personal losses associated with the erasure of the town.

69. Rogers, 5.

70. Ishaan Tharoor, "U.S. Owes Black People Reparations for a History of 'Racial Terrorism,' Says U.N. Panel," *Washington Post*, September 27, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/09/27/u-s-owes-black-people-reparations-for-a-history-of-racial-terrorism-says-u-n-panel>.

CHAPTER 12

1. Noah Millman, "Reparations Could Widen, Rather Than Heal, Racial Rifts," *New York Times*, June 8, 2014, <https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/reparations-could-widen-rather-than-heal-racial-rifts>.

2. The arguments addressed in this chapter have been extracted from criticisms raised by a variety of opponents of reparations. Of particular significance are David Horowitz, *Uncivil Wars: The Controversy over Reparations for Slavery* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2003); Richard Epstein, "The Case against Black Reparations," *Boston University Law Review*, no. 84 (2004): 1177-99, http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2323&context=journal_articles; Peter Flaherty and John Carlisle, *The Case against Slave Reparations* (Falls Church, Va.: National Legal and Policy Center, 2004); and Juan Williams, *Enough: The Phony Leaders, Dead End Movements, and the Culture of Failure That Are Undermining Black America—and What We Can Do about It* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006). Note that the Flaherty and Carlisle article is dated 2004, but it refers to events that took place in 2005. It provides perhaps the most comprehensive list of complaints generally made against reparations for black Americans—all of them considered in this chapter.

3. Zora Neale Hurston, *Barracoon: The Story of the Last "Black Cargo,"* ed. Deborah G. Plant (New York: Amistad, 2018).

4. Sandra E. Garcia, "She Survived a Slave Ship, the Civil War, and the Depression: Her Name Was Redoshi," *New York Times*, April 3, 2019. Redoshi's life is chronicled in an article by a researcher at Newcastle University in Britain; see Hannah Durkin, "Finding Last Middle Passage Survivor Sally 'Redoshi' Smith on the Page and Screen," *Slavery and Abolition*, March 23, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2019.1596397>. The *Clotilde* (also *Clotilda*) was the last known schooner to transport African captives illegally to the United States in order to sell them into slavery. The longest-living survivor of that brutal institution may have died in 1971; Sylvester Magee maintained he was nineteen years old when Hugh Magee, owner of the Lone Star plantation in Covington, Mississippi, purchased him at an Enterprise, Mississippi, slave auction house. Sylvester had become the chattel property of Florence, Mississippi, planter Victor Steen when he escaped to fight for the Union during the Civil War. Ellen Ciurczak, "Miss. Man Claimed to Be 130-Year-Old Last Slave," *USA Today*, September 26, 2016, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation-now/2016/09/26/miss-man-130-year-old-last-slave/91140564>.

5. Martha Quillin, "Civil War Saga: Black Re-enactors Tell Their Side of the Story," *News and Observer* (Raleigh, N.C.), January 25, 2015, <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/article10231829.html>.

6. Hortense McClinton, interviews by the authors, September 4, 2014, Durham, North Carolina, and November 2, 2019, Silver Spring, Maryland. See also Hortense McClinton, "A First Black Professor Remembers Her Segregated Education," interview by Lynn Neary, *Weekend Edition*, National Public Radio, May 18, 2014, <http://www.npr.org/2014/05/18/313471434/a-first-black-professor-remembers-her-segregated-education>. The NPR site correctly indicates that McClinton's father's parents were born into slavery, but it does not reveal that her father, Sebrone Jones King, was himself born a slave on January 14, 1865. Ms. McClinton was born August 27, 1918.

7. Amazingly, we encountered a second person alive in 2014 who was also the daughter of an enslaved person. Mattie Clyburn Rice, who was ninety-one years old when she died in High Point, North Carolina, in September 2014, made headlines in part because her father, Weary (also known as Wary and Worry) Clyburn, who was born in 1841 and was in his ninth decade when Mattie was born, had supported the Confederate effort during the Civil War. Clyburn, who had lived his first twenty-five years as a slave, was one of eighteen human chattel owned by the Thomas Lorenzo Clyburn family on the Uriah Clyburn plantation in Kershaw District, Lancaster County, South Carolina, a property that spanned more than 20,000 acres in 1900. See Martha Waggoner (Associated Press), "Confederate Pomp amid Burial of Slave's Daughter," *Carolina Times*, October 18, 2014, <http://www.thetimesnews.com/news/region-state/confederate-pomp-amid-burial-of-slave-s-daughter-1.388344>. In a strange and rare case, Weary Clyburn accompanied his owner's son and near age-mate, Thomas Frank Clyburn, to the battleground when Thomas became a captain with the Twelfth South Carolina Confederate corps. Weary Clyburn's own statement to the South Carolina pension board and an affidavit provided by attorney J. P. Richards of Lancaster County dated January 22, 1926, both contended that Weary had been Captain Clyburn's bodyguard and personal servant and that the enslaved man

had “performed personal services” for Robert E. Lee. Between 1863 and 1865 the two men had been engaged at a training camp in Columbia, South Carolina, and with the Twelfth Battalion in Charleston, Morris Island, and Pages Point. Later, “at Hilton Head, while under fire of the enemy, [Weary Clyburn] carried [Thomas Clyburn] out of the field of fire on his shoulder.” When Weary died in 1930, he was remembered in an obituary published April 1, 1930, on the front page of South Carolina’s *Monroe Journal* as “Uncle Weary Clyburn,” “a white man’s darkey,” who had been buried “in the Confederate uniform of gray.” Before the 1930s, Confederate soldiers and their dependents were eligible to receive pensions only from their state governments. When Weary’s February 1, 1926, application for support was approved, he became one of the first blacks living in Union County, North Carolina, to receive a Confederate pension. His pension records indicate that “his services were meritorious and faithful toward his master and the cause of the Confederacy.” See “Weary Clyburn,” Find a Grave, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=60770561>; and Jessica Jones, “After Years of Research, Confederate Daughter Arises,” *Weekend Edition Sunday*, WUNC Radio, August 7, 2011, <http://www.npr.org/2011/08/07/138587202/after-years-of-research-confederate-daughter-arises>. When Weary Clyburn’s family requested support from the federal government, however, their petition was denied on the grounds that no black man—slave or free—had served as a soldier in the Confederacy. The Sons of the Confederate Veterans, which made arrangements for Mattie Clyburn Rice’s funeral, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy—two organizations that were, unsurprisingly, sympathetic to the family’s claims—played active roles in Rice’s burial ceremony. In the eyes of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Rice, the daughter of “a Confederate soldier,” was a “Real Daughter.”

However, to the extent that Clyburn served voluntarily on behalf of the Confederacy, he was a far outlier among black southerners. See Kevin Levin, *Searching for Black Confederates: The Civil War’s Most Persistent Myth* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

8. In an interview, Stevenson related the story passed down in his family of his great-grandfather John Baylor, born into slavery in the late 1840s, who managed to learn to read at age six. The keeper of the Baylor family’s history was Stevenson’s maternal grandmother, Victoria Baylor Golden—his mother, Alice Golden, was her youngest child—who was born in Bowling Green, Virginia, in 1889 and lived with Stevenson’s family in Milton, Delaware, when he was a child. As early as 1785, the Virginia General Assembly had made it illegal for the Office of the Poor to bind out blacks or mulattoes to masters whose intent was to teach them to read, write, or do arithmetic. By 1833—two years after the Nat Turner Rebellion—the state had made it a criminal offense to teach slaves, free blacks, and mulattoes to read or write. Those found guilty of helping blacks acquire literacy could be subjected to penalties of up to twenty lashes of the whip, two months of imprisonment, and fines not to exceed \$100. Baylor’s parents were proud of their son’s ability, Stevenson said, but his precocity also put them in a precarious position, which compelled them “to keep it secret. [John Baylor’s] parents were terrified that he had figured out how to read” and that his secret would become known to others. Nonetheless, Stevenson said, “they wanted him to use that skill to help them figure things out when Emancipation came.”

And “even after Emancipation, my grandmother [told] me . . . he did not like people to know that he could read, but he desperately wanted [his wife, Mary,] to read.” References include “One Lawyer’s Efforts to Save Young Blacks and *Just Mercy*,” Bryan Stevenson interview, *Fresh Air*, National Public Radio, October 20, 2014; Meg Grant, “Bryan Stevenson: Stubborn Lawyer Stands Alone between Death and His Clients,” *People*, November 27, 1995; the Bryan Stevenson extended interview, featured on *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, October 14, 2014; and Bryan Stevenson, “We Need to Talk about an Injustice,” March 12, 2012, TED Talk, 23:26, http://www.ted.com/talks/bryan_stevenson_we_need_to_talk_about_an_injustice. See also *Supplement to the Revised Code of the Laws of Virginia* (Richmond, Va., 1833), chap. 186; Rudolph Lewis, comp., “Up from Slavery: A Documentary History of Negro Education,” ChickenBones, <http://www.nathanielturner.com/educationhistorynegro6.htm>; and Bryan Stevenson, personal correspondence with one of the authors, January 18, 2015.

9. Constance E. G. N. Edwards (1944–2016). See Shana Farrell, “Advanced Oral History Summer Institute Alum Spotlight: Kelly Navies,” *Berkeley Library Update* (blog), University of California at Berkeley Library, November 7, 2018, <https://update.lib.berkeley.edu/2018/11/07/advanced-oral-history-summer-institute-alum-spotlight-kelly-navies>; and Kelly Navies, personal correspondence with one of the authors, November 9, 2018.

10. Kenneth Lewis, interview by the authors, June 2013, Durham, North Carolina.

11. The “delay until death” tactic has been deployed in other contexts. For example, the state of Oklahoma has never compensated even the few remaining living victims of the Tulsa massacre of 1921. When all are dead, the position that reparations must go to direct victims will be a convenient barrier to making payments for the riot. In 2011, Cathryn Young, the spouse of the ninety-four-year-old Wess Young, who had to flee the Greenwood neighborhood as a child with his family during the white riot, commented, “I think they [white Oklahomans] are trying to keep this hidden. . . . Don’t talk about it, don’t do nothing about it until all these people are dead.” However, she added, “Then they think it’ll be over with. But it won’t.” A. G. Sulzberger, “As Survivors Dwindle, Tulsa Confronts Its Past,” *New York Times*, June 19, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/20/us/20tulsa.html>.

12. Jessica Snethen, “Queen Nzinga (1583–1663),” BlackPast, <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/queen-nzinga-1583-1663>.

13. For an excellent dissection of the “model minority” trope, see Jennifer Lee and Min Zhou, *The Asian American Achievement Paradox* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2015).

14. Malcolm X, Television interview, March 1964, http://www.notable-quotes.com/x/x_malcolm.html.

15. Steve Valocchi, “The Racial Basis of Capitalism and the State, and the Impact of the New Deal on African Americans,” *Social Problems* 41, no. 3 (August 1994): 347–62.

16. Ira Katznelson, “When Affirmative Action Was White,” *History and Policy*, November 10, 2005, <http://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/when-affirmative-action-was-white>.

17. Katznelson. See also Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), for a more detailed exegesis. While 28 percent of white World War II veterans went to college on the GI Bill, only 12 percent of black World War II veterans did so. Shannon Landers-Manuel, "The Inequality Hidden within the Race-Neutral G.I. Bill," *JSTOR Daily*, September 18, 2017, <https://daily.jstor.org/the-inequality-hidden-within-the-race-neutral-g-i-bill>.

18. Landers-Manuel, "Inequality Hidden." Landers-Manuel draws on Edward Humes, *Over Here: How the G.I. Bill Transformed the American Dream* (Orlando, Fla.: Harcourt, 2006), for the material quoted here. For more on Rankin, see Kenneth Wayne Vickers, "John Rankin: Democrat and Demagogue" (master's thesis, Mississippi State University, 1993). Limited space at historically black colleges and universities due to low funding under the dual system of higher education constrained black enrollment.

19. William Darity Jr., "Confronting Those Affirmative Action Grumbles," in *Capitalism on Trial: Explorations in the Tradition of Thomas E. Weisskopf*, ed. Jeannette Wicks-Lim and Robert Pollin (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2013), 215-23.

20. Ross Douthat, "A Different Bargain on Race," *New York Times*, March 14, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/04/opinion/sunday/a-different-bargain-on-race.html>.

21. Charles Krauthammer, "A Grand Compromise," *Washington Post*, April 6, 2001, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2001/04/06/a-grand-compromise/884f9488-ed4f-4978-8226-0074b5e2529b>.

22. In a response to Krauthammer's op-ed, Martin L. Brown has observed that the figure of \$50,000 per family "is awfully cheap." He observed, "One measure of this injustice, itself only partial, is the difference in household net wealth accumulated by middle age. Data from the U.S. Health and Retirement Survey indicate this difference to be at least \$100,000 on average, double Charles Krauthammer's recommended payment. This figure itself underestimates the true difference because it is expressed in 1994 dollars and because it does not take into account both the much higher percentage of African American families with negative net wealth and the higher percentage of white families with very large amounts of net wealth, which tends to be under-measured by standard government statistics." Martin L. Brown, "Evaluating Reparations," *Washington Post*, April 10, 2001, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2001/04/10/evaluating-reparations/525b4171-8795-493f-80da-1817e2e5c0b8>.

23. Claude Oubre, in a fine study of the original development of the forty-acres policy, says that the ministers expressed a desire to live separately from whites at least as a "temporary" condition. See Claude F. Oubre, *Forty Acres and Mule: The Freedman's Bureau and Black Land Ownership* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 18. But there is no intimation of a desire for the arrangement to be "temporary" in the official report of the Savannah conversation. "Newspaper Account of a Meeting between Black Religious Leaders and Union Military Authorities," Freedmen and Southern Society Project, <http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/savmtg.htm>.

24. *Proceedings of the Freedmen's Convention of Georgia* (Augusta, Ga.: Printed at the Office of the *Loyal Georgian*, 1866), <https://archive.org/stream/proceedingsoffree#page/n3/mode/2up>; *Minutes of the Freedmen's Convention, Held in the City of Raleigh, on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th of October, 1866* (Raleigh, N.C.: Standard Book and Job Office, 1866), <https://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/freedmen/freedmen.html>. We thank David A. Gamson for alerting us to the existence of records from several freedmen's conventions.

25. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction, 1863-1877: America's Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 96-97.

26. See Patrick L. Mason, "Race, Culture, and Skill: Interracial Wage Differentials among African Americans, Latinos, and Whites," *Review of Black Political Economy* 25, no. 3 (Winter 1997): 5-39; William Mangino, "Race to College: The 'Reverse Gap,'" *Race and Social Problems*, no. 2 (December 2010): 164-78; William Mangino, "Why Do Whites and the Rich Have Less Need for Education?," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 71, no. 3 (July 2012): 562-602; and William Mangino, "The Negative Effects of Privilege on Educational Attainment: Gender, Race, Class, and the Bachelor's Degree," *Social Science Quarterly* 95, no. 3 (September 2014): 760-84.

27. M. C. Black, K. C. Basile, M. J. Breiding, S. G. Smith, M. L. Walters, M. T. Merrick, J. Chen, and M. R. Stevens, *The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2010 Summary Report* (Atlanta: National Center for Injury Prevention and Control of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Division of Violence Prevention, 2010), http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/nisvs_report2010-a.pdf.

28. Researchers at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development analyzed member countries' "Better Life Index" in 2013, which takes into account factors ranging from income and health to life satisfaction and physical security, and concluded that the top five countries were Australia, Sweden, Canada, Norway, and Switzerland. See Megan Willett, "The 15 Countries with the Highest Quality of Life," *Business Insider*, May 28, 2013, <http://www.businessinsider.com/top-countries-on-oecd-better-life-index-2013-5>.

29. Cedric Johnson, "An Open Letter to Ta-Nehisi Coates and the Liberals Who Love Him," *Jacobin*, February 3, 2016, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/02/ta-nehisi-coates-case-for-reparations-bernie-sanders-racism>; Cedric Johnson, "Reparations Isn't a Political Demand," *Jacobin*, March 7, 2016, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/03/cedric-johnson-brian-jones-ta-nehisi-coates-reparations>.

30. William Darity Jr., Darrick Hamilton, Patrick Mason, Gregory Price, Alberto Dávila, Marie Mora, and Sue Stockly, "Stratification Economics: A General Theory of Intergroup Inequality," in Andrea Flynn, Susan Holmberg, Dorian Warren, and Felicia Wong, eds., *The Hidden Rules of Race: Barriers to an Inclusive Economy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 41.

31. William Darity Jr., Darrick Hamilton, Mark Paul, Alan Aja, Anne Price, Antonio Moore, and Caterina Chiopris, *What We Get Wrong about Closing the Racial Wealth Gap* (Durham, N.C.: Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity, Duke University; Oakland, Calif.: Insight Center for Community Economic Development, 2018).

32. Imari Z. Smith, Keisha Bentley-Edwards, Salimah El-Amin, and William Darity Jr., *Fighting at Birth: Eradicating the Black-White Infant Mortality Gap* (Durham, N.C.: Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity, Duke University; Oakland, Calif.: Insight Center for Community Economic Development, 2018), 4.

33. Olga Kazhan, "In One Year, 57,375 Years of Life Were Lost to Police Violence," *Atlantic*, May 8, 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2018/05/the-57375-years-of-life-lost-to-police-violence/559835>; Frank R. Baumgartner, Derek A. Epp, and Kelsey Shoub, "The Fears of Driving While Black in NC Are True: The Data Prove It," *News and Observer* (Raleigh, N.C.), July 29, 2018, 13A.

34. Peter C. Myers, *Frederick Douglass: Race and Rebirth of American Liberalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 143–44. For the quotations in the original, see Frederick Douglass, "Blessings of Liberty and Education (September 3, 1894)," in John Blassingame and John McKivigan, eds., *The Frederick Douglass Papers* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 5:624; Frederick Douglass, "Salutory (September 8, 1870)," in Blassingame and McKivigan, 4:225; and Frederick Douglass, "The White People of This Country Can Never Do Too Much for Us," in Blassingame and McKivigan, *Frederick Douglass Papers*, 5:557.

35. Myers, *Frederick Douglass*, 144.

CHAPTER 13

1. When reparations supporter Ta-Nehisi Coates appeared on *The Colbert Report*, Stephen Colbert famously asked him whether it would be satisfactory if he simply cut Coates a personal check. See Ta-Nehisi Coates, "Ta-Nehisi Coates," interview with Stephen Colbert, *The Colbert Report*, Comedy Central, June 16, 2014, <http://www.cc.com/video-clips/n3etz1/the-colbert-report-ta-nehisi-coates>. While Colbert meant the offer tongue in cheek, the notion that individual whites might make payments to individual blacks as reparations deflects attention from the more serious and fundamental issue at stake: the national debt to African Americans as a whole. We are not concerned about personal guilt; we are concerned with national responsibility.

2. See Roy L. Brooks, "The Age of Apology," in *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy Over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, ed. Roy L. Brooks (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 3–11. Brooks also insists, like we do, that the demand for reparations be put in the hands of legislators, not judges.

3. John Tateishi, a Japanese American Citizens League activist who had been incarcerated at Manzanar, California, for three years, says of the wartime "internment": "You can make this mistake, but you have to correct it—and by correcting, hopefully not repeat it again." Retribution payments to 82,219 eligible claimants totaled \$1.6 billion. In addition, the enabling legislation for Japanese American reparations provided for the establishment of the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund, directed to inform the public about the incarceration of Japanese Americans. A total of \$50 million was allocated in 1988 "to sponsor research and public education activities"; however, an antispending lobby put the education program on hold until 1994, when funding was reduced to \$5 million. President Bill Clinton appointed an advisory board in 1996, and the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund initiated the

program in 1997–98. In 1998, a curriculum conference was held in San Francisco, and the Smithsonian Institution hosted an exhibition, *Days of Remembrance*, to recollect Franklin Delano Roosevelt's signing of Executive Order 9066, which authorized the incarceration. The Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles is the repository for the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund grant program records. See Bilal Qureshi, "From Wrong to Right: A U.S. Apology for Japanese Internment," *Code Switch*, National Public Radio, August 3, 2013; and Densho Encyclopedia, s.v. "Civil Liberties Public Education Fund," by Sharon Yamato, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Civil_Liberties_Public_Education_Fund.

4. Mari J. Matsuda emphasizes the importance of careful and comprehensive documentation of the relevant injustices in "Looking to the Bottom: Critical Legal Studies and Reparations," *Harvard Civil Liberties–Civil Rights Law Review*, no. 22 (1987): 323, 363–97.

5. Corinne Ruff, "Many Colleges Profited from Slavery: What Can They Do about It Now?," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 19, 2016.

6. See Henrietta Verma, "Rooted in Research," *Library Journal* 141, no. 8 (May 2006): 26–31; and Lisa Peet, "Growing the Family Tree," *Library Journal* 141, no. 8 (May 2006): 27, 31.

7. "The Mormons: Genealogy and the Mormon Archives," American Experience, PBS, <http://www.pbs.org/mormons/etc/genealogy.html>.

8. The State Library of North Carolina provides a website with instructions for exploring slave records; see "How to Find Slave Records," State Library of North Carolina, <https://statelibrary.ncdcr.gov/ghl/genealogy/finding-slave-records>.

9. We employ an interest rate of 4 percent because 3 percent provides a conservative estimate of the historical annual return on an investment and 1 percent is a conservative estimate of the long-run inflation rate. We then use 5 and 6 percent to accommodate less conservative estimates of the rate of return and/or higher rates of inflation.

10. Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, "Who Pays for Slavery?," in *The Wealth of Races: The Present Value of Benefits from Past Injustices*, ed. Richard F. America (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990), 31–54.

11. Larry Neal, "A Calculation and Comparison of the Current Benefits of Slavery and the Analysis of Who Benefits," in America, *Wealth of Races*, 91–106.

12. Thomas Craemer, "Estimating Slavery Reparations: Present Value Comparisons of Historical Multigenerational Reparations Policies," *Social Science Quarterly* 96, no. 2 (June 2015): 639–55. In the jargon of economists, the hypothetical non-slave-labor wage can be construed as the "shadow" wage for labor in the absence of slavery.

13. James Marketi, "Estimated Present Value of Income Directed during Slavery," in America, *Wealth of Races*, 107–24.

14. Judah P. Benjamin, "You Can Never Subjugate Us" (speech to U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., December 31, 1860), Causes of the Civil War, <http://civilwarcauses.org/judah.htm>. "Four thousand million dollars" is another way of saying \$4 billion.

15. Walter Fleming, "Forty Acres and a Mule," *North American Review* 182, no. 594 (May 1906): 731.

16. Anuradha Mittal and Joan Powell, "The Last Plantation," *Food First* 6, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 1–8.

17. Fleming, "Forty Acres," 733.

18. There were an estimated 31 million persons in the American population as a whole at the close of the Civil War, so the formerly enslaved constituted about 13 percent of the national population.

19. William Darity Jr., "Forty Acres and a Mule in the 21st Century," *Social Science Quarterly* 89, no. 3 (September 2008): 656–64.

20. Paul Alan Cibala, "The Freedmen's Bureau, the Freedmen, and Sherman's Grant in Reconstruction Georgia, 1865–1867," *Journal of Southern History* 55, no. 4 (November 1989): 597–632.

21. Note that there is a significant typographical error on page 662 of Darity, "Forty Acres." The estimate of the per person allocation of funds from the present value estimate of forty acres, at the time of the article, is overstated by a full decimal place at \$400,000; it should be \$40,000.

22. Bernadette Chachere and Gerald Udinsky, "An Illustrative Estimate of the Present Value of the Benefits from Racial Discrimination 1929–1969," in America, *Wealth of Races*, 163–68.

23. David Swinton, "Racial Inequality and Reparations," in America, *Wealth of Races*, 153–62.

24. U.S. Census Bureau, "Selected Characteristics of People 15 Years and Over by Total Money Income, Work Experience, Race, Hispanic Origin, and Sex," issued 2018, <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/income-poverty/cps-pinc/pinc-01.html>. Federal statistics that limit the calculation of per capita income to persons fifteen years of age or older reduce the racial income gap, since the black population is relatively younger than the white population in the United States.

25. Lisa J. Dettling, Joanne W. Hsu, Lindsay Jacobs, Kevin B. Moore, and Jeffrey P. Thompson, "Recent Trends in Wealth-Holding by Race and Ethnicity: Evidence from the Survey of Consumer Finances," with assistance from Elizabeth Llanes, FEDS Notes, September 27, 2017, <https://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/notes/feds-notes/recent-trends-in-wealth-holding-by-race-and-ethnicity-evidence-from-the-survey-of-consumer-finances-20170927.htm>.

26. If medians are used instead of means, the gap would be \$153,400 per family and about \$38,350 per person in 2016, leading to a total estimated bill of a more modest \$1.5 trillion. We use means here instead of medians because we seek to estimate the magnitude of the bill that would eradicate the entire black-white wealth disparity. *Ninety-seven percent* of white wealth is held by white households above the white median net worth, so targeting median net worth ignores a vast amount of white-owned wealth. See William Darity Jr., Fenaba Addo, and Imari Smith, "A Subaltern Middle Class: The Case of the 'Black Bourgeoisie' in America" (paper presented at the Renewing the Promise of the Middle Class conference, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve, Washington, D.C., May 10, 2019).

27. An argument has been circulating that universal programs like the "baby bonds" (or child trust accounts) policy could accomplish the same objectives

without being targeted exclusively at black America. The policy has been put forward in the form of Senator Cory Booker's Opportunity Accounts Bill, designed in part by one of the coauthors of this book. However, the "baby bonds" policy aims to move all Americans closer to the national median level of wealth. Once fully executed, even if it achieves its aim, the associated \$1.5–\$2 trillion increase in black wealth would fall far short of the sum necessary to close the racial wealth gap.

28. "US Household Net Worth Almost \$107 Trillion in Second-Quarter 2018," Reuters, September 20, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-economy-wealth/u-s-household-net-worth-almost-107-trillion-in-second-quarter-2018-idUSKCN1Mo2KN>.

29. We must be clear here. We *do not* advocate eliminating the racial wealth gap by taxing away white wealth until white net worth reaches the low existing levels of black wealth. We *do* advocate raising the assets held by blacks to meet higher existing levels of white wealth.

30. William Darity Jr. and Dania Frank, "The Economics of Reparations," *American Economic Review* 93, no. 2 (May 2003): 327–28.

31. This potential use of reparations monies came to mind in a conversation with Lawrence Carter, dean of the Martin Luther King Jr. International Chapel at Morehouse College, September 2017. See also Darrick Hamilton, Tressie McMillan Cottom, Alan A. Aja, Carolyn Ash, and William Darity Jr., "Still We Rise," *American Prospect*, November 9, 2015, <http://prospect.org/article/why-black-colleges-and-universities-still-matter>.

32. Of course, reparations payments would not be subject to taxation.

33. See V. P. Franklin, "Introduction—African Americans and the Movement for Reparations: From Slave Pensions to the Reparations Superfund," *Journal of African American History* 97, no. 1–2 (Winter–Spring 2012): 1–12; and Mary Frances Berry, "We Need a 'Reparations Superfund,'" *New York Times*, June 9, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/06/08/are-reparations-due-to-african-americans/we-need-a-reparations-superfund>.

34. Berry, "Reparations Superfund."

35. Matthew Yglesias, "Slavery Reparations Are Workable and Affordable," *Vox*, May 23, 2014, <http://www.vox.com/2014/5/23/5741294/slavery-reparations-are-workable-and-affordable>.

36. Jordan Malter, "Bernie Sanders' 2016 Economic Adviser Stephanie Kelton on Modern Monetary Theory and the 2020 Race," *CNBC Business News*, March 2, 2019, <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/03/01/bernie-sanders-economic-advisor-stephanie-kelton-on-mmt-and-2020-race.html>.

37. Here we explicitly embrace the premises of modern monetary theory. See, e.g., Pavlina Tcherneva, "PAYGO Is Based on a Fallacy," *In These Times*, January 3, 2019, <http://inthesetimes.com/article/21658/PAYGO-government-spending-raising-taxes-modern-monetary-theory-pelosi>.

38. The Office of Redress Administration carried out the mandate of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 to provide reparations payments for Japanese Americans who were incarcerated by the federal government during World War II. The NRB would

constitute a parallel agency responsible for fulfilling the mandate of enabling legislation for reparations for black Americans.

39. The agency can maintain and disseminate a "Swindler's List."

40. This suggestion was made to one of the coauthors by Toby Grytafey on Twitter on April 6, 2016.

41. It will be essential that textbooks do not sanitize, distort, or obscure the history of slavery as do several that have been used in Texas public schools. Ellen Bresler Rockmore, "How Texas Teaches History," *New York Times*, October 21, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/22/opinion/how-texas-teaches-history.html>.

42. Matsuda, "Looking to the Bottom."

43. On the relationship between major American universities and the slave system in the first half of the nineteenth century, again, see esp. Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).

44. Reparations are central to the black agenda advanced by the #ADOS movement; see American Descendants of Slavery, <https://ados101.com>. The Black Youth Project 100 has also developed a policy platform that includes reparations as a key element. See "Our Agenda," Agenda to Build Black Futures, <http://agendatobuildblackfutures.org/our-agenda>.

APPENDIX 2

1. Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké, *American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839), 72. An electronic version of the book can also be found at the Documenting the American South website, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/weld/weld.html#p14>.

2. Weld, Weld, and Grimké, 73; italics in the original.

3. Weld, Weld, and Grimké, 65–68.

APPENDIX 3

1. E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1957), 109–10.

APPENDIX 4

1. Donald Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films* (New York: Continuum Books, 1994), 300, 309–10.

2. See "Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Regiment," Boston African American, National Park Service, <http://www.nps.gov/boaf/historyculture/shaw.htm>.

3. See Barbaranne E. Mocella Liakos, "Their Civil Rights in Popular Prints: Kurz and Allison's Civil War Series," *Montage*, no. 2 (2008): 65–70, http://www.uiowa.edu/~montage/issues/2008/04_Liakos.pdf (article no longer available).

APPENDIX 5

1. See William H. Pease and Jane Pease, *Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963), 38–41; and Charles Clark, "Augustus Wattles," Kansas Bogus Legislature, http://kansassboguslegislature.org/free/wattles_a.html.

2. For details on Gist's early life in England, see "Samuel Gist," Ohio History Central, http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Samuel_Gist. See also the text of the wills of Samuel Gist and his son-in-law William Anderson, respectively, at "Gist," RootsWeb, <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~ohafram/gist>; and William Buckner McGroarty, "Exploration in Mass Emancipation," *William and Mary Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (July 1941): 208–26, <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/1919821>. For details on the destiny of Gist's 1,000 former slaves in Ohio, see C. A. Powell, B. T. Kavanaugh, and David Christy, "Transplanting Free Negroes to Ohio from 1815–1858," *Journal of Negro History* 1, no. 3 (July 1916): 302–17; and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio in Two Volumes: An Encyclopedia of the State* (Cincinnati: State of Ohio, 1907).

APPENDIX 6

1. Jefferson Davis, "Slavery in the Territories" (speech to the U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., February 13–14, 1850), 26–27, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=loc.ark:/13960/t3n2840d>; emphasis added.

APPENDIX 7

1. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction, 1863–1877: America's Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Harper and Row 1988), 467.

2. Abram L. Harris, *The Negro as Capitalist: A Study of Banking and Business among American Negroes* (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1936), 28, 34.

3. See Garrett Peck, *The Smithsonian Castle and the Seneca Quarry* (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2013); and John Stauffer, *Giants: The Parallel Lives of Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Twelve, 2008), 309–10. See also William C. Harris, "Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi: Conservative Assimilationist," in *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era*, ed. Howard N. Rabinowitz (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 21–22; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 69, 531–32; and esp. Abram L. Harris, *Negro as Capitalist*, 25–45.