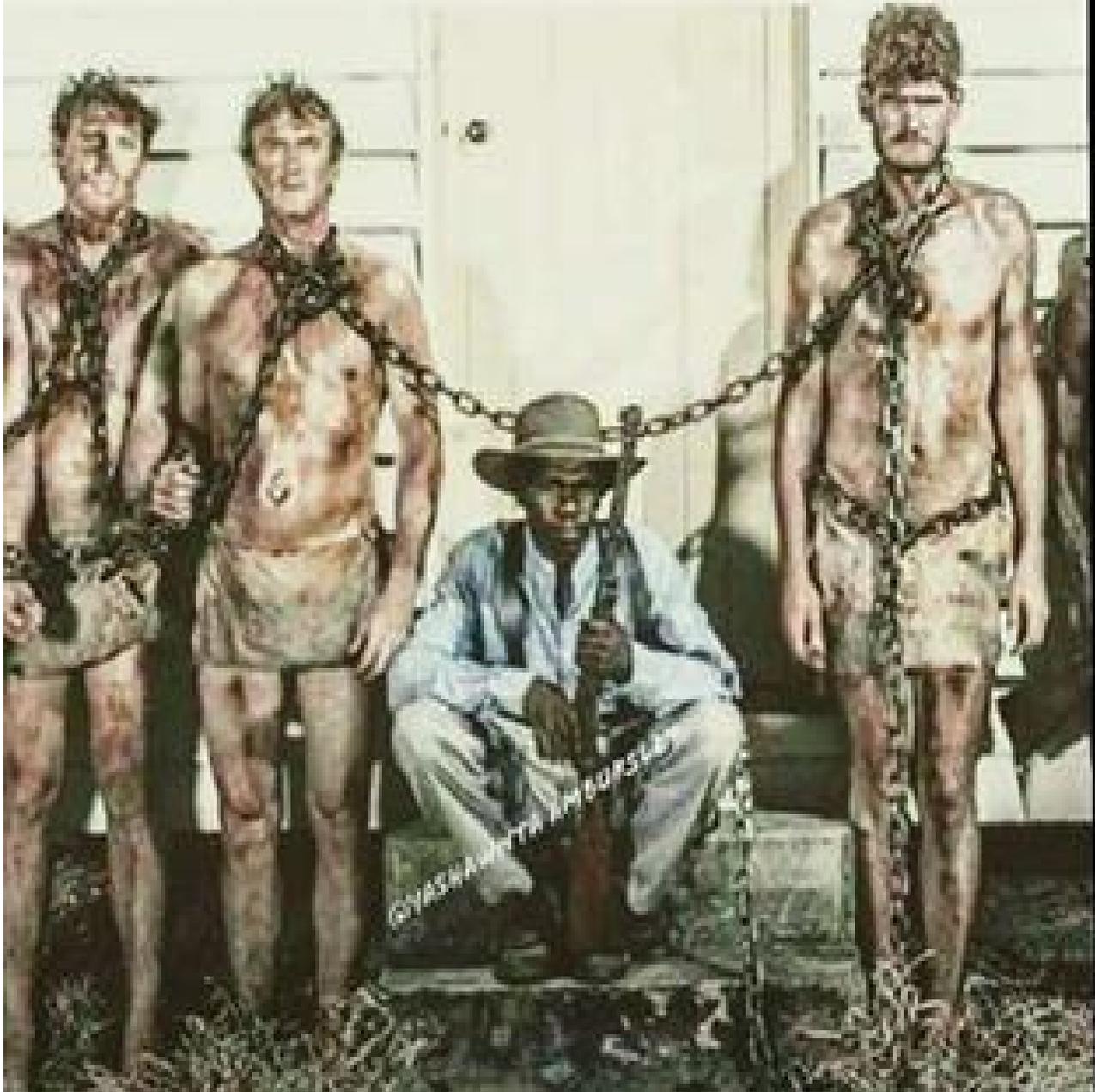


WHAT IF THE TABLE WAS TURNED... WOULD YOU STILL SAY FORGET THE PAST???



RACISM AND THE CHURCH

2019

Racism And The Church 2019

Rev. Jas A. Mortenson
All Saints Lutheran Church . ELCA
Oak Creek, Wisconsin
November

**This
Study
Is
Dedicated
to
the
Loving
Memory
Of
Betty
Wittke,
A
Lifelong
Student
Of
The
Word!**

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**NOT ALL BLACKS
ARE CRIMINALS,
NOT ALL WHITES
ARE RACIST..**



**BUT IGNORANCE
COMES IN ALL **COLORS****



TRUTHTHEORY.COM
KEEP YOUR MIND OPEN

...

Slavery in America



Within several decades of being brought to the American colonies, Africans were stripped of human rights and enslaved as chattel, an enslavement that lasted more than two centuries. Slavers whipped slaves who displeased them. Clergy preached that slavery was the will of God. Scientists "proved" that blacks were less evolved-a subspecies of the human race. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 solidified the importance of slavery to the South's economy.

By the mid-19th century, America's westward expansion, along with a growing anti-slavery movement in the North, provoked a national debate over slavery that helped precipitate the American Civil War (1861-65). Though the Union victory freed the nation's four million slaves, the legacy of slavery influenced American history, from the chaotic years of Reconstruction (1865-77) to the civil rights movement that emerged in the 1950s.



1619 August

"Twenty and odd" Africans, probably seized from a Portuguese slave ship, were carried to Jamestown, Virginia, and traded for provisions. They were classified as indentured servants.

1640 July 9

When three runaway indentured servants were captured, the General Court of Colonial Virginia gave the white servants additional years to serve while John Punch, a black man, was sentenced to servitude for life. Punch was the first African in Virginia to be enslaved for life.

1641

Massachusetts became the first North American colony to recognize slavery as a legal institution.

1662

A Virginia law passed in 1662 stated that the status of the mother determined if a black child would be enslaved. Increasingly harsh and restrictive laws were passed over the next 40 years, culminating in the Virginia Slave Codes of 1705.

1676

Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia included poor whites and blacks fighting together, with the government's response hastening the transition to black slavery.

1688 February 18

Pennsylvania Quakers adopted the first formal anti-slavery resolution in American history.

1705

The Virginia Slave Code codified the status of slaves, further limited their freedom, and defined some rights of slave owners. It included provisions stating that

non-Christians brought to Virginia would be slaves, even if they converted to Christianity. It also allowed slave owners to punish slaves without fear of legal repercussions and specified the rewards for the recapture of runaway slaves.

1712 April

A slave revolt in New York City, during which nine white men died, led to increased restrictions on slaves.



1770 March 5

Crispus Attucks, an ex-slave, became an early casualty of the American Revolution when he was shot and killed in what became known as the Boston Massacre. Although Attucks was credited as the leader of the event, debate raged for over a century as to whether he was a patriotic hero or a trouble-making villain.

1775 April 14

The Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery was founded.

1775 December 30

General George Washington, revising an earlier edict, ordered recruiting officers to accept free blacks in the American Army. More than 5,000 blacks, mostly Northerners, fought against the British.

1776 July 4

The Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence.



1793 February 12

Congress passed the first fugitive slave act, making it a crime to harbor an escaped slave or to interfere with the arrest of a slave.

1800 August 30

Gabriel Prosser, Jack Bowler, and others planned the first major slave rebellion, near Richmond, Virginia. As many as 1,000 slaves were prepared to participate, but a thunderstorm forced postponement and two traitors betrayed the cause. The blacks had met under the pretense of holding religious meetings.

1808 January 1

Laws banning the African slave trade went into effect in the United States and in all British colonies.

1816 April 9

The African Methodist Episcopal Church, the first all-black religious denomination in the United States, was formally organized, and Richard Allen was named its first bishop.

1816 December 28

The American Colonization Society was founded to transport freeborn blacks and emancipated slaves to Africa, leading to the creation of a colony that became the Republic of Liberia in 1847.

1820 March 3

The Missouri Compromise was approved by Congress. Missouri was admitted to the Union as a slave state, Maine entered as a free state, and slavery was prohibited in western territories north of Missouri's southern border.

1831 August 21-22

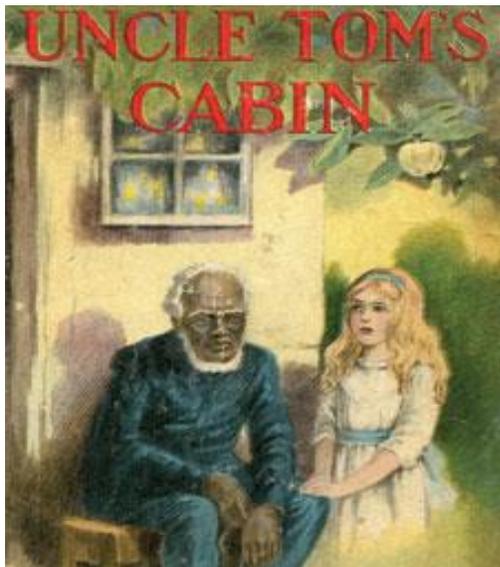
Nat Turner led the most brutal slave rebellion in United States history, attracting up to 75 slaves and killing 60 whites.

1839

A slave revolt aboard the *Amistad* resulted in the 1841 United States Supreme Court decision affirming that the schooner's African captives were free individuals with the right to resist "unlawful" slavery.

1850

The Compromise of 1850 brought California into the United States as a free state, banned public sale of slaves in the District of Columbia, opened up the rest of the lands seized from Mexico to settlement by slave owners, and committed the United States government to enforcement of a new fugitive slave law.



1852 March 20

The anti-slavery novel Uncle Tom's Cabin was published and, by year's end, 300,000 copies were sold in the United States. "Tom shows," dramatizations based on the plot of the novel, were widely performed by traveling companies into the 20th century, spreading common stereotypes of African Americans.

1854

The Kansas-Nebraska Act mandated that a popular vote of the settlers would determine if territories became free or slave states. The newly-formed Republican Party vowed to prevent new slave states and quickly became the majority party in nearly every northern state.

with no rights which the white man is bound to respect." — Chief Justice Taney March 7, 1857

**HIGH COURT RULES
SCOTT STILL A SLAVE!!**
SUPREME COURT SAYS NO NEGRO A CITIZEN;
ANGRY CROWDS PROTEST DECISION

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1857—Dred Scott is still a slave. In a decision that crushed Scott's hopes for freedom, the Supreme Court today threw out his case and ruled that no Negro, enslaved or free, is a citizen of the United States. Speaking for the Court's majority, Chief Justice Taney declared "The people of the Negro race are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word 'citizens' in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides and secures to citizens of the United States."



In its sweeping decision, the Court struck down as unconstitutional the Missouri Compromise, which excluded slavery in territories north of Missouri. Scott had maintained that under the terms of the Compromise he was automatically freed once his master brought him to the free soil of the Louisiana Territory.

According to the Court, however, Congress had no right

**Court Decision
in Brief**

1. All Negroes are denied citizenship.
2. Congress does not have power to prohibit slavery in Federal territory. (This ruling opens all northern territories to slavery.)
3. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 is unconstitutional.
4. The Ordinance of 1787

DRED SCOTT—Dred Scott attempted to sue for freedom before arguing this. (See page 2 out of 3)

1857 March 6

In Dred Scott v. Sandford, the United States Supreme Court ruled that blacks were not citizens of the United States and denied Congress the ability to prohibit slavery in any federal territory.

1860-1861

Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States, southern states seceded, and the United States Civil War began. The 1860 census showed the black population of the United States to be 4,441,830, of which 3,953,760 were enslaved and 488,070 free.

1863 January 1

President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which made it clear that a Union victory in the Civil War would mean the end of slavery in the United States.



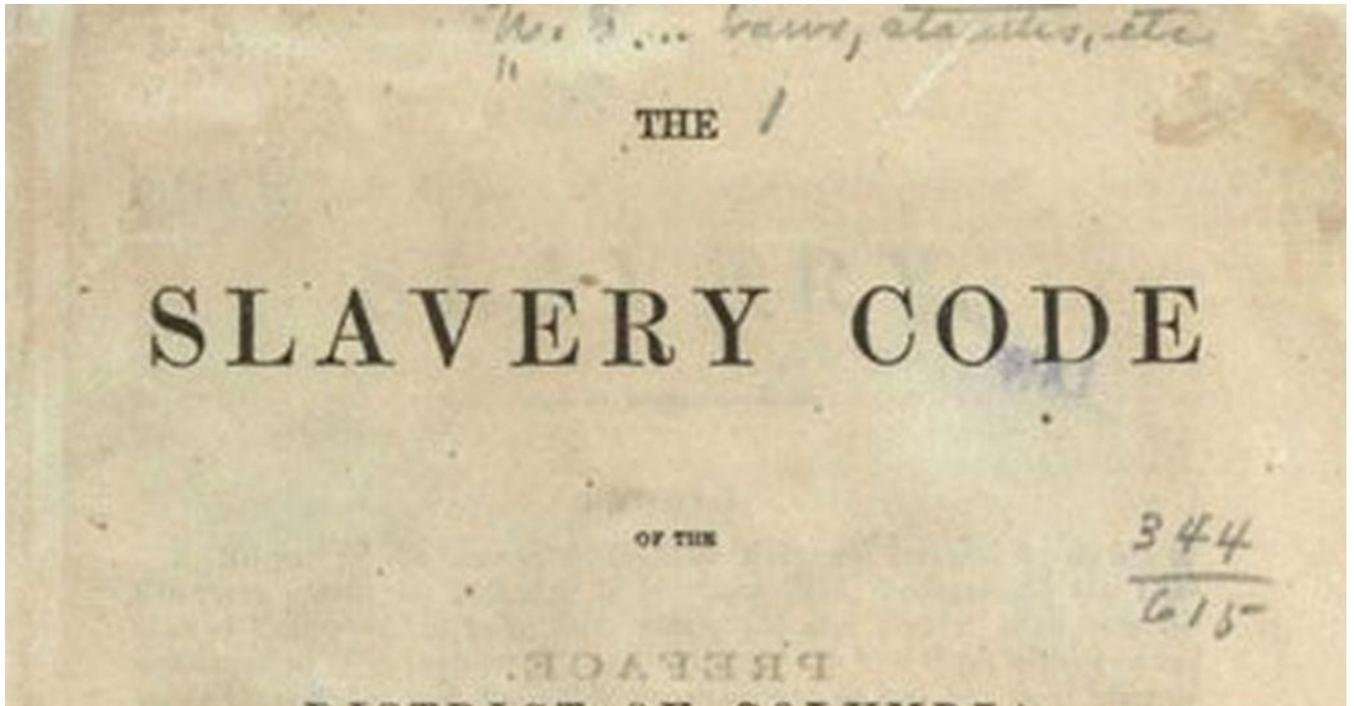
THE GALLANT CHARGE OF THE FIFTY-FOURTH MASSACHUSETTS COLORED REGIMENT.

1863 July 18

The 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry led a heroic attack on Fort Wagner in South Carolina. The 54th was the first all-black regiment recruited in the North for the Union army. As many as 185,000 black soldiers fought on the side of the Union.

1865 December 6

The 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution was ratified, outlawing slavery.



IN 1705, THE VIRGINIA SLAVE CODE DECLARES ALL SLAVES AS PROPERTY. MEANING SLAVE OWNERS CAN, BEAT AND KILL SLAVES WITHOUT PUNISHMENT.

The Virginia Slave Codes

1705

The status of blacks in Virginia slowly changed over the last half of the 17th century. The black indentured servant, with his hope of freedom, was increasingly being

replaced by the black slave.

In 1705, the Virginia General Assembly removed any lingering uncertainty about this terrible transformation; it made a declaration that would seal the fate of African Americans for generations to come...

"All servants imported and brought into the Country...who were not Christians in their native Country...shall be accounted and be slaves. All Negro, mulatto and Indian slaves within this dominion...shall be held to be real estate. If any slave resist his master...correcting such slave, and shall happen to be killed in such correction...the master shall be free of all punishment...as if such accident never happened."

The code, which would also serve as a model for other colonies, went even further. The law imposed harsh physical punishments, since enslaved persons who did not own property could not be required to pay fines. It stated that slaves needed written permission to leave their plantation, that slaves found guilty of murder or rape would be hanged, that for robbing or any other major offence, the slave would receive sixty lashes and be placed in stocks, where his or her ears would be cut off, and that for minor offences, such as associating with whites, slaves would be whipped, branded, or maimed.

For the 17th century slave in Virginia, disputes with a master could be brought before a court for judgement.

With the slave codes of 1705, this no longer was the case. A slave owner who sought to break the most rebellious of slaves could now do so, knowing any punishment he inflicted, including death, would not result in even the slightest reprimand.

The arrival of the first captives to the Jamestown Colony, in 1619, is often seen “as the beginning of slavery in America”—but “enslaved Africans” arrived in North America “as early as the 1500s.”

(This is the stuff, I love digging into...)

“People of African descent have been ‘here’ longer than the English colonies!”

Africans had a notable presence in the Americas before colonization

Prior to 1619, hundreds of thousands of Africans, both free and enslaved, aided the establishment and survival of colonies in the Americas and the New World. They also fought against European oppression, and, in some instances, hindered the systematic spread of colonization.

Christopher Columbus “likely transported” the first Africans to the Americas in the late 1490s on his expeditions to Hispaniola, now part of the Dominican Republic. Their exact status, whether “free or enslaved, remains disputed”. But the timeline fits with what we know of the origins of “the slave trade.”

European trade of “enslaved Africans” began in the 1400s. “The first example we have of Africans being taken against their will and put on board European ships would take the story back to “1441,” says Guasco, when the Portuguese captured 12 Africans in Cabo Branco—modern-day Mauritania in north Africa—and brought them to Portugal as “enslaved peoples.”

In the region that would become the United States, there were “no enslaved Africans” before the “Spanish occupation of Florida in the early 16th century,” according to [Linda Heywood](#) and [John Thornton](#), professors at Boston University and co-authors of *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660*.

“There were significant numbers who were brought in as early as “1526,” says Heywood. That year, some of these “enslaved Africans” became part of a “Spanish expedition” to establish an outpost in

what is now South Carolina. They rebelled, preventing the Spanish from founding the colony.

The uprising didn't stop the inflow of "enslaved Africans" to Spanish Florida. "We don't know how many followed, but there was certainly "a slave population" around [St. Augustine](#)," says Heywood.

"Africans also played a role in England's early colonization efforts". "Enslaved Africans" may have been on board [Sir Francis Drake's](#) fleet when he arrived at [Roanoke Island](#) in 1586 and failed to establish the first permanent English settlement in America. He and his cousin, John Hawkins, made three voyages to Guinea and Sierra Leone and enslaved between 1,200 and 1,400 Africans.

Although not part of present-day America, Africans from the West Indies were also present in the English colony of Bermuda in 1616, where they provided expert knowledge of "tobacco cultivation" to the Virginia Company.

Focusing on the "English colonies" omits the "global nature of slavery."

From an Anglo-American perspective, 1619 is considered the beginning of slavery, just like Jamestown and Plymouth symbolize the beginnings of "America" from an English-speaking point of view.

But divorcing the idea of North America's “first slaves” from the overall context of “slavery in the Americas,” especially when the U.S. was not formed for another 157 years, is not historically accurate.

“We would do well to remember that much of what played out in places like Virginia were the result of things that had already happened in Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, Peru, Brazil and elsewhere,” says Guasco.

“The English took note of their fellow Europeans’ role in “enslavement and the slave trade,” says Mark Summers, a public historian at [Jamestown Rediscovery](#).

In the context of the broader Atlantic world, the colony and the “institution of slavery” developed from “a chain of events involving multiple actors.”

Still, U.S. school curricula tend to ignore much of what happened in the Atlantic prior to the Jamestown settlement and also the colonial projects of other countries that became part of America, such as Dutch New York, Swedish Delaware and French-Spanish Louisiana and Florida.

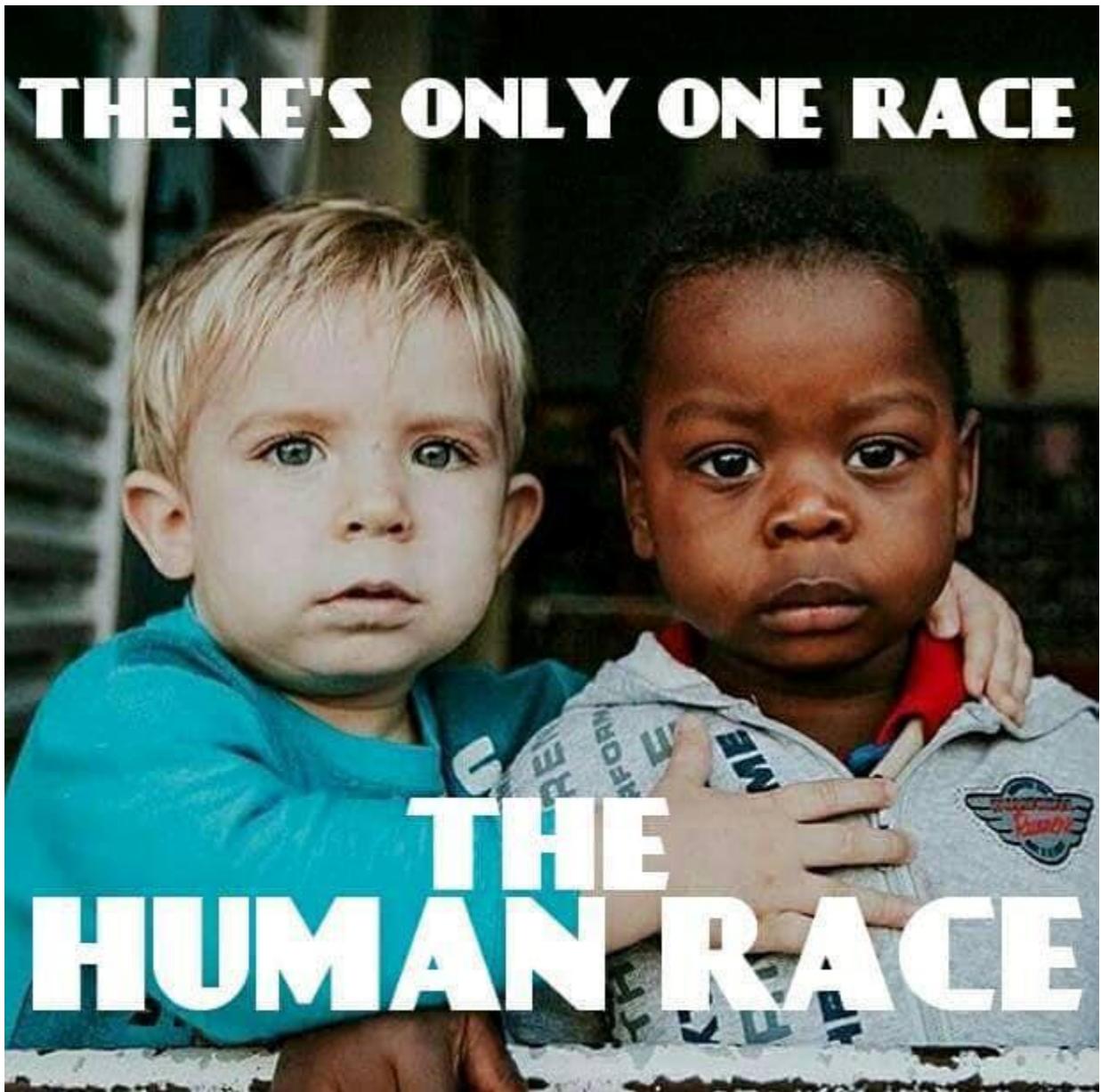
“There is both an Anglo-centrism and east coast bias to much of traditional American history,” says Summers.

While Heywood and Thornton acknowledge that 1619 remains “a key date for slavery in America,” they also argue that focusing too much on “the first enslaved people at Jamestown” can distort our understanding of history. “It does so by failing to understand that “the development of slavery” was “a gradual process,” and that laws other than English laws applied,” says Thornton.

In 1619, slavery, as codified by law, did not yet exist in Virginia or elsewhere in places that would later become the United States.

But any question about the status of black people in the colonies—“free, enslaved or indentured servants”—was made clear with the passage of the Virginia Slave Codes of 1705, a series of laws that stripped away legal rights and legalized the barbaric and dehumanizing nature of slavery.

As Guasco puts it, “The Spanish, Portuguese and English were “co-conspirators” in what we would now consider “a crime against humanity.”



Race and Ethnicity Defined

The term **race** refers to groups of people who have differences and similarities in biological traits deemed by society to be **socially significant**, meaning that people treat other people differently because of them. For instance, while differences and similarities in eye color have not been treated as socially significant, differences and similarities in skin color have.

Although some scholars have attempted to establish dozens of racial groupings for the peoples of the world, others have suggested four or five. An example of a *racial category* is *Asian (or Mongoloid)*, with its associated facial, hair color, and body type features. Yet too many exceptions to this sort of racial grouping have been found to make any racial categorizations truly viable. This fact has led many sociologists to indicate that no clear-cut races exist- only assorted physical and genetic variations across human individuals and groups.

Certainly, obvious physical differences- some of which are inherited- exist between humans. But how these variations form the basis for social prejudice and discrimination has nothing to do with genetics but rather with a social phenomenon related to outward appearances. **Racism**, then, is prejudice based on socially significant physical features. A **racist** believes that certain people are superior, or inferior, to others in light of

racial differences. Racists approve of **segregation**, or the social and physical separation of classes of people.

Ethnicity refers to shared cultural practices, perspectives, and distinctions that set apart one group of people from another. That is, ethnicity is a shared cultural heritage. The most common characteristics distinguishing various ethnic groups are ancestry, a sense of history, language, religion, and forms of dress. Ethnic differences are not inherited; they are *learned*.

Most countries today consist of different ethnic groups. Ideally, countries strive for **pluralism**, where people of all ethnicities and races remain distinct but have social equality. As an example, the United States is exceptionally diverse, with people representing groups from all over the globe, but lacking in true pluralism. The same can be said of the ethnic diversity of the former Soviet Union with its more than 100 ethnic groups, some having more than a million members.

- **American Indian or Alaska Native.**
- **Asian.**
- **Black or African American.**
- **Hispanic or Latino.**
- **Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander.**
- **White.**

The Caucasian race (also Caucasoid or Europid) is a grouping of human beings historically regarded as a biological taxon, which, depending on which of the historical race classifications is used, has usually included some or all of the ancient and modern populations of Europe, Western Asia, Central Asia, South Asia.

The U.S. Census Bureau defines the **ethnonym+ Hispanic or Latino** to refer to "a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" and states that Hispanics or Latinos can be of any race, any ancestry, any ethnicity.

An ethnonym (from the Greek: , *éthnos*, "nation" and , *ónoma*, "name") is a name applied to a given ethnic group.

Black people is a skin group-based classification used for specific people with a mid to dark brown complexion. Not all "black people" are dark skinned. However, in certain countries, often in socially based systems of racial classification in the Western World, it is used to describe persons who are perceived to be dark-skinned when compared to other populations. Depending on the usage, it is mostly used for the

people of Sub-Saharan Africa and the indigenous peoples of Oceania, Southeast Asia and India.

Different societies apply differing criteria regarding who is classified as "black", and these social constructs have also changed over time. In a number of countries, societal variables affect classification as much as skin color, and the social criteria for "blackness" vary. In the United Kingdom, "black" was historically equivalent with "person of color", a general term for non-European peoples. In other regions such as Australasia, settlers applied the term "black" or it was used by local populations with different histories and ancestral backgrounds.

For many other individuals, communities and countries, "black" is also perceived as a derogatory, outdated, reductive or otherwise unrepresentative label, and as a result is neither used nor defined in African cultures that have dealt with little-to-no colonial history. Some have pointed out that labeling people groups "black" is erroneous due to the fact that the people being labeled as "black" have a brown skin color.

Pacific Islander Americans make up 0.5% of the U.S. population including those with partial Pacific Islander ancestry, enumerating about 1.4 million people. The largest ethnic subgroups of Pacific Islander Americans are Native Hawaiians, Samoans, Chamorros, Fijians, Marshallese and Tongans.

The 2000 and 2010 U.S. Census Bureau definition of **the Asian race** is: "people having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent (for example, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam)".

What is an American Indian or Alaska Native?

According to OMB, **“American Indian or Alaska Native”** refers to a person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America) and who maintains tribal affiliation or community attachment. The OMB is the Office of Management and Budget.

The State of Wisconsin

A dizzying array of migrations have created the United States' current populace. When Europeans first came to North America, there were about 4 million Native Americans living in what is now the United States. The slave trade brought more than 470,000 African people to the continent over the course of 300 years. And between 1776 and 2013, the U.S. admitted more than 78 million immigrants from Europe, Latin America, and Asia.

Wisconsin is less diverse than the United States as a whole. According to U.S. Census data from 2014, people who are "white alone" make up about 62.8 percent of the national population and 82.7 percent of Wisconsin's.

Wisconsin's racial minority population increased 500 percent between 1970 and 2013 whereas its white population grew by about 50 percent.

African Americans are the largest racial minority group in Wisconsin. The state's African-American population has its origins in the 19th century, but most people arrived after World War II.

Hispanic Americans are the second-largest group, but there is a lack of data about Hispanic

immigration into Wisconsin before 1970. Over the course of the 1990s and early 21st century, Hispanics have become the fastest-growing minority group in the state.

(The term "Hispanic" it should be noted that "Hispanic" and "Latino" are not interchangeable words. The first term refers to people from the Spanish-speaking world, while the second refers to people with ancestry in Latin America.)

Surveys of Wisconsinites' ethnic heritage show that German-descended people are the biggest ancestry group by far in the state, with more than 2 million members as of the year 2000.

.

As recently as 1980, most of Wisconsin's foreign-born population came from Europe. In the decades since, the state's largest foreign-born groups have originally come from Latin America and Asia.

- The racial groups with the lowest median ages tend to be minorities as well — Hispanics, followed by Asian Americans and African Americans. This trend tends to mean that these groups are growing quickly and have higher birth rates.

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Milwaukee

38.3% of Milwaukee's population reports having African American ancestry, while 21% claim German descent. Other common ancestry groups in the city include Polish (8.8%), Irish (6.5%), Italian (3.6%) and English (2.8%). ... Milwaukee County's population is 55% white, and the county's African American community is 27%. Jul 11, 2019

Oak Creek

According to our most recent statistics that are available: Oak Creek is comprised of:

78.2 % White

3.6% Black or African American

6.6% Asian

0% American Indian or Pacific Islander

1.8% Mixed Race (Two or more races)

8.9% Hispanic or Latino

What does this say about our racial diversity?

Jim Crow Laws

(What are they?)

Jim Crow laws were state and local laws that enforced racial segregation in the Southern United States. All were enacted in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by white Democratic-dominated state legislatures after the Reconstruction period. The laws were enforced until 1965. In practice, Jim Crow laws mandated racial segregation in all public facilities in the states of the former Confederate States of America and other states, starting in the 1870s and 1880s. Jim Crow laws were upheld in 1896 in the case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, in which the U.S. Supreme Court laid out its "separate but equal" legal doctrine for facilities for African Americans. Moreover, public education had essentially been segregated since its establishment in most of the South after the Civil War (1861-65).

The legal principle of "separate but equal" racial segregation was extended to public facilities and transportation, including the coaches of interstate trains and buses. Facilities for African Americans and Native Americans were consistently inferior and underfunded compared to the facilities for white Americans; sometimes, there were no facilities for people of color.

As a body of law, Jim Crow institutionalized economic, educational, and social disadvantages for African Americans and other people of color living in the South.

Jim Crow laws and Jim Crow state constitutional provisions mandated the segregation of public schools, public places, and public transportation, and the segregation of restrooms, restaurants, and drinking fountains for whites and blacks. The U.S. military was already segregated. President Woodrow Wilson, a Southern Democrat, initiated the segregation of federal workplaces in 1913.

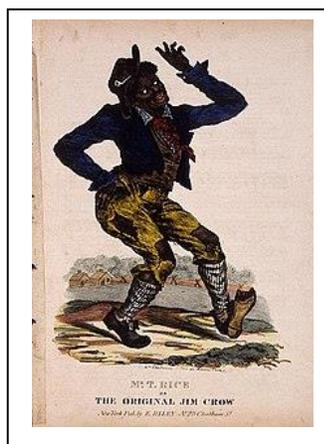
In 1954, segregation of public schools (state-sponsored) was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren in landmark case *Brown v. Board of Education*. In some states, it took many years to implement this decision, while the Warren Court continued to rule against the Jim Crow laws in other cases such as *Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States (1964)*. Generally, the remaining Jim Crow laws were overruled by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Etymology

The phrase "Jim Crow Law" can be found as early as 1892 in the title of a *New York Times* article about Louisiana requiring segregated railroad cars. The origin of the phrase "Jim Crow" has often been attributed to "Jump Jim Crow", a song-and-dance caricature of blacks performed by white actor Thomas D. Rice in blackface, which first surfaced in 1832 and was used to satirize Andrew Jackson's populist policies. As a result of Rice's fame, "Jim Crow" by 1838 had become a pejorative expression meaning "Negro". When southern legislatures passed laws of racial segregation directed against blacks at the end of the 19th century, these statutes became known as Jim Crow laws.

Origins of Jim Crow laws

In January 1865 an amendment to the Constitution to abolish slavery in the United States was proposed by Congress, and on December 18, 1865, it was ratified as the [Thirteenth Amendment](#) formally abolishing slavery.



During the [Reconstruction](#) period of 1865. 1877, federal laws provided civil rights protections in the [U.S. South](#) for [freedmen](#), the African Americans who had formerly been slaves, and the minority of blacks who had been free before the war. In the 1870s, [Democrats](#) gradually regained power in the Southern legislatures, having used [insurgent paramilitary](#) groups, such as the [White League](#) and the [Red Shirts](#), to disrupt Republican organizing, run Republican officeholders out of town, and intimidate blacks to suppress their voting. Extensive voter fraud was also used. [Gubernatorial](#) elections were close and had been disputed in [Louisiana](#) for years, with increasing violence against blacks during campaigns from 1868 onward.

In 1877, a national Democratic Party [compromise](#) to gain Southern support in the presidential election (a [corrupt bargain](#)) resulted in the government's withdrawing the last of the federal troops from the South. White Democrats had regained political power in every Southern state. These Southern, white, Democratic [Redeemer](#) governments legislated Jim Crow laws, officially segregating black people from the white population.

Blacks were still elected to local offices throughout the 1880s, but their voting was suppressed for state and national elections.

Democrats passed laws to make voter registration and electoral rules more restrictive, with the result that political participation by most blacks and many poor whites began to decrease. Between 1890 and 1910, ten of the eleven former [Confederate states](#), starting with [Mississippi](#), passed new constitutions or amendments that effectively [disenfranchised](#) most blacks and tens of thousands of poor whites through a combination of [poll taxes](#), [literacy](#) and comprehension tests, and residency and record-keeping requirements. [Grandfather clauses](#) temporarily permitted some illiterate whites to vote but gave no relief to most blacks.

Voter turnout dropped drastically through the South as a result of such measures. In Louisiana, by 1900, black voters were reduced to 5,320 on the rolls, although they comprised the majority of the state's population.

By 1910, only 730 blacks were registered, less than 0.5% of eligible black men. "In 27 of the state's 60 parishes, not a single black voter was registered any longer; in 9 more parishes, only one black voter was." The cumulative effect in [North Carolina](#) meant that black voters were completely eliminated from voter rolls during the period from 1896. 1904.

The growth of their thriving middle class was slowed.

In North Carolina and other Southern states, blacks suffered from being made invisible in the political system: "Within a decade of disfranchisement, the [white supremacy](#) campaign had erased the image of the [black middle class](#) from the minds of white North Carolinians." In [Alabama](#) tens of thousands of poor whites were also disenfranchised, although initially legislators had promised them they would not be affected adversely by the new restrictions.

Those who could not vote were not eligible to serve on juries and could not run for local offices. They effectively disappeared from political life, as they could not influence the state legislatures, and their interests were overlooked.

While public schools had been established by Reconstruction legislatures for the first time in most Southern states, those for black children were consistently underfunded compared to schools for white children, even when considered within the strained finances of the postwar South where the decreasing price of cotton kept the agricultural economy at a low.

Like schools, public libraries for blacks and Native Americans were underfunded, if they existed at all, and they were often stocked with secondhand books and other resources.

These facilities were not introduced for African Americans in the South until the first decade of the 20th century.

Throughout the Jim Crow era, libraries were only available sporadically.

Prior to the 20th century, most libraries established for African Americans were school-library combinations. Many public libraries for both European-American and African-American patrons in this period were founded as the result of middle-class activism aided by matching grants from the [Carnegie Foundation](#).

In 1887, Rev. W. H. Heard lodged a complaint with the [Interstate Commerce Commission](#) against the [Georgia Railroad](#) company for discrimination, citing its provision of different cars for white and black/colored passengers. The company successfully appealed for relief on the grounds it offered "separate but equal" accommodation.

In 1890, Louisiana passed a law requiring separate accommodations for colored and white passengers on railroads.

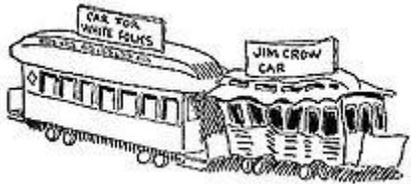
Louisiana law distinguished between "white", "black" and "colored" (that is, people of mixed European and African ancestry). The law had already specified that blacks could not ride with white people, but colored people could ride with whites before 1890.

A group of concerned black, colored and white citizens in [New Orleans](#) formed an association dedicated to rescinding the law. The group persuaded [Homer Plessy](#) to test it; he was a man of color who was of fair complexion and one-eighth "Negro" in ancestry.

In 1892, Plessy bought a first-class ticket from New Orleans on the East Louisiana Railway. Once he had boarded the train, he informed the train conductor of his racial lineage and took a seat in the whites-only car. He was directed to leave that car and sit instead in the "coloreds only" car. Plessy refused and was immediately arrested. The Citizens Committee of New Orleans fought the case all the way to the United States Supreme Court. They lost in [Plessy v. Ferguson](#) (1896), in which the Court ruled that "separate but equal" facilities were constitutional. The finding contributed to 58 more years of legalized discrimination against black and colored people in the United States.

In 1908 Congress defeated an attempt to introduce segregated streetcars into the capital.

Racism in the United States and defenses of Jim Crow flourished.



1904 caricature of "White" and "Jim Crow" rail cars by [John T. McCutcheon](#).

Despite Jim Crow's legal pretense that the races be "separate but equal" under the law, non-whites were given inferior facilities and treatment.

White Southerners encountered problems in learning free labor management after the end of slavery, and they resented black Americans, who represented the [Confederacy's](#) Civil War defeat: "With [white supremacy](#) being challenged throughout the South, many whites sought to protect their former status by threatening African Americans who exercised their new rights."

White Democrats used their power to segregate public spaces and facilities in law and reestablish social dominance over blacks in the South.

One rationale for the systematic exclusion of black Americans from southern public society was that it was for their own protection.

An early 20th-century scholar suggested that allowing blacks to attend white schools would mean "constantly subjecting them to adverse feeling and opinion", which might lead to "a morbid race consciousness".

This perspective took anti-black sentiment for granted, because bigotry was widespread in the South after slavery became a racial [caste](#) system.

Post-World War II era

After World War II, people of color increasingly challenged segregation, as they believed they had more than earned the right to be treated as full citizens because of their military service and sacrifices.

The Civil Rights Movement was energized by a number of flashpoints, including the 1946 police beating and blinding of World War II veteran [Isaac Woodard](#) while he was in U.S. Army uniform. In 1948 President [Harry S. Truman](#) issued [Executive Order 9981](#), desegregating the armed services.

As the Civil Rights Movement gained momentum and used federal courts to attack Jim Crow statutes, the white-dominated governments of many of the southern states countered by passing alternative forms of restrictions:

The [NAACP](#) Legal Defense Committee (a group that became independent of the NAACP) . and its lawyer, [Thurgood Marshall](#) . brought the landmark case [Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka](#), [347 U.S. 483](#) (1954) before the [U.S. Supreme Court](#) under Chief Justice [Earl Warren](#).

In its pivotal 1954 decision, the [Warren Court](#) unanimously (9-0) overturned the 1896 Plessy decision.

The Supreme Court found that legally mandated (*de jure*) public school segregation was unconstitutional. The decision had far-reaching social ramifications.

History has shown that problems of educating poor children are not confined to minority status, and states and cities have continued to grapple with approaches.

The court ruling did not stop de facto or residentially based school segregation.

Such segregation continues today in many regions. Some city school systems have also begun to focus on issues of economic and class segregation rather than racial segregation, as they have found that problems are more prevalent when the children of the poor of any ethnic group are concentrated.

Associate Justice [Frank Murphy](#) introduced the word "racism" into the lexicon of U.S. Supreme Court opinions in [Korematsu v. United States](#), [323 U.S. 214](#) (1944).

He stated that by upholding the forced relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II, the Court was sinking into "the ugly abyss of racism".

This was the first time that "racism" was used in Supreme Court opinion (Murphy used it twice in a concurring opinion in [*Steele v Louisville & Nashville Railway Co* 323 192](#) (1944) issued that day).

Murphy used the word in five separate opinions, but after he left the court, "racism" was not used again in an opinion for two decades. It next appeared in the landmark decision of [*Loving v. Virginia*, 388 U.S. 1](#) (1967).

Interpretation of the Constitution and its application to minority rights continues to be controversial as Court membership changes.

Observers such as Ian F. Lopez believe that in the 2000s, the Supreme Court has become more protective of the status quo.

Courts

In 1971, the Supreme Court, in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, upheld desegregation busing of students to achieve integration.

Public arena

In 1955, [Rosa Parks](#) refused to give up her seat on a city bus to a white man in [Montgomery, Alabama](#). This was not the first time this happened - for example Parks was inspired by 15 year old [Claudette Colvin](#) doing the same thing nine months earlier - but the Parks act of [civil disobedience](#) was chosen, symbolically, as an important catalyst in the growth of the Civil Rights Movement; activists built the Montgomery Bus Boycott around it, which lasted more than a year and resulted in desegregation of the privately run buses in the city.

Civil rights protests and actions, together with legal challenges, resulted in a series of legislative and court decisions which contributed to undermining the Jim Crow system.

Numerous ~~%~~boycotts and demonstrations+against ~~%~~segregation+has occurred throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

The NAACP had been engaged in a series of litigation cases since the early 20th century in effort to combat laws that disenfranchised black voters across the South.

Some of the early demonstrations achieved positive results, strengthening political activism, especially in the post-World War II years.

Black veterans were impatient with social oppression after having fought for the United States and freedom across the world.

In 1947 [K. Leroy Irvis](#) of [Pittsburgh](#)'s Urban League, for instance, led a demonstration against employment discrimination by the city's department stores. It was the beginning of his own influential political career.

End of *de jure* segregation



President Johnson signs the [Civil Rights Act of 1964](#)

In January 1964, President Lyndon Johnson met with civil rights leaders.

On January 8, during his first State of the Union address, Johnson asked Congress to "let this session of Congress be known as the session which did more for civil rights than the last hundred sessions combined."

On June 21, civil rights workers [Michael Schwerner](#), [Andrew Goodman](#), and [James Chaney disappeared](#) in [Neshoba County, Mississippi](#), where they were volunteering in the registration of African-American voters as part of the Mississippi Summer Project.

The disappearance of the three activists captured national attention and the ensuing outrage was used by Johnson and civil rights activists to build a coalition of northern and western Democrats and Republicans and push [Congress](#) to pass the [Civil Rights Act of 1964](#).

On July 2, 1964, Johnson signed the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964.

It invoked the [Commerce Clause](#) to outlaw discrimination in public accommodations (privately owned restaurants, hotels, and stores, and in private schools and workplaces).

This use of the Commerce Clause was upheld by [Warren Court](#) in landmark case [Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States](#) 379 US 241 (1964).

By 1965, efforts to break the grip of state disenfranchisement by education for voter registration in southern counties had been under way for some time, but had achieved only modest success overall.

In some areas of the Deep South, white resistance made these efforts almost entirely ineffectual.

The murder of the three voting-rights activists in Mississippi in 1964 and the state's refusal to prosecute the murderers, along with numerous other acts of violence and terrorism against blacks, had gained national attention.

Finally, the [unprovoked attack on March 7, 1965](#), by county and state troopers on peaceful Alabama marchers crossing the [Edmund Pettus Bridge](#) en route from Selma to the state capital of [Montgomery](#), persuaded the President and Congress to overcome Southern legislators' resistance to effective voting rights enforcement legislation.

President Johnson issued a call for a strong voting rights law and hearings soon began on the bill that would become the Voting Rights Act.

The [Voting Rights Act of 1965](#) ended legally sanctioned state barriers to voting for all federal, state and local elections.

It also provided for federal oversight and monitoring of counties with historically low minority voter turnout

%Years of enforcement% have been needed to overcome resistance, and additional legal challenges have been made in the courts to ensure the ability of voters to elect candidates of their choice.

For instance, many cities and counties introduced [at-large](#) election of council members, which resulted in many cases of diluting minority votes and preventing election of minority-supported candidates.

Although sometimes counted among "Jim Crow laws" of the South, such statutes as [anti-miscegenation laws](#) were also passed by other states.

In the United States, anti-miscegenation laws (also known as miscegenation laws) were [state laws](#) passed by individual states to prohibit [interracial marriage](#) and interracial sex.

Anti-miscegenation laws were a part of American law, in some States since before the United States was established and remained so until ruled unconstitutional in 1967 by the U.S. Supreme Court in [Loving v. Virginia](#).

The term [miscegenation](#) was first used in 1863, during the [American Civil War](#), by American journalists to discredit the [abolitionist movement](#) by stirring up debate over the prospect of interracial marriage after the abolition of slavery.

In those of the original [Thirteen Colonies](#) that became states and enacted such laws, they were enacted as state law in the early 18th century; a century or more after [the complete racialization of slavery](#).

Typically defining miscegenation as a [felony](#), these laws prohibited the solemnization of weddings between persons of different races and prohibited the officiating of such ceremonies.

Sometimes, the individuals attempting to marry would not be held guilty of miscegenation itself, but felony charges of [adultery](#) or [fornication](#) would be brought against them instead.

All anti-miscegenation laws banned the marriage of whites and non-white groups, primarily blacks, but often also Native Americans and Asians.

In many states, anti-miscegenation laws also criminalized cohabitation and sex between whites and non-whites.

In addition, the state of [Oklahoma](#) in 1908 banned marriage "between a person of African descent" and "any person not of African descent"; [Louisiana](#) in 1920 banned marriage between [Native Americans](#) and African Americans (and from 1920. 1942, [concubinage](#) as well); and [Maryland](#) in 1935 banned marriages between blacks and [Filipinos](#).

While anti-miscegenation laws are often regarded as a Southern phenomenon, most western and [plains states](#) also enacted them.

Although anti-miscegenation amendments were proposed in [United States Congress](#) in 1871, 1912. 1913 and 1928, a nationwide law against racially mixed marriages was never enacted.

Prior to the California Supreme Court's ruling in [Perez v. Sharp](#) (1948), no court in the United States had ever struck down a ban on interracial marriage. In 1967, the [United States Supreme Court](#) (the [Warren Court](#)) unanimously ruled in [Loving v. Virginia](#) that anti-miscegenation laws are [unconstitutional](#).

Anti-miscegenation laws were not repealed by the [Civil Rights Act of 1964](#), but were declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court (the [Warren Court](#)) in a unanimous ruling [Loving v. Virginia](#) (1967).

African-American life



An African-American man drinking at a "colored" drinking fountain in a streetcar terminal in [Oklahoma City](#), Oklahoma, 1939

The Jim Crow laws and the high rate of [lynchings](#) in the South were major factors which led to [the Great Migration](#) during the first half of the 20th century. Because opportunities were so limited in the South, African Americans moved in great numbers to cities in Northeastern, Midwestern, and Western states to seek better lives.

Despite the hardship and prejudice of the Jim Crow era, several black entertainers and literary figures gained broad popularity with white audiences in the early 20th century.

They included luminaries such as tap dancers Bill "Bojangles" Robinson and the [Nicholas Brothers](#), jazz musicians such as [Louis Armstrong](#), [Duke Ellington](#) and [Count Basie](#), and the actress [Hattie McDaniel](#).

In 1939 McDaniel was the first black person to receive an Academy Award when she won the [Best Supporting Actress](#) Oscar for her performance as Mammy in [Gone with the Wind](#).

African-American athletes faced much discrimination during the Jim Crow period. White opposition led to their exclusion from most organized sporting competitions.

The boxers [Jack Johnson](#) and [Joe Louis](#) (both of whom became world heavyweight boxing champions) and track and field athlete [Jesse Owens](#)

(who won four gold medals at the [1936 Summer Olympics](#) in Berlin) earned fame during this era.

In baseball, a [color line](#) instituted in the 1880s had informally barred blacks from playing in the [major leagues](#), leading to the development of the [Negro Leagues](#), which featured many fine players.

A major breakthrough occurred in 1947, when [Jackie Robinson](#) was hired as the first African American to play in Major League Baseball; he permanently broke the color bar. Baseball teams continued to integrate in the following years, leading to the full participation of black baseball players in the Major Leagues in the 1960s.

Remembrance

[Ferris State University](#) in [Big Rapids, Michigan](#), houses the [Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia](#), an extensive collection of everyday items that promoted racial segregation or presented racial [stereotypes of African Americans](#), for the purpose of academic research and education about their cultural influence.



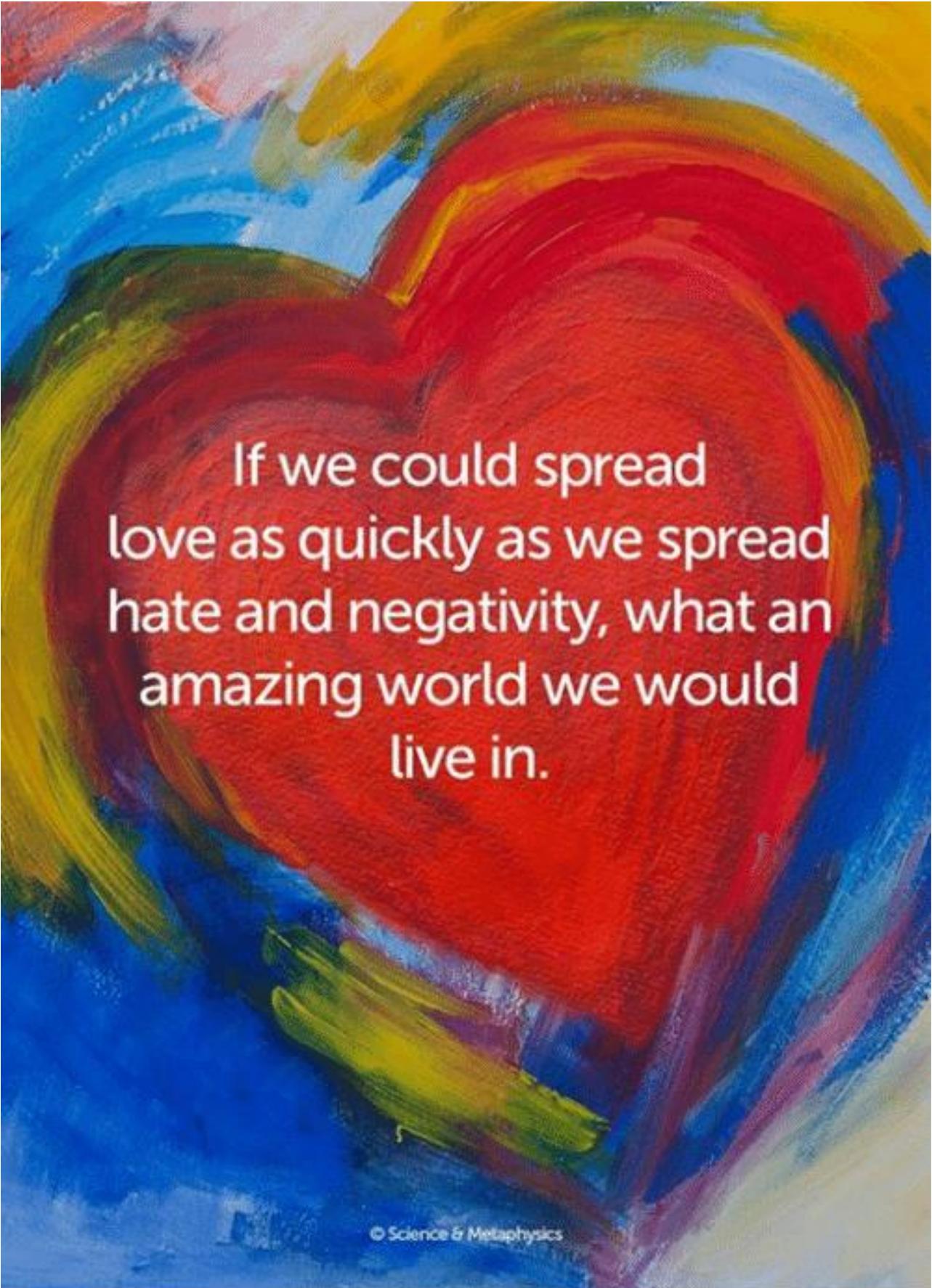
Today marks 40 years since the ordination of The Rev. Earlean Miller, the first African-American Lutheran woman to be ordained as pastor.

Rev. Miller earned her Master of Divinity degree from the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago.

On August 26, 1979, Rev. Miller was ordained as pastor in the Lutheran Church in America (LCA).

Rev. Miller's pastoral assignments included:

Prince of Peace Lutheran Church in Greensboro, NC; Calvary Lutheran Church in Minneapolis, MN; St. Paul Lutheran Church in Chicago, IL; Hope Lutheran Church in Columbus, OH; and Good Shepherd Lutheran Church in Robbins, IL. Rev. Miller served the church on numerous boards and committees including: The Task Force of New Church Design, Synod Evangelism (MN Synod - LCA), Board of Directors of Greensboro, NC Urban Ministry, Board of Directors of Women's Abuse of Substance Intervention Tactics (Columbus, OH), and the Committee on Discipline (Metro Chicago Synod). We are grateful for Rev. Miller's trailblazing leadership and we remember and celebrate her today! (Picture and Content Source: Rev. Miller's funeral program)



If we could spread
love as quickly as we spread
hate and negativity, what an
amazing world we would
live in.

What Is White Privilege, Really?

Today, white privilege is often described through the lens of Peggy McIntosh's groundbreaking essay "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack."

Originally published in 1988, the essay helps readers recognize white privilege by making its effects personal and tangible. For many, white privilege was an invisible force that white people needed to recognize. It was being able to walk into a store and find that the main displays of shampoo and panty hose were catered toward your hair type and skin tone. It was being able to turn on the television and see people of your race widely represented.

It was being able to move through life without being racially profiled or unfairly stereotyped. All true.

This idea of white privilege as unseen, unconscious advantages took hold. It became easy for people to interpret McIntosh's version of white privilege—fairly or not—as mostly a matter of cosmetics and inconvenience.

Those interpretations overshadow the origins of white privilege, as well as its present-day ability to influence systemic decisions. They overshadow the fact that white privilege is both a legacy and a cause of racism.

And they overshadow the words of many people of color, who for decades recognized white privilege as the result of conscious acts and refused to separate it from historic inequities.

In short, we've forgotten what white privilege really means— which is all of this, all at once. And if we stand behind the belief that recognizing white privilege is integral to the anti-bias work of white educators, we must offer a broader recognition.

A recognition that does not silence the voices of those most affected by white privilege; a recognition that does not ignore where it comes from and why it has staying power.

Racism vs. White Privilege

Having white privilege and recognizing it is not racist. But white privilege exists because of historic, enduring racism and biases. Therefore, defining white privilege also requires finding working definitions of racism and bias.

So, what is racism? One helpful definition comes from Matthew Clair and Jeffrey S. Denise's *Sociology on Racism*.+ They define **racism** as "individual- and group-level processes and structures that are implicated in the reproduction of racial inequality.+ "

Systemic racism happens when these structures or processes are carried out by groups with power, such as governments, businesses or schools. Racism differs from **bias**, which is a conscious or unconscious prejudice against an individual or group based on their identity.

Basically, racial bias is a belief. Racism is what happens when that belief translates into action. For example, a person might unconsciously or consciously believe that people of color are more likely to commit crime or be dangerous. That's a bias. A person might become anxious if they perceive a black person is angry. That stems from a bias. These biases can become racism through a number of actions ranging in severity, and ranging from individual- to group-level responses:

- A person crosses the street to avoid walking next to a group of young black men.
- A person calls 911 to report the presence of a person of color who is otherwise behaving lawfully.
- A police officer shoots an unarmed person of color because he ~~was~~ feared for his life.+
- A jury finds a person of color guilty of a violent crime despite scant evidence.
- A federal intelligence agency prioritizes investigating black and Latino activists rather than investigate white supremacist activity.

Both racism and bias rely on what sociologists call **racialization**. This is the grouping of people based on perceived physical differences, such as skin tone.

This arbitrary grouping of people, historically, fueled biases and became a tool for justifying the cruel treatment and discrimination of non-white people. Colonialism, slavery and Jim Crow laws were all sold with junk science and propaganda that claimed people of a certain race were fundamentally different from those of another and they should be treated accordingly. And while not all white people participated directly in this mistreatment, their learned biases and their safety from such treatment led many to commit one of those most powerful actions: silence.

And just like that, the trauma, displacement, cruel treatment and discrimination of people of color, inevitably, gave birth to white privilege.

So, What Is White Privilege?

White privilege is perhaps most notably in this era of uncivil discourse a concept that has fallen victim to its own connotations. The two-word term packs a double whammy that inspires pushback. 1) The word *white* creates discomfort among those who are not used to being defined or described by their race. And 2) the word *privilege*, especially for poor and rural white people, sounds like a word that doesn't belong to them like a word that suggests they have never struggled.

This defensiveness derails the conversation, which means, unfortunately, that defining white privilege must often begin with defining what it is *not*. Otherwise, only the choir listens; the people you actually want to reach check out. White privilege is *not* the suggestion that white people have never struggled. Many white people do not enjoy the privileges that come with relative affluence, such as food security. Many do not experience the privileges that come with access, such as nearby hospitals.

And white privilege is *not* the assumption that everything a white person has accomplished is unearned; most white people who have reached a high level of success worked extremely hard to get there. Instead, white privilege should be viewed as a built-in advantage, separate from one's level of income or effort.

Francis E. Kendall, author of *Diversity in the Classroom and Understanding White Privilege: Creating Pathways to Authentic Relationships Across Race*, comes close to giving us an encompassing definition: "having greater access to power and resources than people of color [in the same situation] do." But in order to grasp what this means, it's also important to consider how the definition of white privilege has changed over time.

White Privilege Through the Years

In a thorough article, education researcher Jacob Bennett tracked the history of the term. Before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, "white privilege" was less commonly used but generally referred to legal and systemic advantages given to white people by the United States, such as citizenship, the right to vote or the right to buy a house in the neighborhood of their choice.

It was only after discrimination persisted for years after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that people like Peggy McIntosh began to view white privilege as being more psychological—a subconscious prejudice perpetuated by white people's lack of awareness that they held this power. White privilege could be found in day-to-day transactions and in white people's ability to move through the professional and personal worlds with relative ease.

But some people of color continued to insist that an element of white privilege included the aftereffects of conscious choices. For example, if white business leaders didn't hire many people of color, white people had more economic opportunities. Having the ability to maintain that power dynamic, in itself, was a white privilege, and it endures. Legislative bodies, corporate leaders and educators are still disproportionately white and often make conscious choices (laws, hiring practices, discipline procedures) that keep this cycle on repeat.

The more complicated truth: White privilege is both unconsciously enjoyed and consciously perpetuated. It is both on the surface and deeply embedded into American life. It is a weightless knapsack and a weapon.

It depends on who's carrying it.

White Privilege as the “Power of Normal”

Sometimes the examples used to make white privilege visible to those who have it are also the examples least damaging to people who lack it. But that does not mean these examples do not matter or that they do no damage at all.

These subtle versions of white privilege are often used as a comfortable, easy entry point for people who might push back against the concept. That is why they remain so popular. These are simple, everyday things, conveniences white people aren't forced to think about.

These often-used examples include:

- The first-aid kit having flesh-colored Band-Aids that only match the skin tone of white people.
- The products white people need for their hair being in the aisle labeled hair care rather than in a smaller, separate section of ethnic hair products.

- The grocery store stocking a variety of food options that reflect the cultural traditions of most white people.

But the root of these problems is often ignored. These types of examples can be dismissed by white people who might say, "My hair is curly and requires special product," or "My family is from Poland, and it's hard to find traditional Polish food at the grocery store."

This may be true. But the reason even these simple white privileges need to be recognized is that the damage goes beyond the inconvenience of shopping for goods and services. These privileges are symbolic of what we might call "the power of normal." If public spaces and goods seem catered to one race and segregate the needs of people of other races into special sections, that indicates something beneath the surface.

White people become more likely to move through the world with an expectation that their needs be readily met. People of color move through the world knowing their needs are on the margins. Recognizing this means recognizing where gaps exist.

White Privilege as the “Power of the Benefit of the Doubt”

The power of normal goes beyond the local CVS. White people are also more likely to see positive portrayals of people who look like them on the news, on TV shows and in movies. They are more likely to be treated as individuals, rather than as representatives of (or exceptions to) a stereotyped racial identity. In other words, they are more often humanized and granted the benefit of the doubt. They are more likely to receive compassion, to be granted individual potential, to survive mistakes.

This has negative effects for people of color, who, without this privilege, face the consequences of racial profiling, stereotypes and lack of compassion for their struggles.

In these scenarios, white privilege includes the facts that:

- White people are less likely to be followed, interrogated or searched by law enforcement because they look suspicious.
- White people's skin tone will not be a reason people hesitate to trust their credit or financial responsibility.
- If white people are accused of a crime, they are less likely to be presumed guilty, less likely to be sentenced to death and more likely to be portrayed in

a fair, nuanced manner by media outlets (see the #IfTheyGunnedMeDown campaign).

- The personal faults or missteps of white people will likely not be used to later deny opportunities or compassion to people who share their racial identity.

This privilege is invisible to many white people because it seems reasonable that a person should be extended compassion as they move through the world. It seems logical that a person should have the chance to prove themselves individually before they are judged. It's supposedly an American ideal.

But it's a privilege often not granted to people of color with dire consequences.

For example, programs like New York City's now-abandoned Stop and Frisk policy target a disproportionate number of black and Latinx people. People of color are more likely to be arrested for drug offenses despite using at a similar rate to white people. Some people do not survive these stereotypes. In 2017, people of color who were unarmed and not attacking anyone were more likely to be killed by police.

Those who survive instances of racial profiling—be they subtle or violent—do not escape unaffected. They often suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, and this trauma in turn affects their friends, families and immediate communities, who are exposed to their own vulnerability as a result.

A study conducted in Australia (which has its own hard history of subjugating black and Indigenous people) perfectly illustrates how white privilege can manifest in day-to-day interactions. Daily reminders that one is not worthy of the same benefit of the doubt given to another. In the experiment, people of different racial and ethnic identities tried to board public buses, telling the driver they didn't have enough money to pay for the ride. Researchers documented more than 1,500 attempts. The results: 72 percent of white people were allowed to stay on the bus. Only 36 percent of black people were extended the same kindness.

Just as people of color did nothing to deserve this unequal treatment, white people did not ~~earn~~ disproportionate access to compassion and fairness. They receive it as the byproduct of systemic racism and bias.

And even if they are not aware of it in their daily lives as they walk along the streets, this privilege is the result of conscious choices made long ago and choices still being made today.

White Privilege as the “Power of Accumulated Power”

Perhaps the most important lesson about white privilege is the one that's taught the least.

The power of normal and the power of the benefit of the doubt are not just subconscious byproducts of past discrimination. They are the purposeful results of racism— an ouroboros of sorts— that allow for the constant re-creation of inequality.

These powers would not exist if systemic racism hadn't come first. And systemic racism cannot endure unless those powers still hold sway.

You can imagine it as something of a whiteness water cycle, wherein racism is the rain. That rain populates the earth, giving some areas more access to life and resources than others. The evaporation is white privilege— an invisible phenomenon that is both a result of the rain and the reason it keeps going.

McIntosh asked herself an important question that inspired her famous essay, “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack”: “On a daily basis, what do I have that I didn't earn?” Our work should include asking the two

looming follow-up questions: *Who built that system? Who keeps it going?*

The answers to those questions could fill several books. But they produce examples of white privilege that you won't find in many broad explainer pieces.

For example, the ability to accumulate wealth has long been a white privilege— a privilege created by overt, systemic racism in both the public and private sectors. In 2014, the Pew Research Center released a report that revealed the median net worth of a white household was \$141,900; for black and Hispanic households, that dropped to \$11,000 and \$13,700, respectively. The gap is huge, and the great ~~equalizers~~ don't narrow it. Research from Brandeis University and Demos found that the racial wealth gap is not closed when people of color attend college (the median white person who went to college has 7.2 times more wealth than the median black person who went to college, and 3.9 times more than the median Latino person who went to college). Nor do they close the gap when they work full time, or when they spend less and save more.

The gap, instead, relies largely on inheritance— wealth passed from one generation to the next. And that wealth often comes in the form of inherited homes with value. When white families are able to accumulate wealth because of their earning power or home value, they are more likely to support their children into early adulthood, helping with expenses such as college education, first cars and first homes. The cycle continues.

This is a privilege denied to many families of color, a denial that started with the work of public leaders and property managers. After World War II, when the G.I. Bill provided white veterans with a magic carpet to the middle class, racist zoning laws segregated towns and cities with sizeable populations of people of color— from Baltimore to Birmingham, from New York to St. Louis, from Louisville to Oklahoma City, to Chicago, to Austin, and in cities beyond and in between.

These exclusionary zoning practices evolved from city ordinances to redlining by the Federal Housing Administration (which wouldn't back loans to black people or those who lived close to black people), to more insidious techniques written into building codes. The result: People of color weren't allowed to raise their children and invest their money in neighborhoods with high home values. The cycle continues today. Before the 2008 crash, people of color were disproportionately targeted for subprime mortgages. And neighborhood diversity continues to correlate with low property values across the United States. According to the Century Foundation, one-fourth of black Americans living in poverty live in high-poverty neighborhoods; only 1 in 13 impoverished white Americans lives in a high-poverty neighborhood.

The inequities compound. To this day, more than 80 percent of poor black students attend a high-poverty school, where suspension rates are often higher and resources often more limited. Once out of school,

obstacles remain. Economic forgiveness and trust still has racial divides. In a University of Wisconsin study, 17 percent of white job applicants with a criminal history got a call back from an employer; only five percent of black applicants with a criminal history got call backs. And according to the National Bureau of Economic Research, black Americans are 105 percent more likely than white people to receive a high-cost mortgage, with Latino Americans 78 percent more likely. This is after controlling for variables such as credit score and debt-to-income ratios.

Why mention these issues in an article defining white privilege? Because the past and present context of wealth inequality serves as a perfect example of white privilege.

If privilege, from the Latin roots of the term, refers to laws that have an impact on individuals, then what is more effective than a history of laws that explicitly targeted racial minorities to keep them out of neighborhoods and deny them access to wealth and services?

If white privilege is having greater access to power and resources than people of color [in the same situation] do, then what is more exemplary than the access to wealth, the access to neighborhoods and the access to the power to segregate cities, deny loans and perpetuate these systems?

This example of white privilege also illustrates how systemic inequities trickle down to less harmful versions of white privilege. Wealth inequity contributes to the power

of the benefit of the doubt+every time a white person is given a lower mortgage rate than a person of color with the same credit credentials. Wealth inequity reinforces the power of normal+every time businesses assume their most profitable consumer base is the white base and adjust their products accordingly.

And this example of white privilege serves an important purpose: It re-centers the power of conscious choices in the conversation about what white privilege is.

People can be ignorant about these inequities, of course. According to the Pew Research Center, only 46 percent of white people say that they benefit *a* great deal+or *a* fair amount+from advantages that society does not offer to black people. But conscious choices *were* and *are* made to uphold these privileges. And this goes beyond loan officers and lawmakers. Multiple surveys have shown that many white people support the idea of racial equality but are less supportive of policies that could make it more possible, such as reparations, affirmative action or law enforcement reform.

In that way, white privilege is not just the power to find what you need in a convenience store or to move through the world without your race defining your interactions. It's not just the subconscious comfort of seeing a world that serves you as normal. It's also the power to remain silent in the face of racial inequity. It's the power to weigh the need for protest or confrontation against the discomfort or inconvenience of speaking up. It's getting to choose when

and where you want to take a stand. It's knowing that you and your humanity are safe.

And what a privilege that is.



**Laundry is the only
thing that should be
separated by color.**



*Counselor &
Professional
Life Coach*

Institutional Racism

Institutional racism (also known as systemic racism) is a form of racism expressed in the practice of social and political institutions. It is reflected in disparities regarding wealth, income, criminal justice, employment, housing, health care, political power and education, among other factors.

The term "institutional racism" was coined and first used in 1967 by Stokely Carmichael (later known as Kwame Ture) and Charles V. Hamilton in *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. Carmichael and Hamilton wrote that while individual racism is often identifiable because of its overt nature, institutional racism is less perceptible because of its "less overt, far more subtle" nature. Institutional racism "originates in the operation of established and respected forces in the society, and thus receives far less public condemnation than [individual racism]". They gave examples.

"When white terrorists bomb a black church and kill five black children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of the society. But when in that same city – Birmingham, Alabama – five hundred black babies die each year because of the lack of power, food, shelter and medical facilities, and thousands more are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and discrimination in the black

community, that is a function of institutional racism. When a black family moves into a home in a white neighborhood and is stoned, burned or routed out, they are victims of an overt act of individual racism which most people will condemn. But it is institutional racism that keeps black people locked in dilapidated slum tenements, subject to the daily prey of exploitative slumlords, merchants, loan sharks and discriminatory real estate agents. The society either pretends it does not know of this latter situation, or is in fact incapable of doing anything meaningful about it."

Institutional racism was defined by Sir William Macpherson in the 1999 Lawrence report (UK) as: "The collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their color, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behavior which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people."

The concept of institutional racism re-emerged in political discourse in the late and mid 1990s after a long hiatus, but has remained a contested concept that has been critiqued by multiple constituencies. Institutional racism is the differential access to the goods, services, and opportunities of society. When the differential access becomes integral to

institutions, it becomes common practice, making it difficult to rectify. Eventually, this racism dominates public bodies, private corporations, public and private universities, and is reinforced by the actions of conformists and newcomers. Another difficulty in reducing institutionalized racism is that there is no sole, true identifiable perpetrator. When racism is built into the institution, it emerges as the collective action of the population.

Professor James M. Jones postulates three major types of racism: personally mediated, [internalized](#), and institutionalized. Personally mediated racism includes the specific social attitudes inherent to racially prejudiced action ([bigoted](#) differential assumptions about abilities, motives, and the intentions of others according to), [discrimination](#) (the differential actions and behaviors towards others according to their race), [stereotyping](#), commission, and omission (disrespect, suspicion, devaluation, and dehumanization). [Internalized racism](#) is the acceptance, by members of the racially [stigmatized](#) people, of negative perceptions about their own abilities and intrinsic worth, characterized by low [self-esteem](#), and low esteem of others like them. This racism can be manifested through embracing "whiteness" (e.g. [stratification](#) by skin color in non-white communities), self-devaluation (e.g., racial slurs, nicknames, rejection of ancestral culture, etc.), and resignation, helplessness, and hopelessness (e.g., [dropping out](#) of school, [failing to vote](#), engaging in health-risk practices, etc.).

Persistent negative [stereotypes](#) fuel institutional racism, and influence [interpersonal relations](#). Racial stereotyping contributes to patterns of [racial residential segregation](#) and [redlining](#), and shape views about crime, crime policy, and welfare policy, especially if the contextual information is stereotype-consistent.

Institutional racism is distinguished from racial bigotry by the existence of institutional systemic policies, practices and economic and political structures which place minority racial and ethnic groups at a disadvantage in relation to an institution's racial or ethnic majority. One example of the difference is public school budgets in the U.S. (including local levies and bonds) and the quality of teachers, which are often correlated with property values: rich neighborhoods are more likely to be more 'white' and to have better teachers and more money for education, even in public schools. [Restrictive housing contracts](#) and bank lending policies have also been listed as forms of institutional racism. Other examples sometimes described as institutional racism are [racial profiling](#) by security guards and police, use of stereotyped racial caricatures, the under- and misrepresentation of certain racial groups in the [mass media](#), and race-based barriers to gainful employment and professional advancement. Additionally, differential access to goods, services, and opportunities of society can be included within the term *institutional racism*, such as unpaved streets and roads, inherited socio-economic disadvantage, and

"standardized" tests (each ethnic group prepared for it differently; many are poorly prepared).

Some [sociological](#) investigators distinguish between institutional racism and "structural racism" (sometimes called structured [racialization](#)). The former focuses upon the norms and practices within an institution, the latter upon the *interactions* among institutions, interactions that produce [racialized](#) outcomes against non-white people. An important feature of structural racism is that it cannot be reduced to individual [prejudice](#) or to the single function of an institution.

Institutional racism in the housing sector can be seen as early as the 1930s with the [Home Owners' Loan Corporation](#). Banks would determine a neighborhood's risk for loan default and [redline](#) neighborhoods that were at high risk of default. These neighborhoods tended to be African American neighborhoods, whereas the white-middle-class Americans were able to receive housing loans. Over decades, as the white middle-class Americans left the city to move to nicer houses in the suburbs, the predominantly African American neighborhoods were left to degrade. Retail stores also started moving to the suburbs to be closer to the customers. From the 1930s through to the 1960s following the depression, [Franklin D. Roosevelt's](#) New Deal [FHA](#) enabled the growth of the white middle class by providing loan guarantees to banks which in

turn, financed white homeownership and enabled [white flight](#), but did not make loans available to blacks. As minorities were not able to get financing and aid from banks, whites pulled ahead in equity gains. Moreover, many college students were then, in turn, financed with the equity in homeownership that was gained by having gotten the earlier government handout, which was not the same accorded to black and other minority families. The institutional racism of the FHA's 1943 model has been tempered after the recent recession by changes in the 1970s and most recently by President Obama's efforts to stabilize the housing losses of 2008 with his Fair Housing Finance ([GSE](#)) reform.

These changes brought on by government-funded programs and projects have led to a significant change in the inner-city markets. Black neighborhoods have been left with [fewer food stores](#), but more liquor stores. The low-income neighborhoods are left with independently owned smaller grocery stores that tend to have [higher prices](#). Poor consumers are left with the option of traveling to middle-income neighborhoods, or spending more for less.

The racial segregation and [disparities in wealth](#) between Caucasians and African-American people include legacies of historical policies. In the Social Security Act of 1935, agricultural workers, servants, most of whom were black, were excluded because key white

southerners did not want governmental assistance to change the agrarian system. In the Wagner Act of 1935, "blacks were blocked by law from challenging the barriers to entry into the newly protected labor unions and securing the right to collective bargaining." In the National Housing Act of 1939, the property appraisal system tied property value and eligibility for government loans to race. The 1936 Underwriting Manual used by the Federal Housing Administration to guide residential mortgages gave 20% weight to a neighborhood's protection, for example, zoning ordinances, deed restrictions, high speed traffic arteries, from adverse influences, such as infiltration of inharmonious racial groups.^[24] Thus, white-majority neighborhoods received the government's highest property value ratings, and white people were eligible for government loans and aid. Between 1934 and 1962, less than 2 percent of government-subsidized housing went to non-white people.

In 1968, the [Fair Housing Act](#) (FHA) was signed into law to eliminate the effects of state-sanctioned racial segregation. But it failed to change the status quo as the United States remained nearly segregated as in the 1960s. A newer discriminating lending practice was the [subprime lending](#) in the 1990s. Lenders targeted high-interest subprime loans to low-income and minority neighborhoods who might be eligible for fair-interest prime loans. Securitization, mortgage brokers and other non-deposit lenders, and legislative

deregulation of the mortgage lending industry all played a role in promoting the subprime lending market.

Numerous [audit studies](#) conducted in the 1980s in the United States found consistent evidence of discrimination against African Americans and Hispanics in metropolitan housing markets.

The long-outlawed practice of “redlining” (in which banks choke off lending to minority communities) recently re-emerged as a concern for federal bank regulators in New York and Connecticut. A settlement with the [Justice Dept](#) and the [Consumer Financial Protection Bureau](#) was the largest in the history of both agencies, topping \$33 million in restitution for the practice from New Jersey's largest savings bank. The bank had been accused of steering clear of minority neighborhoods and favoring white suburban borrowers in granting loans and mortgages, finding that of the approximately 1900 mortgages made in 2014 only 25 went to black applicants. The banks' executives denied bias, and the settlement came with adjustments to the banks business practices. This followed other successful efforts by the federal, state and city officials in 2014 to expand lending programs directed at minorities, and in some cases to force banks to pay penalties for patterns of redlining in Providence, R.I.; St. Louis, Mo.; Milwaukee, WI.; Buffalo and Rochester, N.Y. The Justice Dept also has more active redlining investigations underway, and

officials have stated to reporters that "redlining is not a thing of the past". It has evolved into a more politically correct version, where bankers do not talk about denying loans to blacks openly. The justice department officials noted that some banks have quietly institutionalized bias in their operations. They have moved their operations out of minority communities entirely, while others have moved in to fill the void and compete for clients. Such management decisions are not the stated intent, it is left unspoken so that even the bank's other customers are unaware that it is occurring. The effect on minority communities can be profound as home ownership, a prime source of neighborhood stability and economic mobility can affect its vulnerability to blight and disrepair. In the 1960s and 1970s laws were passed banning the practice; its return is far less overt, and while the vast majority of banks operate legally, the practice appears to be more widespread as the investigation revealed a vast disparity in loans approved for blacks vs whites in similar situations.

Studies in major cities such as Los Angeles and Baltimore show that communities of color have lower levels of access to parks and green space. Parks are considered an environmental amenity and have social, economic, and health benefits. The public spaces allow for social interactions, increase the likelihood of daily exercise in the community and improve mental health. They can also reduce the [urban heat island effect](#), provide wildlife habitat, control floods, and

reduce certain air pollutants. Minority groups have less access to decision-making processes that determine the distribution of parks.

Institutional racism impacts [health care](#) accessibility within non-white [minority communities](#) by creating health disparities among racial groups. For example, from 1865 to 1906, many black veterans were unfairly denied disability pension by the union army disability pension system. Racism may also account for disproportionate rates of diseases, such as [AIDS](#), among ethnic minorities. In a 1992 article, Janis Hutchinson argues that the federal government has responded slowly to the AIDS epidemic in minority communities and that their attempts have been insensitive to ethnic diversity in preventive medicine, community health maintenance, and AIDS treatment services. In addition, the mass incarceration of black males along with vectors for addiction in co-relation to the higher number of minority females found infected with the [HIV virus](#) after 2000 has been the subject of study and findings have shown that previous analysis of the rise incorrectly attributed it to male on male sex habits, rather than the causal effects found in current studies. Public health studies found incarcerated men when returned to their communities raise the risk of infection by passing the virus on to heterosexual partners, having acquired it in prison due to higher than average rates of sexual assault and rape, no access to condoms, injectable drugs and lack of clean needles along with tattooing; and inadequate

access to health care and treatment after being released due to poverty and unemployment. The studies also found that the high rates of incarceration reduced the number of available men in black communities and rupture social relationships, leading each man to have an increase in the number of concurrent sexual partners.

Institutional racism can affect minority health directly through health-related policies, as well as through other factors indirectly. For example, racial segregation disproportionately exposed black communities to chemical substances such as lead paint, respiratory irritants such as diesel fumes, crowding, litter, and noise. Racial minority groups who have a disadvantaged status in education and employment are more likely to be uninsured, which significantly impedes them from accessing preventive, diagnostic, or therapeutic health services.

Racial minorities in the U.S are exposed to greater health and environmental risks than the general population. In 1982, there was a proposed [polychlorinated biphenyl](#) landfill in an African American community in Warren County, NC. PCBs are toxic chemicals that can leach into the groundwater and contaminate the drinking water supply. The community resisted and said this was an act of [environmental racism](#). This incident is considered to be the beginning of the [environmental justice](#) movement: a movement to address the fact the injustice that

communities of color face. Research shows that there is racial discrimination in the enforcement of environmental laws and regulations. People of color and the poor are more likely to live, work and play in America's most polluted environments. Communities of color tend to be disproportionately exposed to lead, pesticides, and petrochemical plants. Unfortunately race and class is a reliable indicator of how where industrial plants and waste facilities are located. Institutional environmental racism encompasses these land use decisions that contribute to health issues such as asthma-obesity and diabetes.

Although approximately two-thirds of crack cocaine users are white or Hispanic, a large percentage of people convicted of possession of crack cocaine in federal courts in 1994 were black. In 1994, 84.5% of the defendants convicted of crack cocaine possession were black while 10.3% were white and 5.2% were Hispanic. Possession of powder cocaine was more racially mixed with 57% of the offenders being white, 26.7% black, and 15% Hispanic. Within the federal judicial system, a person convicted of possession with intent to distribute powder cocaine carries a five-year sentence for quantities of 500 grams or more while a person convicted of possession with intent to distribute crack cocaine faces a five-year sentence for quantities of five grams or more. With the combination of severe and unbalanced drug possession laws along with the rates of conviction in terms of race, the judicial system has created a huge racial disparity. In

2015 sitting President [Barack Obama](#) visited a federal prison (a presidential first) to discuss how disparate sentencing affected prisoners and highlight how in the U.S. excessive sentencing was a detrimental outcome of harsh sentencing laws and the need to change the approach. In the Senate top Republican and Democratic senators, in a rare bi-partisan effort, negotiated for months to produce concrete fixes to these laws. The law was changed in 2010 to reduce disparity; it affected only new cases. The need, according to Senate, was for a retroactive fix to reduce the thousands serving unjustly long sentences after four decades of extreme sentencing policies. Studies have shown it is possible to reduce both prison populations and crime at the same time. The [U.S. Sentencing commission](#) announced a retroactive reduction in drug sentences following a year-long review, which will result in a mass release of 6,000 prisoners, all of whom have already served substantial time in prison. This action was done in an effort to immensely reduce overcrowding and provide comfort to wrongfully-accused drug offenders who were sent to jail over the past couple decades. Some of those to be released will be deported and all will be subject to further judicial review.

The issue of policies that target minority populations in large cities, also known as [stop and frisk](#) and [arrest quotas](#), as practiced by the NYPD, have receded from media coverage due to lawsuits that have altered the practice. In *Floyd vs City of New York*, a ruling that

created an independent Inspector General's office to oversee the NYPD, the federal judge called a whistleblowers recordings of superiors use of "[quotas](#)" the 'smoking gun evidence' that police were racially profiling and violating civilians' civil rights. The [police officer](#) at the center of the case settled with the city for \$1.1 million and in a separate case won an additional settlement against the hospital where he was involuntarily confined after cops retaliated and unlawfully placed him in a psych ward for reporting fudged stats in his precinct. After taking office the current mayor of NYC declined to continue litigating stop and frisk practices and the number of minorities stopped under the practice dropped dramatically. The use of quotas to pad arrest figures also has fallen after lawsuits exposed the practice as carried on by drug enforcement officers.

The Southern Poverty Law Center has found that since 2008 after Barack Obama's election into office, racist hate groups have increased above 400%. Racism at the institutional level dies hard, and is still prevalent in many U.S. institutions including law enforcement and the criminal justice system. Frequently these institutions use racial profiling along with greater police brutality. The greatest disparity is how [capital punishment is disproportionately applied to minorities](#) and especially to blacks. The gap is so wide it undermines any legitimacy of the death penalty along with the integrity of the whole judicial system.

The disparity between the sentences given black and white offenders has been most highlighted by that of crack and powdered cocaine offenses. How drug sentencing played out to disparately affect minorities came directly from Congress. Between 1986 and 1997, the number of federal drug prisoners quintupled, with 74% of those minorities convicted of low-level drug offenses and sentenced under mandatory minimum laws and later added conspiracy amendments to the law. Members of Congress and state legislators believed these harsh, inflexible sentences would catch those at the top of the drug trade and deter others from entering it. Instead, this heavy-handed response to the nation's drug problem filled prisons with low-level offenders, resulting in overcapacity prison populations and higher costs for taxpayers. Mandatory sentencing laws disproportionately affect people of color and, because of their severity, destroyed families. As a result, many states are experiencing efforts to roll back these laws and there are efforts in Congress to end mandatory minimums.

A federal investigation initiated before the 2014 Michael Brown shooting in Ferguson, Missouri, found faults with the treatment given youths in the juvenile justice system in St. Louis County, Mo. The Justice Dept, following a 20-month investigation based on 33,000 cases over three years, reported that black youths were treated more harshly than whites and that all low-income youths, regardless of race, were deprived of their basic constitutional rights. Youths

who encountered law enforcement got little or no chance to challenge detention or get any help from lawyers. With only one public defender assigned to juveniles in a county of one million, that legal aide handled 394 cases in 2014. The investigation was unrelated to the notorious case which roiled St. Louis, beginning before the police shooting of the unarmed black youth. The failure to grant access to counsel brought to light the practice of an informal process which could let offenders off with a warning or having them enter into diversion programs in lieu of being charged in court. But to be accepted into the informal process, offenders had to admit to guilt, which runs afoul of the right not to incriminate oneself in criminal proceedings. The investigation following Michael Brown's shooting found an enormous disparity in the way juvenile cases were handled, with blacks being 47% more likely than whites to be put through the formal criminal proceedings. It also found them more likely to be held in detention, and also subsequently sentenced to incarceration once the case was finished. They were also more likely to be detained for violating parole from a previous case.

The county did not cooperate fully with the Justice Dept and the St. Louis Family Court declined to comment, as did the state court system it is a part of. A justice dept official faulted "the role of implicit bias when there are discretionary decisions to be made". They also reported that the court rarely considers the evidence for probable cause and juveniles are illegally

denied the opportunity to challenge that evidence or a transfer of the case out of the juvenile justice system to adult court. In most state courts, the public defender's office decides who is poor enough to merit representation; in St. Louis Family Court the judge or court commissioner, sometimes based on different standards, decides who gets access to counsel. Most troubling to the justice official was the continuing use of court officials to recite complicated statutory language about the alleged crimes, then leading the defendants through "formulaic 'do you understand' and yes/no questions." Judges made no effort to find out if the pleas were coerced, whether the child had any criminal intent or especially, did they fully understand the consequences of pleading guilty to the charges. Their competency to take part in their own defense was never established and the legal aide in the cases examined never challenged a probable cause finding, hired an expert witness or challenged hearsay evidence or leading questions and most cases ended with the child pleading guilty. The Civil Rights Division (of the Justice Dept) began four investigations beginning in 2013 delving into juvenile justice systems in Miss., Tenn., Texas, and Missouri and while settlements were reached it has had to file suit to overcome the disparities in criminal convictions.

Coupled with [zero-tolerance](#) discipline in schools, a "one size fits all solution" decried by the [American Bar Association](#), black and Latino youth are more likely to encounter negative contact with law enforcement and accrue violations, which leads to fines and failure to pay, which in turn leads to warrants and/or probation violations. This cycle has been shown to put children, particularly low-income minorities, in the [school-to-prison pipeline](#)

In 2010, two Washington state supreme court justices, Richard Sanders and James Johnson, were baffled at a court meeting to determine the fate of \$25,000 in funding for various boards and commissions. They stated that there was too much African American representation in the prison population because African Americans are known to commit a number crimes and not because of their race. A black lawyer says she was shocked to hear two justices, [Richard B. Sanders](#) and Johnson, refer to a former legal aid lawyer's assertions in a report using the phrase *poverty pimp*. Shirley Bondon, a state Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC) manager who oversaw court programs critical of the legal system, told the justices that she believed there was racial "bias in the criminal-justice system, from the bottom up." The response from Justice Saunders was critical of blacks, stating that he didn't believe the barriers existed, except for poverty because it might restrict the ability to afford an attorney. [James M. Johnson](#), who was noted as the most conservative judge on the

court, agreed, noting that African Americans commit them [crimes] against their own communities, to which Bondon objected, requesting a closed-door meeting with the court. Within, Justice Debra Stephens said she heard Sanders and Johnson make the comments, including Johnson using the words "you all" or "you people" when he stated that African Americans commit crimes in their own communities. Others who attended the meeting say they were offended by the justices' remarks, saying the comments showed a lack of knowledge and sensitivity. A Kitsap County District Court Judge, James Riehl, as he was "acutely aware" of barriers to equal treatment in the legal system. In 2010, African Americans represented 4 percent of Washington State's population but 20 percent of the prison population. Nationwide, similar disparities have been attributed by researchers to sentencing practices, inadequate legal representation, drug-enforcement policies and criminal-enforcement procedures that unfairly affect African Americans.

Vigilante actions against Mexicans in the southwest had been documented from the 1850's to 1930's of men, women and children, many of them American citizens; who were burned, shot, hung, whipped or mutilated due to racist terror. Thousands were killed by white settlers and gold prospectors to drive them off their land or steal their claims using false charges to gin up mob actions. Many of the killings took place in front of hundreds who encouraged mobs to remove

the men from jails to lynch them. In Texas the [Rangers](#) were implicated by archeological digs at the sites of one of the massacres that took place near the U.S. Army razed village of Porvenir near the Mexican border in Marfa, Texas. Many of the state sanctioned killings which occurred in Texas have been removed from public view and recent efforts to increase awareness have been stymied by state commissions on historic places. The Chairwoman of the local historical commission refused to allow a marker to be posted about the massacre, citing 'militant Hispanics' and reparations. She was later over-ruled by the head of the State Historical Commission, who brokered a deal to also erect markers at Anglo ranches that were victims of suspected Mexican [Villistas](#), which may also have been a response to the extrajudicial killings by the Rangers and Ranchers. The dis-proportional response to single instances of raids like the [Brite Ranch raid](#), the Neville Raid and even suspected instances of missing cows, perceived slights or Mexicans standing up to injustice often led to lynch mobs descending on communities and carting off any men found to be hung.

Between 1929 and 1939, during the Great Depression, close to one million Chicanos of Mexican descent were deported or pressured to leave the US. About half of them were US citizens, most of whom had never crossed U.S. borders or traveled to Mexico. The campaign was a response to migration west of the Oakies and housing and wage labor shortages in

California during the Great Depression. The Secretary of Labor in the Hoover administration, William N. Doak (Hooverilles) scapegoated "illegal immigrants" (migrant workers) as taking jobs from Americans. While not specifying Mexicans, the practice targeted for removal anyone who even vaguely looked Mexican. In 1931, the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, the Wickersham Commission found the methods employed by Doak's underlings to be unconstitutional. The Policy continued into the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In 'Decade of Betrayal', social history professor Raymond Rodriguez documented that history of the Mexican Repatriation, a social history of the 1930s focusing on an estimated 1 million Mexicans and Mexican Americans unjustly deported or scared into leaving their homes in the United States by federal and local officials seeking remedies for the Great Depression. Rodriguez and co-author Francisco Balderrama wrote the 1995 book, which sparked legislative hearings and formal apologies from the state of California and Los Angeles County officials.

In carrying out these policies, local welfare and profitable charitable agencies along with the police intensified the targeting of the Chicanos. According to Hoffman "from 1931 on, cities and counties across the country intensified and embarked upon repatriation programs, conducted under the auspices of either

local welfare bureaus or private charitable agencies". The Los Angeles chairman of the board of supervisors' charities and public welfare committee, (and later LA Mayor) Frank L. Shaw had researched about the legality of deportation but was advised by legal counsel that only the federal government was legally allowed to engage in deportation proceedings. As a result, the L.A. County supervisors decided that their campaign would be called "repatriation", which Balderrama asserts was a euphemism for deportation.

C.P. Visel, the spokesman for Los Angeles Citizens Committee for Coordination of Unemployment Relief began his "unemployment relief measure" that would create a "psychological gesture" intended to "scarehead" Mexicans out of the United States. His idea was to have a series of "publicity releases announcing the deportation campaign, a few arrests would be made "with all publicity possible and pictures," and both police and deputy sheriffs would assist".

William F. Watkins, Supervisor of the Bureau of Immigration, and his agents were responsible for many mass raids and deportations, and the local government was responsible for the media attention that was given to these raids in order to "scarehead" immigrants, specifically Mexicans, although there were repeated press releases from LA city officials that affirmed Mexicans were not being targeted.

Actions taken by immigration officials proved otherwise, provoking many vociferous complaints and criticisms from the Mexican Consulate and Spanish language magazine, *La Opinión*. Until the Depression, many citizens had seen the value of the Chicanos as cheap labor. With the pool of jobs for unskilled labor drying up, the mood turned, and with official sanction generated by this government policy, Californians employed social sanctions and threats of violence against employers who hired Chicanos rather than out of work Americans. This continued throughout the 1930s, with Mexicans encountering hostile looks and rejections when they turned up at soup kitchens and places doing charity work for the unemployed. That this policy began at the highest levels and was carried out by unemployed folks at the lowest puts it at highest levels of Institutional racism.

The Mexican labor supplied US Agribusiness has cycled between needing workers and calls to repatriate them from Mexican farmers were from time to time there were acute labor shortages. In 1954 while the Bracero program was in force, the INS used force to repatriate 1 million Mexicans. It was a system of tactical control and cooperation within the U.S. Border Patrol and alongside the Mexican government and was called Operation Wetback. With the growing diplomatic and security issues surrounding illegal border crossings, the INS increased its raids and apprehensions beginning in the early 1950s leading up to Operation Wetback. Those apprehended were

often deported without the opportunity to recover their property in the US or contact family and were stranded without food or employment when they entered Mexico. Deported Mexicans faced extreme conditions and were sometimes left in the desert; 88 deported workers died in 112-degree heat in July 1955. Most were sent by ship to Veracruz or transported by land to southern Mexican cities. During the entirety of the Operation, border recruitment of illegal workers by American growers continued due largely to the inexpensiveness of illegal labor and the desire of growers to avoid the bureaucratic obstacles of the Bracero program; the continuation of illegal immigration despite the efforts of Operation Wetback was largely responsible for the failure of the program.

In 2006, the House of Representatives congresspersons Hilda Solis and Luis Gutierrez called for an apology from the U.S. Government for the Repatriation. This has not occurred to date. US textbooks generally gloss over the unpleasant portions of history, resulting in many students being aware of the Japanese internment, yet having no knowledge of the Chicanos being illegally removed even though the numbers in the 1930s was 1 million and in the 1950s another million from 'Operation Wetback', totalling 20 times the number of Japanese-Americans that were interned.

In almost all cases, there is no federal record for these removals. This is because, while by INS estimates

400,000 to 1 million Mexicans and Mexican-Americans left the US for Mexico during the 1950s, few of them were formally expelled under INS-directed removal proceedings. A great deal of those repatriated returned to Mexico on their own from small towns along the US-Mexico border that was "*thoroughly racist*", where officials using threats of deportation coerced them; or through officially voluntary – though often coercive – repatriation programs directed by state and local governments and charitable aid agencies.

Merit-based hiring to civil service titles are race-blind in terms of hiring preferences; in practice, however, there are titles that have resisted integration to the present day. Institutions that resist even past the civil right fights of the 50s and 60s resulted in court interventions in the 70s and even up to the last decade. Many of the Consent Decrees that resulted from court intervention came about as a result of the federal government intervening due to E.E.O.C. complaints in hiring or attempts to litigate discrimination that was overt. Until 2007, when the Vulcan Society of the FDNY prevailed in court using the legal theory of disparate impact, many lawsuits resulted in racial quotas being imposed in hiring. Police and Fire Departments across the country have been slow to change the insular culture that kept them lacking in diversity and open to challenges.

Civil Service, as an institution, was traditionally used to prevent nepotism and the influence of politics in appointments to the position. Authorized at the federal level in 1871, it came about due to reforms of the spoils system in place since the 1830s, and abuses of the post-war Grant-Jacksonian era; when Congress authorized the president to appoint a Civil Service Commission and prescribe regulations for admission to public service. A dis-satisfied office-seeker assassinated President Garfield in 1881 and Congress was motivated to pass the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act in 1883 which firmly established civil service. During reconstruction, this enabled the federal government to provide jobs for newly freed blacks in the south (primarily the Postal Service) where no other employment opportunities existed for them. Since the inception of the merit system in 1881, the numbers of blacks in federal civil service positions rose from 0.057 to 5.6% by 1910. Since 1883 the majority of federal employees are placed in positions that are classified by civil service designations. (see Also: U.S. Civil Service Reform)

In 1913 with segregation the law of the land, Southern Democrats in Congress under the administration of President Woodrow Wilson had attempted to remove as many minorities as possible from their established position in the federal civil service, especially at the post office. This was accomplished by requiring the race of each applicant to a position be shown by a photograph.

This enabled the administration to demote and eliminate black civil servants from positions held in Civil Service and further prevented any new appointments, thus purposefully exacerbating black exclusion from the federal service. Wilson had campaigned promising to elevate the negro in his administration by matching the patronage offered them by past Republican administrations. The negro newspapers based on his inaugural speech supported him but in Congress, those Southern Democrats opposed to integration actively rendered him moot, and patronage appointments fell even lower. Claiming 'friction' amongst blacks and whites at the post office, they proposed segregating them. This was taken up by the Postmaster General and the Secretary of the Treasury, and when the cabinet and the president did not oppose the measure, Jim Crow practices in some departments was taken up with a vengeance. By 1921 those black postal workers not demoted or fired were behind a wall at the 'Dead Letter Office' in Wash., D.C. or placed behind screens where the other workers did not have to see them. Without any basis in fact or accumulation of complaints to justify segregation, it became unofficial policy. Signs appeared restricting toilets and lunchrooms, whole offices were segregated by room and workers were paired off by race. A virtual flood of proposed discriminatory laws were proposed in Congress ranging from 'Jim Crow' streetcars to excluding negroes from military

commissions to officer in the Army or Navy and anti-miscegenation bills. There were also bills to restrict negro immigration. This spread to the states where more bills passed restricting blacks. Federal Civil Service did not fare well under Wilson as he held that "it was to their advantage" and "likely to remove many of the difficulties which have surrounded the appointment and advancement of colored men and women", espousing the segregation taking place under his administration.

The next chapter was the Hatch Act of 1939 which prevented state and local civil servants from taking part in political activities or running for office. It was a response to conservative forces in Congress who wanted to prevent administration appointments to certain agencies aligned with the WPA and FDR presidential confidante Harry Hopkins, whom they felt were giving jobs to the 'wrong people'. Until the *Brown vs. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision and the related cases that ushered in the Civil Rights era, Institutional segregation was upheld at the federal level by the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* U.S. Supreme Court case decision which the court overturned in 1954. Following this, cities consulted with their attorneys and as a result, Integration began. This was replaced in turn by institutional racism, the practice of upholding the letter of the law, but not the spirit, in an effort to prevent minority hires from gaining ground in titles where they were

disproportionately underrepresented, such as Police and Fire Departments, and in management positions.

Around the country in the 1950s, blacks found common cause in challenging [employment discrimination](#), and the colored newspapers took up the cause. Economically, jobs were becoming scarce for minorities during the post-war years as returning servicemen reclaimed the manufacturing and factory base. Civil Service looked to be a reasonable alternative to blacks returning from WWII service overseas and black officers leaving the newly desegregated armed services. In Los Angeles in the 1950s, the [NAACP](#) fueled an integration campaign in the [California Eagle](#) and petitioned the fire commission to provide more jobs in the LAFD. When the Fire Chief Engineer John Alderson attempted to integrate the department, the resistance to integration created so-called 'Hate Houses' and resulted in the formation of [The Stentorians](#) as a protective force of guardians to protect minority firefighters. New York had previously experienced their own revelations when the [Vulcan Society](#) appeared before the city council and demanded the elimination of 'the black bed' in firehouses for the black firemen. At that hearing in 1944, the NYC council chambers filled with FDNY brass on one side and black firefighters protesting the lack of promotional opportunities and racial harassment on the other.

With that as the backdrop, integration began and segregation was replaced by institutional racism, which took the form much the same way it did when blacks first got hired before and during WWI. Blacks once appointed to a civil service position were subjected to isolation, ostracism, outright hostility and separate quarters. After 1956, the first black hires to the LAFD after integration unfairly failed to finish academy training. The Vulcan Society in New York mentored many blacks but progress was slow, with hiring not reflected in mirroring the population of the cities served until the passage of the [Civil Rights Act of 1964](#) when the numbers of minority hiring increased. The [U.S. Department of Labor](#) in the 1970s began enforcing racial quotas during the Nixon administration that mandated black hiring, but it was the lawsuits of the 1970s which exploded the imposition of Consent Decrees across the country forcing the diversity of the hard to integrate titles. In 1971 the [Vulcan Blazers](#) of the Baltimore, Maryland fire dept filed a groundbreaking lawsuit that resulted in the appointment of blacks to positions of officers up to assistant chief when the court ruled there had been discrimination in promotions. Other minority groups followed their lead and also took to the courts. In 2009 the City of Baltimore paid \$4.6 Million to settle a case of discrimination filed by minority policemen alleging discrimination. As other recent lawsuits have proved, civil departments have held their heads responsible for cases of institutional racism, an example of which is the case in 2007 of the LAFD Chief, [William Bamattre](#)

who was retired by the mayor of L.A. after being perceived of kowtowing to racial pandering in responding to lawsuits affecting his department. Payout's to blacks and women had topped 7.5 million for cases alleging racism and harassment, and also the failure to diversify.

Another impediment to redressing the effects of institutional racism occurred in the 1990s after President [George H. W. Bush](#) attempted to eliminate [affirmative action](#) during his term of office. He ordered the use of quotas, preferences, set-asides on the basis of race, sex, religion or national origin be abolished in hiring. Congress responded with the [Civil Rights Act of 1991](#), which only covered the terms for settling cases where discrimination had previously been confirmed. It had been near impossible to prove a case of [institutional discrimination](#) in the courts, and many other cases were terminated upon imposition of a [consent decree](#). While President [George H. W. Bush's](#) attempt failed, it fueled the rise in 1996 of the [California Proposition 209](#), a ballot initiative abolishing affirmative action in California universities, to counteract what Institutionalized Racism. [Affirmative action](#) is where members of a minority group get preferential treatment over the majority rather than being treated as equals. This closed down the avenues [affirmative action](#) initiatives had opened for blacks to have race counted as a factor when accounting for different rates of acceptance to Universities and consequently in employment discrimination lawsuits that sought

redress from discriminatory hiring. This is where the arguments for redress for past wrongs under the 'catchup provisions' no longer worked in favor of claimants. Proposition 209 has withstood challenges but in 2013 the California Senate passed Amendment #5 – which if implemented would have reversed 209 had its main sponsor in the Senate not retracted it before final passage. By 2014 the UCLA Board of Regents came out publicly against 209 after reviewing the loss of minorities in university admissions after 209 was implemented.

These ballot initiatives spread around the country primarily in [red states](#). In 2003 the [Supreme Court](#) had ruled on affirmative action programs at the [University of Michigan](#) in [Gratz v. Bollinger](#) and [Grutter v. Bollinger](#); the rulings found the affirmative action program was unconstitutional for the way it was applied, but ambiguously said it could continue to use affirmative action. This strengthened the campaign against racial preferences and proponents pressed ahead with more ballot initiatives under the theory that affirmative action programs were no longer needed. The tide against further passage of such discriminatory ballot box institutional racism didn't abate until the 2008 election cycle when efforts by [Ward Connerly](#), the chairman of the [American Civil Rights Institute](#), a national non-profit organization founded to oppose racial and gender preferences, failed to get ballot measures passed in 3 states, was rejected by voters in another, and only in Nebraska got passage to add

one last state banning affirmative action as a remedy for past discrimination. His critics condemned Connerly's reasoning, saying he failed to see the extent of past racism on African Americans and Hispanics; and that contemporary institutionalized racism is pervasive and powerful, and that affirmative action can overcome the residual effects of past institutional racism on people of color. Advocates of [Affirmative Action](#) programs denied that these were 'racial quotas' as that was seen as divisive and under [color of law](#), but affirmative action goals fell to this onslaught and subsequent [reverse discrimination](#) lawsuits ended the practice. Connerly, for his part, stated "I think that in some quarters, many parts of the country, a white male is really disadvantaged ... Because we have developed this notion of women and minorities being so disadvantaged and we have to help them, that we have, in many cases, twisted the thing so that it's no longer a case of equal opportunity. It's a case of putting a fist on the scale." His [multi-racial](#) background caused conservatives to back his cause as he was perceived to be both black and anti-affirmative action.

Standardized testing has also been considered a form of institutional racism, because it is believed to be biased in favor of people from particular socio-cultural backgrounds. Some minorities have consistently tested worse than whites on virtually all standardized tests, even after controlling for socioeconomic status, while others have tested consistently better. The

cause of the achievement gaps between black, Hispanic, white and Asian students has yet to be fully elucidated.

In the 1960s, students of color started attending colleges and universities in record numbers after the passage of the Civil Rights and Higher Education Acts. However, the obstacles of integration in predominantly white institutions of higher education led to unforeseen obstacles for faculty and students of color working and studying in such environments. According to a review of educational research, tension and violence followed, one reason being the lack of preparedness of many colleges and universities to teach a diversity of students. Initially, it was also difficult for many black students to attend college due to the poor quality of education in segregated schools.

The 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision was the beginning of the process of desegregation and the elimination of de jure discrimination. However, it was hard to determine the challenges that the process would present and the obstacles that would continue to exist. While the concept of "separate but equal" had been overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court, it was clear that the racial divide had not yet been gapped. As the years since *Brown v. Board of Education* passed, both verbal and physical abuse continued. After *Brown v. Board of Education*, the desegregated environment proved to be strenuous and was going to

require some work. The increase of racial tension and racial incidents in institutes of higher education is said to be due to the "lack of knowledge, experience, and contact with diverse peers; peer-group influence; increased competition and stress; the influence of off-campus groups and the media; alcohol use; changing values; fear of diversity; and the perception of unfair treatment". Although *Brown v. Board of Education* was ruled in 1954, actual integration did not completely occur until many years later; the U.S. Supreme Court held multiple hearings on the desegregation of schools, continuously they maintained that *Brown v. Board of Education* must be followed by schools, colleges, and universities. The manner in which *Brown v. Board of Education* was drawn out years after the decision helped instill racism in education by illustrating the extraordinary lengths some educational institutions would go to in order to avoid integration.

While unfair treatment remains, other lasting effects have yet to be resolved. The underlying issue of minority presence of college campuses occurs. In 2008, the National Center for Education Statistics reported that while enrollment of minorities and students of color had risen, white enrollment still held the majority on average, accounting for 63 percent of undergraduate college and university students. While this varies based on the region, state, and elite status, in general the majority of colleges and universities in the United States are predominantly white. According

to the U.S. Department of Education, there has also been a rise in hate crimes on college campuses; 1250 hate crimes in 2016, up 25 percent from 2015.

Access to post-secondary education seems to be an issue as well. According to the U.S. Department of Education, being prepared for college is integral to whether or not a student is successful. While the government offers college preparation programs for minority and low-income students, programs such as GEAR UP and Federal TRIO Programs help prepare students for college to better ensure their success and retention, the access to these programs is relatively limited. While programs such as Federal TRIO Programs have grown since conception, there is still work that needs to be done if more minority students are expected to attend and succeed in a post-secondary institution. Due to availability of Federal TRIO Programs being subjective based on where geographically a student may be, the benefits are not completely being felt by the targeted communities. However, the positive effects of Federal TRIO Programs have been pretty bolstering—more minorities and low-income individuals are prepared when going to post-secondary institutions.

Institutionalized racism in higher education has received little national attention, even though it is a relevant issue affecting many colleges and universities. Despite efforts to improve the situation on college and university campuses, such as

implementing affirmative action plans, anti-black racism and violence continue to occur. The effects of this violence extend beyond the incident itself. According to a U.S. study in Baltimore, racism has a correlation with health complications, such as high systolic blood pressure. Likewise, a study held from 1997 to 2003 found that racism led to higher rates of breast cancer. While this extends beyond education, it could illustrate why many minorities and students of color would feel uneasy putting themselves into an environment that could potentially garner more racism. While illustrations of institutional racism on college campuses can be found in newspapers and blogs, there are other places to learn more about these incidents. Aside from the media, one source that can be used to keep up to date on institutional racism in higher education is *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (JBHE). This journal aims to provide as much information as possible about anti-black institutional racism. JBHE publishes resources, statistics, and current reports of race-related actions on college and university campuses. For example, JBHE reported on the 2015 University of Oklahoma Sigma Alpha Epsilon racism incident. Other media resources where reports on racial incidents on college campuses can be found is Inside Higher Ed and the Southern Poverty Law Center

In 2016, the U.S. Department of Education released a report on crime in schools. Of the racial hate crimes reported on college campuses in 2013, 41% were

vandalisms, 37% were intimidations, and 38% were simple assaults. According to the U.S. Department of Education, there were 146 reported cases of racial harassment on college and university campuses in 2015. However, this number by no means is a true portrayal of the actual amount of racial harassment that occurs. Research conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute claims that only 13% of these incidents get reported. According to the Center for College Health and Safety, one reason that so few incidents get reported is that there is a lack of awareness about what consists of a hate crime, as well as where one must report such a crime. Although data is limited to what has been reported, the FBI allows public access to numerous tables and statistics about hate crimes reported in 2015. There were 4,029 hate crimes motivated by race/ethnicity/ancestry, 52.7% of which the FBI reports were motivated by anti-black bias. Out of 3,310 racial bias hate crimes, 7.9% occurred at schools/colleges. As of May 2017, the Anti-Defamation League has reported that 107 incidents of white-supremacist posters being posted on American campuses since the beginning of the 2016 school year have been verified. 65 of these reported incidents have occurred since January 2017.

Fakehatecrimes.org provides a database with links to news sources that show hate crimes that have been falsely reported. For example, a student at Capital University claimed to have found a race-related note

on his door, and his story was shared on the university newspaper. Later, in another article, the newspaper shared how the student confessed after investigation that he made the story up. On a similar note, Complex, a news source, published an article naming the "most hate-filled colleges in America" based on data from College Stats. Upon investigating the data, one will find that the data has been removed due to misinterpretation of the information. The original data simply showed the frequency with which certain derogatory words were used in tweets on certain college campuses or places nearby these campuses, and it did not consider the context within these derogatory words were used. To say that some colleges are more "hate-filled" than others due to College Stats' data is a misconstruction.

Numerous news sources, including Inside Higher Ed and Southern Poverty Law Center, have reported that there was a spike in racial hate crimes and harassment following the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States. Although each case has not been verified, the SPLC claimed to have counted 201 racial incidents in less than a week. The largest number of incidents are labeled as "anti-black" and account for over 50 of the occurrences, nearly 40 of which took place on college campuses. Kimberly Griffin, a professor at the University of Maryland who studies and has authored numerous publications on campus racial climate, states the following in an Inside Higher Ed article:

We have a president-elect who campaigned on ideas that made what was previously socially unacceptable racism OK by everything from talking about mass deportations and building walls to accepting endorsements from white nationalist groups. The threats students are facing are often directly connected to his rallying cries and campaign promises. I don't think that Trump created these feelings and the rage we see, but his election normalized it and encouraged it

Under Title VI, all higher education institutions that receive federal funding must take certain actions against incidents of racial discrimination that are deemed "sufficiently serious" or which negatively impact a student's education. These actions include investigating the incident, making efforts to stop the current and possible future occurrence, and fixing the issues that have come about due to the incident. Similar to Title VI, the Clery Act is another act that requires higher education institutions that receive federal funding to have certain obligations regarding campus crime. The main requirement is that these institutions must create an annual report that details the crime that has taken place in the past three years on campuses and the efforts made to stop it. These reports must be made available to all students and staff, which allows for greater transparency about the existing crime on campuses.

Students across the nation have worked to end racial discrimination on campuses by organizing and participating in protests. One of the most notable examples is that of the 2015-16 University of Missouri protests, which led to protests at 50 universities. Lists of demands made by students at 80 American universities detailing what should be done to combat racism on campuses have been collected by We The Protesters, an advocacy group.

I choose Love.

**I choose Inclusion. I choose Empathy.
Compassion. Equality. Dignity. Diversity.
I choose Community. Kindness. Integrity.
Honesty. Respect. I choose Justice.
I choose Facts. Peace. The Planet.
I choose Humanity.**

I choose Love.



Slavery's explosive growth, in charts: How '20 and odd' became millions

See how slavery grew in the U.S. over two centuries

Just over a decade after the Virginia Colony was settled, a ship - the San Juan Bautista - set sail from Angola with an estimated 350 kidnapped Africans aboard. It was bound for Mexico as part of the burgeoning Atlantic slave trade.

April . May 1619 The %San Juan Bautiste, a Spanish slave ship leaves Luanda, Angola with about 350 kidnapped Africans. It is bound for Veracruz, Mexico.

June 1619 An estimated 143 die of disease during the ocean crossing.

July 1619 In Jamaica, the ship %trades+24 young African boys for supplies.

July 1619 Two English privateers (essentially licensed pirates) sailing under foreign flags of convenience- attack the San Juan Bautiste in the Bay of Campeche.

The %privateers+take 60 Africans.

The remaining 123 Africans are taken to Veracruz by another ship which claims 147 Africans (as its cargo)õ this

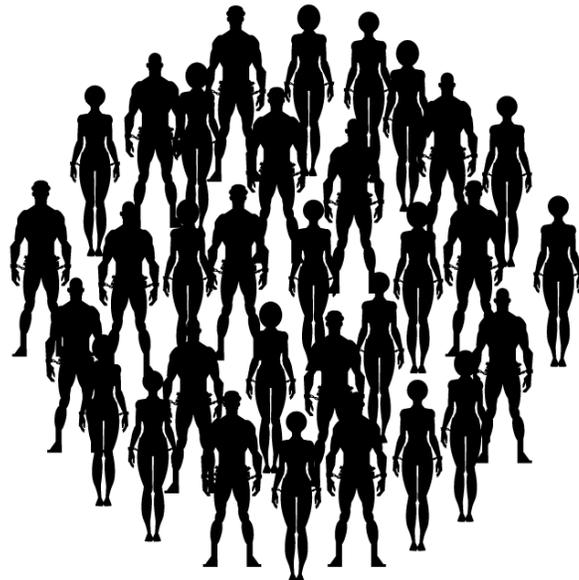
number is believed to include the 24 boys that were sold in Jamaica.

August 1619 %The Whit Lion+(another vessel) arrives at Point Comfort (now Hampton, Virginia) carrying between 20 . 30 Africans. They are the first recorded %Africans+in the English colonies.

%The Treasurer+(another vessel) arrives at Point Comfort a few days later and leaves off 2 or 3 more Africans for sale.

The last 27-28 %Africans+are taken to Bermuda.

These were the earliest traceable beginnings of slave trade in, what was to become the United States of America. Remember the year is 1619.



A twist of fate ended this torturous journey on the colony's shores for more than 20 of the Bautista's enslaved Angolans. Their landing would presage a trade and industry built on African labor that would reach a staggering scale in the United States over 200 years:

Though a colonial census in March 1620 records 32 Africans living in Virginia, there is some debate whether all 32 were aboard the *White Lion* and the *Treasurer*. Some may have been there before their landing or have come in other ships from Europe. Not all may have been enslaved.

For every 1,000 Africans kidnapped in the slave trade--- 640 survived the forced march from the African interior.

570 . survived to actually board the waiting slave ship.

And many died of disease on the ship. In the end only 480 lived to see the Americas.

After the 32 Africans landed in the Virginia Colony, few Africans were taken to the colonies in the next decades.

The growth of the Slave Trade (however) became explosive over the next 150 years.

Hundreds, then thousands were captured and brought mostly to Virginia, Maryland and to South Carolina.

As Congress prepared to outlaw the slave trade in 1807, more than 24,000 Africans were brought to the U.S. . the largest influx in its history. After two centuries, more than 360,000 Africans had survived the harrowing trip across the Atlantic.

But they were just a fraction of the people who were “born into slavery” for generation after generation.

By 1800 . the total number of %enslaved people+had grown to 800,000.

That number grew %fivefold+to four million as the Civil War started just sixty years later.

Accounting for the %millions of slaves+. just how many people were %enslaved+since those original 32 Africans were taken ashore at Point Comfort in August of 1619?

It is doubtful that question will ever be definitely answered. Population estimates before 1790 do not specify whether a %black person+was enslaved or free.

SO, we will use this group of 200 Africans to show you what we do know

FIRST, we know Virginia was the center of the colonial %Slave Trade+because of its surging TOBACCO industry and its thirst for labor. By 1700 the %black populations+grew to 16,390 . the largest in the colonies.

In the first hundred years of slavery, more than 36,000 Africans were brought to the colonies.

We also know the TRANS ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE brought 365,000 Africans to the shores in its two centuries of existence. At least ~~what~~ many+of their countrymen died before arriving in the colonies.

By 1810, more than 1 million people were enslaved in the United States and COTTON was about to take over the economy.

Even though the grueling work cut short many lives, the enslaved population more than tripled as COTTON fed the US economy in the 1800~~s~~ and the country veered toward war.

Just how many Africans were enslaved?

Two historians estimated for USA TODAY that as many as 6 million people lived and died in the American Slave trade industry before 4 million people were declared ~~to~~FREE+by 1865, the end of the Civil War.

250 years 10 MILLION ENSLAVED!

The Black+Tuckers of Hampton, Virginia

WILLIAM TUCKER (1624- ?)

William Tucker was the first person of African ancestry born in the 13 British Colonies. His birth symbolized the beginnings of a distinct African American identity along the eastern coast of what would eventually become the United States.

William Tucker was born in 1624 near Jamestown, Virginia, the son of Antoney and Isabell, +two African indentured servants. Historians do not know much of William Tucker's life due to the fragmented pieces of primary source material available for contemporary study.

According to the 1624-1625 Virginia Census, 22 Africans lived in Virginia at the time of Tucker's birth. The first 20 of these Africans arrived in 1619 and all of them worked under indentured servitude contracts. These men and women were not slaves because Virginia's General Assembly had not yet worked out the terms for enslavement in the colony.

Consequently these first Africans in Virginia received the same rights, duties, privileges, responsibilities, and punishments as their white indentured counterparts from Great Britain. They also worked under the same terms

and many but not all were given land at the end of their period of indenture.

In fact they and their descendants became the nucleus of the free black population which existed in Virginia prior to the Civil War.

William Tucker's parents were among this group of 22 first Africans. They worked for a Captain William Tucker, the Virginia envoy to the Pamunkey Indians, and his wife, Mrs. Mary Tucker. Anthony and Isabella participated in the establishment of Elizabeth City County, Virginia which is now the city of Hampton, in 1634. In the early 1620s Captain Tucker allowed the couple to wed though the practice violated English custom for indentured servants. Anthony and Isabella married at least a year before giving birth to their son William Tucker in 1624.

William Tucker seems to have had a childhood similar to that of other children born to indentured servants in the colony. According to the 1624-1625 census, there were two other servant children, both white, born around the time of William Tucker.

Many facts regarding Tucker's life remain a mystery. The historical record did not reveal his personal experiences in Virginia, whether he was married or had children, or the date of his death. What was known was Tucker's baptism in the Anglican Church and that he was named after his family's master, Captain William Tucker. Young William

Tucker was counted as one of Captain Tucker's 17 servants.

Maybe the blacks who landed at Old Point Comfort in 1619 were the first to come to Virginia. Maybe they were African-born slaves.

It's possible that among them were Anthony and Isabella, a couple who had a son about five years later. And maybe William, that son, was the first black baby born on English North American soil.

Thelma Williams has no doubts.

The account she heard from her uncles, and they from their parents and grandparents before them, is clear: The Tuckers of Hampton are descended from the first boatload of slaves to arrive in Virginia.

The Tuckers trace their family tree to William, son of Anthony and Isabella. They say he was the first black child born in English North America, born at Fort Monroe and baptized William Tucker at Jamestown.

"I already knew the story because my family had taught me that when I was young," Williams said. "You know how old people spin stories to you. You can listen, or you can walk away."

The 54-year-old substitute teacher wasn't interested in the stories very much as a child. But an ailing uncle reminded

her of them 25 years later, and she began to wonder if they could be true.

She started poking around, trying to find documents that would fill in the missing pieces of the family history. Her search resulted in a stack of papers that she shows only her closest relatives.

The collection details an account she knows others may not believe, but one the Tucker family has been growing up with for centuries. William, for example, married and had children, according to her research and family lore.

"He had a life here in Hampton. He was alive and headed a family, and of course, I'm sitting here today," she said.

In 1994, the Tucker family was invited to help the Jamestown Settlement commemorate the 375th anniversary of the first blacks' arrival in British North America. Thelma Williams was in the audience with dozens of her relatives as a replica of a colonial ship arrived at the park, recreating the moment when her family believes their direct ancestors were brought to the New World.

"All of a sudden I felt this heavy weight on me," she said. She looked around to see two other relatives crying.

Nearly four centuries later, that boat's original landing has come to symbolize the brutal history that followed for African descendants in the Americas.

Historians, however, can't say much about this period with certainty because so few documents survive.

The earliest colonists didn't keep as many records as later settlers, and most papers were later destroyed, largely during the Civil War, said Thomas E. Davidson, senior curator at the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation.

By 1619, there were several thousand residents in Virginia, most of whom left no record of their lives, he said.

"We know very little about the great majority of people who lived in 17th-century Virginia," Davidson said. "The people we know about are the political and economic elites, the people who left written records."

Archaeology may reveal more about the lives of Virginia's earliest slaves, he said, but most of that evidence will describe people living in the late 1600s, and research is just getting started.

The blacks on the 1619 ship were certainly either indentured servants or slaves, Davidson said. It is also certain that, a few years later, a couple named Anthony and Isabella were part of the household of Capt. William Tucker in Elizabeth City, now Hampton.

But there is no record of whether that property was located at Fort Monroe and no way to be sure if the pair, who gave birth to William, came from the 1619 ship or another ship and whether they were slaves. Their names were listed among the servants, so they probably were not entirely free, Davidson said.

William was born five or six years after the ship landed. He was the first black child in English North America identified by name, but other black children are listed in the Tucker household, Davidson said. Their birthdates are not known. Historians believe William was born in 1624 because his name, which is missing from a list of the "living and the dead" made the year before, shows up on a muster list of the Tucker household in 1624-25, Davidson said.

One interesting additional piece of information can be learned from the records noting that William was baptized.

"That probably indicates that he, at least, wasn't a slave," Davidson said, because at that time, the colonists were opposed to enslaving Christians.

After that, the story of William is riddled with blanks. Thelma Williams has relied on family history to fill them in. Though most traditional historians feel uneasy about depending on such an approach, one historian who specializes in oral history says there is a lot to be learned from accounts handed down by generations.

Collective memories are scrutinized by many people as they are passed down, and their truth is constantly challenged, said Kimberley Phillips, assistant professor of history at the College of William and Mary. For that reason, some family tales may provide a more complete picture than isolated documents, she said.

"Even if the edges may be embellished, the core of it might be true," she said.

Regardless of the particulars, tracing the Tucker family lineage is as bittersweet as it is historic. The Tuckers, it appears to Williams, were free at some point, even if they arrived as indentured servants with as few rights as slaves. But the descendants Thelma Williams has traced include many slaves.

"It really is nothing to brag about. It is really a sad commentary," she said.

Maybe, she said, they are buried in one of dozens of unmarked spots where the earth sinks a bit in the Tucker family cemetery, a plot of land surrounded by houses in the Aberdeen section of Hampton. The Tuckers bought the land in 1896, long after Williams believes it was being used by the family as a burying ground.

There is a richness to researching the past, Williams said, that transcends personal history. Slaves lived and died

anonymous lives. Maybe her research can somehow restore them to their rightful place in history.

"Each person meant something," she said. "Those people that were slaves never got any credit for anything."

The founding family you've never heard of: The black Tuckers of Hampton, Virginia

USA TODAY
Aug. 22, 2019

HAMPTON, Va. . As Walter Jones walks his family's ancient cemetery, shovel in hand, he wonders about those who rest there.

The gravestones date back as far as the 1800s. Some bear the names of folks Walter knew; some have faded to illegibility; some are in pieces. And, under the brush he's cleared away and the ground he's leveled, there are burial sites unmarked by any stone.

The cemetery means so much to Walter because his extended family . the Tuckers of Tidewater, Virginia . believe they are as much an American founding family as any from the Mayflower.

They have a widely recognized but possibly unprovable claim: that they are directly descended from the first identified African American people born on the mainland of English America, an infant baptized %William+around 1624.

It's been 400 years this August since William's parents arrived in the Virginia colony. The Tuckers, like many African Americans, struggle to trace their roots. They have no genealogical or DNA evidence linking them to those first Africans, but they have oral history and family lore.

And they have the cemetery, a repository of what unites them and what baffles them.

This graveyard, Walter says, is the only thing you can actually put your hands on, put your eyes on.

He's thinking of that July day two years ago. He was leveling earth when the blade of his shovel hit something solid.

He looked down.

A round, gray object seemed to have emerged from the dirt.

He dug under it a little and lifted it up. It looked like a section of a bowl.

He moved more dirt and spotted something else round and gray. He brushed it off and held it against the first object to see if they fit together.

He didn't realize it at first, but he was holding a human skull.

Researchers would conclude that it belonged to an African American woman who was about 60 when she died . roughly Walter's age. But they couldn't say when.

That night, the woman was all Walter could think about. She embodied every question, every possibility, about his family's origins. And he held her in his bare hands.

The '20 and odd'

The Tuckers want to know their story because our stories help define us. Especially those that explain where we came from

Many Americans can find out from a Norddeutscher Lloyd Line manifest or an Ellis Island log or a parish registry in Cork, Palermo or Cornwall.

For African Americans, it's not so easy. [Their story, often as not, was stripped from them.](#)

This is a story about one family's search for its story. It's about a storyteller who loved that story maybe too much; the searchers following in her path; and the mysterious old cemetery that, some feel, holds the key.

The Tuckers believe their American story started in 1619. According to a letter by the tobacco planter [John Rolfe](#), the widower of Pocahontas, a ship landed in England's 12-year-old Jamestown settlement and brought not anything but 20, and odd, Negroes, which the Governor and the Cape Merchant bought for victuals and provisions.

The 20 and odd already had been through hell.

They were taken prisoner of war in what is now Angola by African mercenaries working with the Portuguese; marched to the Atlantic coast, where they were branded, penned, forcibly baptized; and finally chained head-to-foot below deck on a Spanish ship headed for Mexico and a life of slavery.

The San Juan Bautista carried about 350 enslaved people, more than a third of whom died on the crossing. Then, in the Gulf of Mexico, the ship was attacked by two English privateers . pirates under a foreign flag of convenience. The two ships carried about 60 of the Africans north toward Virginia.

Virginia had no law to permit or ban slavery. But the Africans became slaves by fact, if not law. In 1624, two of them, identified as Anthony and Isabella, were listed in the household of Capt. William Tucker, a military commander and settler.

The following year, the two appear again in a census, this time along with William their Child Baptised. Another African child, unnamed, also appears for the first time in the same 1625 census. But William is the first identified by name.

The Tuckers believe that he is their founding father; that William was surnamed Tucker, after Capt. Tucker; and that their ancestors lived on or near Bluebird Gap Farm, site of Capt. Tucker's plantation, in what is today the city of Hampton.

But the Tuckers have so far been unable to prove their claims to the satisfaction of most historians and genealogists.

An African Ancestry DNA test for a family elder, Floyd Tucker, showed that his DNA coincided with that found in a tribe in what is today Ghana . not Angola, from where William's parents came.

HOW '20 and odd' enslaved Africans became millions

Explore the graphic

It's unclear how far William's line goes forward, and how far the Tuckers goes back. A professional historian hired by the family has yet to find anything to narrow the gap.

One problem is that England's American colonists kept poor records; settlers were more concerned about making it through winter or fighting Indians. Often, what records were kept subsequently were destroyed, by everything from fire to worms.

Today, experts say that any family . white or black . is hard-pressed to establish genealogical connections before 1800 unless their ancestors were rich, famous or criminals.

Just because the Tuckers can't document their connection doesn't mean they don't have one, said Beth Austin of the Hampton History Museum. "But it's really still just a theory. That's all we can go on."

Did William survive infancy in the precarious colony? Did he have children? Did his children have children? Regardless, he was the symbolic beginning of so much in American life . . . of the hands that picked the cotton that financed the Industrial Revolution; of jazz and gospel and hip-hop; of Ellison and Baldwin and Morrison; of King and Malcolm and Fannie Lou Hamer; of the Afro, the high-five and the dunk shot.

And yet, after he was baptized . . . on a date and in a place unknown . . . history's first identified African American simply vanished.

An American griot

Griot

Singer

A griot, jali, or jeli is a West African historian, storyteller, praise singer, poet, or musician. The griot is a repository of oral tradition and is often seen as a leader due to his or her position as an advisor to royal personages. As a result of the former of these two functions, they are sometimes called a bard.

None of the Tuckers loved the story like Thelma Williams.

As a child she'd listen for hours to her grandmother, who'd been born sometime in the last quarter of the 19th century. The old woman told of family recipes and remedies, about slave uprisings and Indian wars. While other children played or did their chores, Thelma listened, rapt.

Of all these stories, her grandmother told her, there was one she had to remember: We were on the first slave ship

to come to America, and we are descended from the first black child born here.

The girl was skeptical. How do you know, grandma? In a [1998 interview with The Associated Press](#), she recalled the answer: "Don't you know that if you take a dog down the street, he'll find his way home? Well, child, we're human beings and we're much more intelligent than animals. We need to know where we came from. And if we put our minds to it, we always find our way home."

Many members of the Tucker family still live within miles of the place they believe their ancestors first landed at Point Comfort, now Fort Monroe...

Although the idea that the Tuckers went back to the first Africans in America had circulated in the family for years, it was slowly dying until Thelma grew up and got her hands on it.

She spent days in courthouses and libraries across eastern Virginia, checking birth records and deeds. She tracked down family elders, usually leaving the visit with a photograph or two. She went to Richmond. She went to Washington. She filled a spare bedroom in her small house in Hampton with her research, including stacks of handwritten notes.

Her grandmother's story was proving true. There had been a child of the first Africans who'd lived in the household of a white man named Tucker. Tucker had a plantation near what is today a public park in Hampton called Blueberry

Gap Farm. And once, when an elderly Tucker was brought by his children to the farm, he blurted out, "This was our home."

Thelma came to understand, she told the AP, the importance of the Tuckers' connection to that first African child: "It's important that people know we didn't just fall out of the sky."

Thelma recorded this and all sorts of other family stories: that Capt. Tucker had William baptized, stood as his godfather and gave him his surname; that William eventually obtained his freedom (from indentured servitude, not slavery), married (possibly to a woman of mixed race) and moved to New Kent County, where he had children and owned land.

The younger Tuckers began to pay attention, especially Thelma's cousin Wanda. Wanda remembers the older woman's excitement: "You won't believe what I just found!"

Thelma's children sometimes resented their mother's obsession. Her husband accused her of "living in the past." She'd find a way to turn any conversation around to family history and genealogy. She'd accost acquaintances at the grocery store to fill them in on what she'd discovered. When she learned your last name, she'd tell you what plantation your people lived on.

One of her daughters laughs at the memory: "Nobody liked it!"

Undaunted, Thelma handed out a synopsis of the Tucker story at family reunions. She spoke to community groups and anyone else who'd listen, including the mailman.

Her efforts were responsible, in 1994, for the family's official recognition in the Jamestown Settlement history park's reenactment of the 375th anniversary of the Africans' arrival.

A replica of that first ship, the White Lion, sailed up the James River. Some of the Tuckers, in period dress, were on board, honored as founding Americans. Thelma stood on the riverbank in a purple dashiki, beaming.

The event cemented the Tuckers' status as the first family. The *Virginian-Pilot* of Norfolk described the Tuckers flatly as the descendants of the first Africans born in North America.

The Tuckers became the face of 1619. A group photo of them was featured on a National Park Service brochure for visitors to the spot where the first Africans landed.

But Thelma was a paradox: She loved the Tucker story so much, she coveted it. And because she coveted it, she tried to protect it.

She'd only tell relatives parts of the story, never the whole thing. Thelma believed that the story was a book, and she was the only one to write it. She compiled a manuscript, which never got published because she wouldn't relinquish control.

Then she died, at 64, in 2006.

Her research went to her daughters and became caught up in a family rift over real estate, divorces and other issues.

Thelma's daughter, Shree Green, says her mother's research could shed light on the family tree. She says that she and her sister want to publish it, but they're not ready. The other Tuckers say they're mystified.

This June, Wanda stood by Thelma's simple horizontal headstone in the family cemetery. She lamented what the loss of the research meant to the family story.

It's like she took it with her to her grave.

Who lies below?

They couldn't afford a gravestone. So sometimes, to mark a burial spot, the slaves would plant a seed. And the seed would become a tree, and the tree would grow higher, 2 feet a year.

The place where Thelma was laid to rest is dotted with oaks and pines 50 feet high. It almost certainly dates to the time of slavery. It feels like the nave of a cathedral.

The Tucker family cemetery lies seven miles from where the first Africans landed in 1619, and a mile from the site of Capt. Tucker's plantation. It's incongruously surrounded by squat 1950s tract houses and almost invisible from the street.

By 1896, the year the [Supreme Court in Plessy v. Ferguson](#) ratified "separate but equal," Thomas Tucker and five other men paid \$100 for what was known as the Old Colored Burial Ground. Tuckers probably were buried there before that, and they've been buried there ever since.

But after Thelma's death, the cemetery was neglected. Neighbors used it as a dumping ground . for a couch, a refrigerator, a water heater. Snakes crawled through the vines, and the vines crawled up the tree trunks. Kids used it to play jungle.

Then, on May 17, 2013, the Tuckers picked up their local newspaper, The Daily Press, and saw this headline: [HISTORIC CEMETERY DRAWS MAYOR'S EYE.](#)

City officials said it had languished for years under iffy ownership and infrequent maintenance. The mayor said the graveyard apparently had been abandoned.

The story shocked and embarrassed Wanda, Walter and their relatives. They told the city the cemetery wasn't abandoned. It was theirs . they had the 1896 deed. They galvanized to form the [William Tucker 1624 Society](#) and began meeting regularly to clean and prune it.

The skull that Walter found, which was solemnly reburied in a small white coffin, was a sign the cemetery was more than it seemed. As the weeds and vines were cut back, the Tuckers found depressions that looked like unmarked

graves. They hired a company to survey the graveyard with ground-penetrating radar.

The result amazed them. The cemetery contained more than 100 unmarked graves, as many as the number of marked ones. That's when it hit Walter: "This could be where our earliest ancestors are buried."

The discoveries spread the cemetery's fame and seemed to bolster the Tuckers' claim to history.

The Tucker 1624 Society received a \$100,000 grant from an environmental nonprofit for cemetery work. The legislature approved an easement to protect the cemetery from development and ensure public access. Gov. Ralph Northam visited the cemetery last August to sign the legislation.

"Cemeteries can be a way for us to retrace our history," he said.

News reports often speculated . . . and sometimes stated as fact . . . that William actually was buried there. Northam himself referred to "William Tucker's presence here" . . .

Today, the family is divided on whether to explore the cemetery's secrets. Walter and Wanda are willing to have graves opened and the remains exhumed to discover who was buried and when.

Walter believes that since the cemetery was used by a relatively limited number of families, there might have been burials as infrequently as once every few years. If

so, he reasons, its first burials might have occurred in the 1700s or even the 1600s . William's time.

But Tucker elders think the dead should be left in peace.

For now, Walter concedes, they have a veto. But some day, %d be the elder.¶

Slaves had a harrowing journey to America. We tell it in augmented reality.

A different kind of search

The Tuckersqclaim demands more research, historians say. Austin, the Hampton museum historian, sums up the Tuckers' dilemma: %We just don't always have the information to tell the story we want to tell.¶

Their story faces a competing, if less-publicized, claim to a 1619 connection. A retired corporate executive named Shelton Tucker, also a Tidewater, Virginia, resident but not directly related to Wanda's family, also says he's descended from William.

There are tensions between these two Tucker clans . %a Hatfields and McCoys kind of thing,¶says a local historian, Calvin Pearson.

Shelton Tucker resents the public focus on the other Tuckers' claim. "The red carpet family," he calls them. "We're all Tuckers, but when the cameras show up, it's always them. They'll say anything to get in front of a camera."

Until someone proves otherwise, the Tuckers continue to celebrate their status as the "first family." They've made the search a family affair.

Walter's sister, Carolita Jones-Cope, 60, handles calls from the media, which have been pouring in. She's planned a ceremony Friday at the family cemetery. Vincent Tucker, 57, leads the 1624 Society. Brandi Davis Melvin, 42, brings her three young daughters to the cemetery to spruce it up.

Brenda Tucker Doswell, 77, speaks and sings at programs celebrating her family's story. She's picked out a long skirt made of African fabric to wear when she sings [Friday at the cemetery](#). "This is 400 years," she said. "That's what we commemorate and celebrate."

Verrandall Tucker personifies the family's pride in its story. He shows newspaper clippings to customers at his men's clothing shop. He's screened a video of a TV news report about the family's lineage at his church.

Sometimes he changes out of his dress clothes, closes his shop and leaves a sign: %Gone to cemetery.¶

An inconvenient truth

Wanda Tucker has taken on what may be the most challenging task . the search for historical validation.

For hours last month she turned the pages of a huge ledger, squinting in the fluorescent glare at the faded cursive script, puzzling over archaic spellings. At 61, she's a practiced researcher . Ph.D., professor, department chair. But this is the search of her life.

Her family can trace its roots no further than the early 1800s; before that, the trail goes cold, leaving a 175-year gap in a genealogical chain to William.

Which is why she was poring through the 166-year-old Register of Birth at the courthouse in Isle of Wight County, Virginia.

In trying to prove one story about her family, however, she risked disproving others.

The link to William was only one story the Tuckers told about their history. They also believed that, in the long night of American slavery, they . unlike the vast majority of blacks . remained free.

Last month she was searching for birth records for Thomas Tucker, her great-great grandfather, who she thought was born about five years before the Civil War. She wanted a specific date.

The records started in 1853, so she began there, scouring the ledger for a Thomas Tucker born to a woman named Millie. But there were none . not even any Thomases. So she started over, looking simply for a Tom born to a Millie.

And suddenly, after two hours of searching, there he was on page 21 . born Oct. 20, 1856.

She had added another leaf to the family tree.

But then her eye drifted across the page. After the columns with newborns' names, birth dates and mothers' names, there were three other columns: White. Colored/free. Colored/slave.

And Wanda saw that, despite all she had been told, the column checked was the last one. Slave.

If that story was not true, what about the most important one of all?

She had time to think about that question, and she still believes William was her ancestor: "Until somebody proves me wrong, it is the story I am holding onto, and the one I am going to keep telling."

That's what makes the cemetery so important. Whether or not the Tuckers can ever prove a connection with William,

it shows that they have endured slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction, the Klan, Jim Crow and separate but equal.

“We’ve survived,” she says. “We’re still here.”

How an accidental encounter brought slavery to the United States

Four hundred years ago this summer, a few weeks and 35 miles apart, two epochal events occurred. One was the inaugural meeting of the General Assembly of the Virginia colony . the first elective representative body of its kind in North America.

The other was the first recorded arrival of enslaved Africans in mainland English America.

Slavery alongside democracy; oppression amidst freedom. The contradiction would shape the nation that emerged from the Virginia colony.

How and why slavery, America’s original sin, came to these shores and took hold is a story of accident and coincidence. It didn’t have to happen the way it did.

Not if a 17th-century Portuguese king hadn’t dreamed of a trans-African empire; if an obscure African kingdom had been more stable; if two pirate ships looking for gold hadn’t, in the vastness of the Gulf of Mexico, stumbled instead on a slave ship; if the pirates hadn’t sold the enslaved to settlers in a colony desperately short of labor.

How '20 and odd' enslaved Africans became millions

Explore the graphic

And the story of where the enslaved people came from is one that most Americans have never heard and that historians in recent decades have had to radically alter.

Once, scholars believed the first blacks to arrive in the Jamestown settlement probably came from the West Indies. Where they had originally come from in Africa was anyone's guess.

But two decades ago, a researcher found a shipping document in the Spanish national archives that told of a raid by two pirate ships in July 1619 on a slave ship, the San Juan Bautista, en route to Mexico. The pirates absconded with about 60 enslaved Africans.

The timing coincided with the arrival in Virginia a month later of two ships, the *White Lion* and the *Treasurer*, carrying the enslaved whom the pirates sold to several leading settlers.

The shipping document's biggest revelation was the San Juan Bautista's port of departure: what is today Angola.

‘The land of the dead’

Seven thousand miles from Jamestown, on a rise overlooking the Atlantic just south of Angola’s capital city, Luanda, sits an old two-story white building. With a cross on its pediment and a sand-colored baptismal bowl inside, it might seem that its function, centuries ago, was sacred.

But this was a slave-trading hall. Tens of thousands of people were forcibly baptized, marched out the door and eventually put on ships headed west toward what Europeans called the Americas and Angolans called ~~the~~ the land of the dead.

In 1619, many of these enslaved Africans had been taken prisoner in Portugal’s war against the Kingdom of Ndongo, whose capital was about 150 miles inland.

It was part of a fight that the Portuguese king hoped would open a corridor to his colonies in East Africa. To this end, his governor forged an alliance with a group of fearsome nomadic African mercenaries who practiced cannibalism and infanticide.

Weakened by decades of internal strife and battles with rival kingdoms, Ndongo succumbed. The mercenaries sacked the capital and took thousands of captives.

The prisoners were marched to the coast. Adults were yoked together with forked tree branches; children too

small to keep up were carried in bags. About a fifth of the captives died en route.

Those who reached Luanda were branded and jammed into pens until there was room for them on one of 36 slave ships that left in 1619 for the New World, carrying a total of about 15,000 enslaved people. ~~N~~Never in the history of the Atlantic slave trade would so many Africans from so small an area be taken in so short a time, [on Tim Hashaw](#) writes in his book "The Birth of Black America."

In May, [about 350 Angolans were loaded onto the San Juan Bautista](#), chained head to foot below deck. They were headed for Mexico, and a life . probably short . of forced labor in mines.

Though treated savagely, they were not savages. Ndongo had a long tradition of self-rule, with a sophisticated royal court and administrative bureaucracy. The population of Kabasa, the capital, approached 50,000. Many residents had been exposed to Europeans, and some knew Portuguese.

A harrowing journey

The San Juan Bautista transported enslaved Africans across the ocean before coming under attack in the Bay of Campeche. Privateers aboard the White Lion and the Treasurer took captured Africans north to Virginia, landing there in 1619.

Coming to America

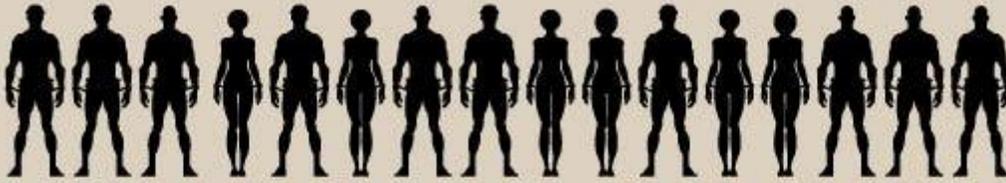
The Atlantic crossing of the San Juan Bautista was troubled even by the harsh standards of the Middle Passage; nearly half of the enslaved died by the time the ship reached the Gulf of Mexico.

Then it was attacked by two English privateers . pirate ships licensed under a foreign flag of convenience . who were searching for gold and silver.

The pirates found prisoners instead and took about 60 of the Africans and headed north toward Virginia, the closest port.

According to a letter by tobacco planter [John Rolfe](#) (widower of Pocahontas), in late August a ship (the White Lion) landed in the 12-year-old Jamestown settlement.

It brought not anything but 20, and odd, Negroes, which the Governor and the Cape Merchant bought for victuals . provisions.



How (and why) Virginia legalized slavery

As tobacco becomes the colony's most profitable – and labor-intensive – crop, more workers are needed to grow it. Workers soon outnumber owners, who view black slaves as more profitable than white indentured servants.

In response, state legislators pass more laws to marginalize and control blacks. A sample of laws:

1640

Virginia's General Assembly requires free white men to arm themselves and masters to supply white servants with arms. Blacks, however, are forbidden to own weapons.

1642

Black women are classified as taxable, a law that separates them from indentured white women.

Some of the Africans were first identified by name in a 1624 census. They included an Anthony and an Isabella . names forced on them by the Europeans . who were part of the household of Captain William Tucker, a military commander and settler.

The following year the two appear again in a census, this time along with %William their Child Baptised. the first identified child born of Africans parents on the mainland of English America.

Although the colony had no law permitting or banning slavery, the Africans became slaves in fact, if not law. But slavery was not part of the original plan for the colony. The men who founded the Virginia Company of London had dueling visions . a community of planters versus a commercial and trading center, with a subspecialty in raiding Spanish shipping. Neither envisioned slavery as its linchpin.

Indeed, piracy was virtually the only way the Africans could have come to Virginia; the Portuguese and Spanish monopolized the Atlantic slave trade and had already transported about 500,000 enslaved to the Caribbean and Latin America.

In 1619, with King James of England trying to improve relations with Spain, such raids were out of official favor. But the colony was too poor and laborers were too needed. Jamestown was on the verge of collapse; winter was known as the starving time. English colonies had disappeared before, and there was every indication this one could, too.

‘Proper and cheap’ labor

Some of the new arrivals were skilled at farming, herding or ironworking. And they arrived just as a new, sweeter strain of tobacco was becoming a profitable crop for export to England. As the governor of Bermuda wrote, slaves were “the most proper and cheap instruments for raising tobacco.”

That still did not guarantee that Virginia would become dependent on slavery. In fact, the number of enslaved people declined over the next few years, probably because of disease, hunger or an Indian war. White servants comprised the bulk of the colony’s labor force into the 1670s.

But for all the random contingencies of slavery’s arrival in Virginia, it took root with a vengeance because of broad underlying forces . . . an abundance of cheap land; the rise of cash crops; and a shortage of labor to harvest them. By the end of the century, the supply of white English subjects willing to work as indentured servants . . . contract workers . . . had collapsed.

As tobacco, rice and finally cotton exports boomed, the forced labor of the first Africans and their descendants helped fuel the Industrial Revolution. It also, as the writer Ta-Nehisi Coates points out, created the economic foundation for America’s great experiment in democracy.

And it all started in 1619, in Angola. Today, the old slave-trading hall outside the capital is a museum with whips

and manacles and other artifacts of human bondage. You can stand in the same door through which the captives were marched off toward slavery in the New World.

Relatively few Americans visit. But when the writer Christopher Hitchens did in the mid-1980s, he noticed outside the museum some pieces of tree bark with inscriptions in Spanish. They had been left by black Cuban soldiers who had come to fight in Angola's civil war.

Several bore the same inscription, as apt now as it was then: "We have come home."

Nichelle Smith, an investigations team editor at USA TODAY, recalls attending a lecture at the Library of Congress in early 2018 where she listened to scholars discuss the landing 400 years ago of enslaved Africans at the British colony of Virginia.

A name soon caught her attention: "Angela," among the first Africans brought to Virginia in 1619. Angela survived the first leg from Angola on a slave ship, was taken hostage by British pirates and eventually sold to the commander of Jamestown Island.

Her age and the date of her death remain unknown.

"Angela was my original inspiration," said Smith, who is writing "Searching for Angela,"

Our journalists traveled from Virginia to Angola and beyond to produce a vivid, multi-part series that includes the Tucker family's quest to connect with its past.

Wanda Tucker, who traces her family roots to the 1800s in Virginia, has been trying to connect her family history back to William . the first recorded African baby baptized in Virginia, a child born to Anthony and Isabella, survivors of the White Lion, a privateer that anchored at Point Comfort, where its captain traded human beings for supplies.

"The landing of the first enslaved Africans in 1619 is one of the most important events and dates in our country's history, but it hasn't been treated as such," said USA TODAY Editor-in-Chief Nicole Carroll. "We set out to correct that. Our goal is to educate and inform Americans about the history that continues to shape and influence the country we are today.+

Engraved on a wall inside the museum, in the Slavery and Freedom exhibition under low light, are the names of slave ships, countries of origin, departure dates, enslaved boarded, survivors:

" The Good Intent, United Kingdom, 12-24-1785, 51/40

" Buen Jesus, Portugal, 12-23-1638, 216/153

" Cap Vert, France, 2-8-1770, 100/36

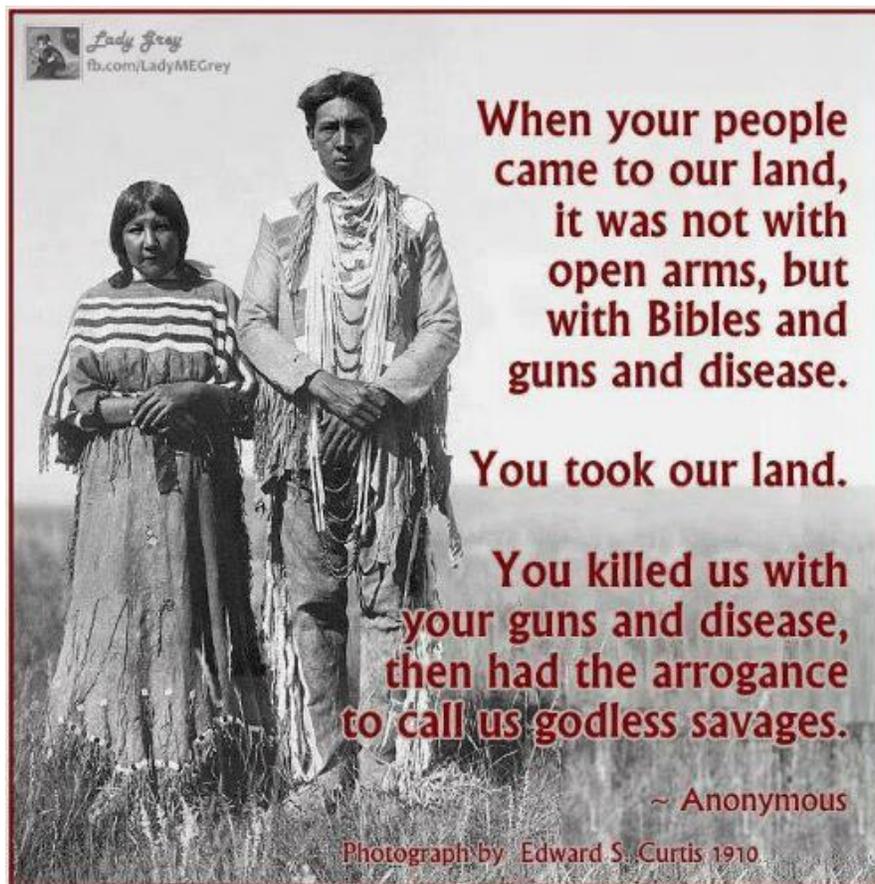
Diagrams of the ships showed how captors wedged men, women and children into suffocating cargo holds. Disease, lack of food, water, sanitation, storms and pirate raids killed millions.

The next day, a group from USA TODAY traveled to Hampton, Virginia. We were escorted us to Point Comfort,

the spot where the first Africans landed. Brown reminded us that American Indians originally inhabited "God's green earth" before the British "dislocated the Native Americans," he said.

We walked the Tucker family cemetery in [Aberdeen Gardens](#) with two Tucker brothers, Vincent and Verrandall, who are dedicated to preserving their family history. Their father, Alexander Tucker Jr., died in 2017 and is buried here.

"Watching the unpacking of history on the tour provided a profound context, respect and dignity for a culture which is often stripped of those qualities," Jones said.



**IF SOMEONE'S COLOR,
GENDER, RELIGION,
ETHNICITY, OR SEXUAL
ORIENTATION KEEPS
YOU FROM FULLY
LOVING THEM—YOU'RE
DOING LOVE WRONG.**

JOHN PAYLOVITZ

Reverse Racism Myths That Need To Stop

“Why aren’t there – White Entertainment Awards?”

“Why do we not celebrate White History Month?”

Reverse racism isn’t real. No, really.

The reverse racism card is often pulled by white people when people of color call out racism and discrimination, or create spaces for themselves (think BET) that white people aren’t a part of. The impulse behind the reverse racism argument seems to be a desire to prove that people of color don’t have it that bad, they’re not the *only* ones that are put at a disadvantage [or targeted](#) because of their race.

It’s like the Racism Olympics.

And it’s patently untrue.

BLACK ENTERTAINMENT TELEVISION isn’t racist?
Supposing we were to suggest a WHITE
ENTERTAINMENT TELEVISION?

Do we really want to go there? And yet, we do all the time.

It is a face card that we pull .

REAL LIFE. REAL NEWS. REAL VOICES.

Help us tell more of the stories that matter from voices that too often remain unheard

It really all comes down to semantics. At some point, the actual *meaning* of racism got mixed up with other aspects of racism — prejudice, bigotry, ignorance, and so on. It's true: White people *can* experience prejudice from black people and other non-whites. Black people *can* have ignorant, backwards ideas about white people, as well as other non-white races. No one is trying to deny that. But racism is far more complex.

Before you cry outrage about how reverse racist this article happens to be, calm down. *Listen...*

You may decide to disagree...but that is ok, that is your right...but please let me go on...

Some people simplify racism as one group not liking another, and think racist and prejudiced are interchangeable words. But racism is a concept that operates on both an individual and institutional level.

At its core, racism is a system in which the dominant race benefits off the oppression of others, whether they want to or not. We don't live in a society where every racial group has equal power, status, and opportunity.

Yes, WHITE people all over the world and throughout history have experienced atrocities like slavery and persecution. But *in the very specific context of American history*, white people+colonized,+or forced to segregate+on the scale that black people have. They do not face housing or job discrimination,+police brutality,+poverty,+or incarceration+at the level that black people do.

This is not to say that they do not experience things like poverty and police brutality+at all. But again, *not on the "same scale"* - not even close. *That is the reality of racism. NOT EVEN CLOSE*

What's astounding about the reverse racism argument+is the way in which it reveals some racists' deep need to deny the idea+of having any privilege.++Rather than acknowledging the realities of how people of color+deal with racism, white racists do mental and hypothetical cartwheels+in order to justify+these injustices.

There have been [so many explainers](#) on why the concept of reverse racism+is inherently wrong,+so many breakdowns, but perhaps another way to tackle this discussion is to address some of the main topics and issues+that get called out+as reverse racism. Here are four common arguments that have no merit:

1. Affirmative Action takes jobs and scholarships away from white people.

The affirmative action debate has been raging for decades, with many people arguing that it's a prime example of reverse racism. They believe deserving white students are discriminated against while academically unqualified students are given highly coveted college or company positions just because they happen to tick the ethnic minority box. This argument ignores the fact that affirmative action did not come out of nowhere there was a need for a system that would address the decades of underrepresentation of people of color both academically and in the job world.

Affirmative action does *not* favor people of color over whites, but ensures that they are considered equally.

Even now, **white college students are [40% more likely to get private scholarships](#) than minorities**, and although 62% of college students in America are white, these students receive 69% of all private scholarships.

Someone with a white sounding name is [50% more likely to get a job call back than a person with an ethnic](#) sounding name, according to a 2003 study. Affirmative action doesn't take anything away from anyone. It levels the playing field.

2. White culture can be appropriated, too.

Recently, there was an article explaining why it's problematic for white women to wear black hairstyles. Individuals got hundreds of messages from angry people asking, "Well, what about black women straightening their hair or dyeing their hair blonde?"

First of all there are, *gasp*, black people in the world with naturally blonde hair and blue eyes.

But that's beside the point.

The need to flip the script when it comes to cultural appropriation is **wrong** because it willfully removes context and history from the equation.

Black people conforming to white or Western standards of beauty is the product of a need to survive in a society in which wearing hair in its natural state can cost black men and women their jobs and even their educations.

So is it appropriation if black people use math or fly in airplanes? No.

Aspects of modern civilization are [not hallmarks of white culture](#), and anyone who thinks they are has a skewed vision of the world.

3. Black-on-white crime is proof that black people just hate all whites!

When conversations turn about to [police brutality](#) or [hate crimes](#) come up, there are some racists who are quick to point out the [rate of black-on-white crime](#), and argue that these instances are [racially motivated attacks](#) against white people in other words, [hate crimes](#). It's simply not true.

According to the [FBI's most recent 2011 study on homicide](#), 83 percent of [white murder victims](#) were killed by [fellow whites](#), while only [14 percent](#) of white victims were murdered by blacks.

But beyond numbers, [black-on-white crime](#) is a social problem it isn't [systemic](#). [More than 100 unarmed black people](#) were killed by police in 2014. [Guilty or not](#), this number of deaths in comparison to how [many white people](#) were killed is staggering.

4. BET, Black Girls Rock and Black History Month exclude white people. How racist!!

Things like Black History Month, BET, (Black Entertainment Television) and Black Girls Rock are not reverse racist against white people, they are not examples of a double standard in which White History Month,

The White Entertainment Channel, and [White Girls Rock would be considered offensive.](#)

Why isn't there a White History Month? you ask? To repeat a very true cliché *all history is white history.*

Most black children in America will learn they are descended from slaves before they learn they are descended from ancient African civilizations.

OUCH!

These institutions are created out of necessity, and the argument that they should not exist speaks to the pervasiveness of white privilege.

Donald Trump actually took issue with the show Black-ish, complaining that the show was racist [because](#). Can you imagine the furor of a show, White-ish!

Racism at highest level?

Yes, Mr. Trump, one of the few black family sitcoms on TV, produced and written by ~~a~~ black person, playfully dismantling racial stereotypes and striving to include everyone in the conversation, is ~~a~~ racism at its highest level.+

Or maybe it's just long overdue?

And for the record, it is a pretty well-known fact, that I voted for him!

If you think about it, reverse racism is actually kinda great.

Because if it did exist, it would mean we lived in a society in which ~~a~~ all racial groups have ~~a~~ an equal amount of power.+

But we don't.

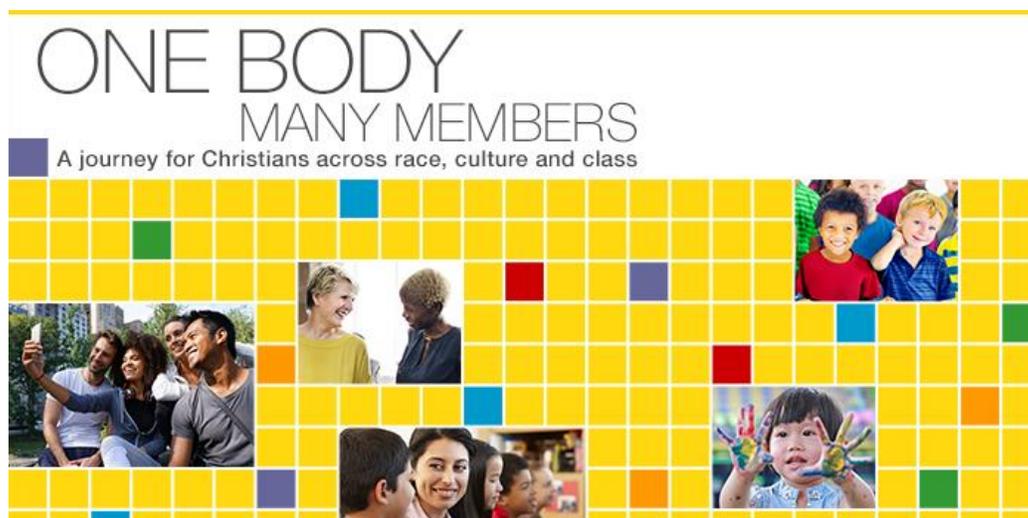
So to those who cry ~~a~~ reverse racism when a show like ~~a~~ Black-ish premieres or [President Obama uses the N-word](#) · please, just stop.

Get a life!

Race, Ethnicity and Culture

Freed in Christ: Race, Ethnicity, and Culture expresses the ELCA's calling to celebrate culture and ethnicity. This calling commits the ELCA to confront racism, to engage in public leadership, witness and deliberation on these matters, and to advocate for justice and fairness for all people. The statement is grounded in the conviction that the church has been gathered together in the joyful freedom of the reign of God as announced by and embodied in Jesus. That reign has not come in its fullness, but the message of God's yes to the world breaks down all dividing walls as we live into that promise.

In daily life, cultural, ethnic and racial differences matter, but they can be seen and celebrated as what God intends them to be . blessings rather than means of oppression and discrimination. We are a church that belongs to Christ, where there is a place for everyone. Christ's church is not ours to control, nor is it our job to sort, divide, categorize or exclude. This statement was adopted by the 1993 ELCA Churchwide Assembly.



Racial Justice Ministries

We believe that Christ's church is for all people. God calls each of us by name, and it is not our job to sort, divide, categorize or exclude. But as saints and sinners, we know and experience God's work of healing and restoring as well as the persistent human pain and injustices of racism in the world. This is where God has put us, in the thick of life, where we participate in what God is doing by insisting on justice and upholding human dignity for the inclusion of all people in the life of the church and society.

We are called to be a church that embraces each person and confronts racial, ethnic, cultural, religious, age, gender, familial, sexual orientation, physical, personal and class barriers that often manifest themselves in unjust treatment, inequalities, exclusion and violence.

The Racial Justice Ministries of the ELCA serve as catalysts and bridge builders committed to the work of:

- Equipping leaders to recognize and understand the complexity and implications of racism and racial issues.
- Training and education in the areas of anti-racism and racial justice for leaders in partnership with synods, congregations, associations and social service agencies.

- Building alliances and strategies across race, ethnicity, class, gender, age and sexual orientation to break through barriers of racism and oppression.
- Creating and supporting ecumenical networks that call for and help equip the church to be a multiracial and multicultural community.
- Working together throughout the church in public witness, programs and policies that advance racial justice · locally and globally.
- Developing and sharing educational tools and training models for congregations to use in facing the challenges of racism in a diverse, complex and changing world.

When we confront racism and move toward fairness and justice in the church and society, we all benefit. We begin to understand that each of us has a unique story, and we are all part of a larger, rich story that makes up the ELCA.

The ELCA Social Statement, "Freed in Christ: Race, Ethnicity and Culture," offers theological reflection on the church's commitment to undo racism and move toward reconciliation, healing and embracing all people.



Perspective: Confessing racism

By Elizabeth Lowry January 31, 2018



I was about 10 years old, standing in the kitchen, hanging around as bratty sisters do, and listening to my parents talk to my 15-year-old sister.

The only words I remember are my mother's.

“You can’t grow up white in the United States and not be racist.”

Pause. Wait ... *I’m* white.

My sister and I laugh about this moment, reimagining our response as a whimper of “Mommy?” and looking down at our pale arms in startled confusion. In truth, though, it was a defining moment. A *freeing* moment.

My mother had given us permission to confess something terrible, to be honest with ourselves about the images, attitudes and systems swirling around us. She removed the “boogeyman” of racism—the unknown, unidentified monster in a hooded robe—and said, “No, here’s the mirror.” My mother, in her stark, concise words, had given me permission to examine myself and my society and to be unafraid to admit what I found there.

To confess that when I was 4 or 5 years old, I told my family I didn’t want the black baby doll they had given me because I wanted a “pretty one.”

To confess that when I was in second grade, I told a friend, a little brown boy, that he looked like a gorilla, oblivious to the weighty horror of those words.

To confess that when I was 13, I misheard a young Asian boy’s name because I was expecting him to have an accent.

To confess that I am not exempt or unburdened by the racist images, language and structures of my society.

To confess that systems in this country have benefited and continue to benefit people who look like me.

I have come to realize that this was one of the greatest gifts of parenting given to me. I have encountered so many white Americans who are afraid to talk about racism—it is the boogeyman. It's why folks start sentences like "I'm not racist, but ..." or talk about their one black friend or start accusing others of being racist ("but not me!").

It's why white people can get defensive or angry at any suggestion that we might need to examine ourselves or our society differently. We are afraid.

When white Christians confess our racism, blinders begin to come off and in shines light. We see what we had not before seen.

But we exist in a prison when we live denying that anything is wrong. People recovering from alcoholism know this: First, you admit to the problem.

Confession.

Confession has long been a tradition within the church. “Let us confess our sins before God and one another,” our pastors say. We do this in community. We do this together. And when we do it genuinely, honestly, we find how uncomfortable it is. Those confessions of mine? They were painful to type. They are filled with regret and grief and disgust.

But still—the confession frees.

I am not *defined* by what I confess, but I am called to repent from it. To turn around. Which is why I must do this confession and repentance in community—to hear the testimonies of others who have swallowed their fear and spoken out; to listen to people of color; to sit quietly with the anger and pain of those wounded by racism; to organize for justice and march in the streets.

My mother’s words gave me permission to confess that I am not alone in this, and that this brokenness is shared. When white Christians confess our racism, blinders begin to come off and in shines light. We see what we had not before seen.

Throughout last year, many were shocked by a growing sense of emboldened racist language and action. But the images of hate seen in the news,

the white supremacist rallies and speakers, are not surprising when we've already confessed that its seeds are found in the policies of our criminal justice system, our schools, our government, our communities and in our very hearts. We confess and we begin to see. We hear God's call to turn and to act. We give our lives to this call and we invite others to join us.

Confession reminds me that I have not *arrived*, however. I come again and again to God and cry, "Lord, have mercy!"

And let me tell you, as heavy and weighty and sorrowful as this confession is, as dark and painful and hateful as the images of white supremacists marching in the streets are, the Lord does indeed have mercy. There is freedom and life in God's mercy.

There is no boogeyman. There is only us. And God's love.

We are a church that values and encourages diverse voices and lively dialogue in our faith and life. Living Lutheran is an opportunity for church members to express individual perspectives, and does not necessarily reflect official positions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.



ELCA Publication Says “You can’t grow up white in the United States and not be racist.”

Racism is defined as “Prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism directed against someone of a different race based on the belief that one's own race is superior.”

There is racism in this sinful world, and it is against God’s will. I pray for an end to all racism. True racism. And when Christ returns we will see an end to all sin.

With that said, the ELCA has made some claims about white people and racism that are highly questionable. It could be argued that the ELCA's statement itself is racist.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America’s (ELCA) *Living Lutheran* magazine recently ran an article with this claim,

“You can’t grow up white in the United States and not be racist.”

I'm sure many ELCA church members would be shocked that their denomination is calling them racists. (96% of all ELCA members are white.) It is irresponsible of the ELCA to make this incredibly audacious statement. The ELCA does not know everyone's thoughts, actions, beliefs, life stories and feelings.

If the ELCA wants to claim that all people of the world are racist, that is one thing. But to single out all white people in the United States as being racists is false and dishonest.

This must be a popular notion with ELCA leaders because here we have an ELCA seminary president saying something very similar:

“In particular, I am writing this mainly to white people like me at our seminary. I am convinced that we are in denial about the racism that saturates our society and from which we directly benefit. That denial produces predictable twin reactions from white people: either silence about the racism that plainly reinforces our way of living or surprise at the frustration and outrage African Americans and others express at how they are treated.

I believe this denial, with its attendant silence and surprise, is nothing other than a refusal to acknowledge the privilege we hold and the degradation it inflicts on others. If we as white people have any conscience left, if we at this moment feel any distress at all with recent events, then we should at least have the moral courage in a seminary to admit that how we live is destructive for other people and ultimately unsustainable for ourselves. As white people, we must acknowledge our racism.”

- The ELCA's Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago President James Nieman



Beautiful



Racism is something you learn
Not something you're born with

ELCA commitment to confronting racism and anti-Semitism

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA), stands against all forms of hatred and discrimination. The church believes that cultural, ethnic and racial differences should be seen and celebrated as what God intends them to be— blessings rather than means of oppression and discrimination.

The ELCA's social statement "Freed in Christ: Race, Ethnicity and Culture" states: "Racism— a mix of power, privilege, and prejudice— is sin, a violation of God's intention for humanity. The resulting racial, ethnic, or cultural barriers deny the truth that all people are God's creatures and, therefore, persons of dignity. Racism fractures and fragments both church and society."

The social statement, adopted by the ELCA 1993 Churchwide Assembly, calls on the church to make confession for complicity, name the spiritual crisis at the roots, commit to change and make pledges to public witness, advocacy and action to confront racism.

"We recognize that the kind of violence we witnessed in Charlottesville last weekend is very real and affects all of us," said ELCA Presiding Bishop Elizabeth A. Eaton. "We need to stand up firmly against racism and anti-Semitism, show up for and advocate with others. Jesus, who makes visible those who are invisible, is already there. We need

to show up, and we need to listen in each of our communities.+

The ELCA is a church that belongs to Christ and Christ's church universal, where there is a place for everyone. The job of Christ's people today is to celebrate the diversity of God's creative work and embrace all people in the spirit of love, whatever race or ethnicity, economic status or gender.

Commemorating 400 years of African American history and culture: An invitation to participate in Healing Day bell ringing

Episcopal Church Office of Public Affairs

Posted Aug 6, 2019

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Presiding Bishop Michael Curry and Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia Bishop James B. Magness invite Episcopal churches to take part in a national action to remember and honor the first enslaved Africans who landed in English North America in 1619 by tolling their bells for one minute on Sunday, August 25, 2019 at 3:00 pm ET.

The National Park Service is commissioning, and asking, churches and people from around this country to commemorate and remember that landing and the bringing of those first enslaved Africans to this country by ringing bells. And if possible, by tolling the bells of churches and to do so on August 25 at 3:00 in the afternoon, said Curry. I am inviting us as The Episcopal Church to join in this commemoration as part of our continued work of racial healing and reconciliation. At 3:00 pm we can join together with people of other Christian faiths and people of all faiths to remember those who came as enslaved, who came to a country that one day would proclaim liberty. And so we remember them and pray for a new future for us all.

This national bell ringing is among the Healing Day events being held at Fort Monroe National Monument to commemorate the 400th anniversary of that landing.

The 2019 commemoration of the arrival of the first enslaved Africans to North America is for me a highly personal occasion, said Magness. As a descendent of slaveholders, and as a white male who came of age in the racially polarized south during the 1950s and 1960s, I am painfully aware of my own complicity in furthering and perpetuating the subjugation of my African American brothers and sisters. At a time when the racial divide in this country seems to be growing rather than diminishing, we are in dire need of a moment, an event when we can stop and take stock of our responsibilities to bring the races together, perhaps in a new manner that truly is an embrace of what it means to be a follower of Jesus Christ.

Let us unite as one on this day and show our appreciation for 400 years of African American history, said Terry E. Brown, Fort Monroe National Monument superintendent. We must embrace the West African concept of Sankofa, which teaches us we must go back to our roots in order to move forward.

The site of the ship's arrival is the present site of Fort Monroe National Monument in Hampton, Virginia.

The first African people were brought to this continent in harrowing and dehumanizing circumstances. As we remember the 400th anniversary of their arrival, I pray that we will do the hard work of reconciliation that God longs

for us to do,+said Susan Goff, bishop suffragan of the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia. %God forgive us. God give us courage and resolve. And God bless us.+

As recorded by English colonist John Rolfe, the arrival of %20 and odd+African men and women at Point Comfort in late August 1619, was a pivotal moment in the nation's history. Stolen by English privateers from a Spanish slave ship and brought to Point Comfort on a ship called the *White Lion*, these natives of west central Africa are believed to have been traded for food and supplies. They were the first Africans to be brought to English North America.

%With bells tolling across America, we pause to lament the centuries of suffering and wrenching grief of slavery and racism in our land,+said Mariann Edgar Budde, bishop diocesan of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington. %The first slave trade ship to land 400 years ago planted the seed of sin that spread through the active participation and complicit passivity of nearly every American institution. As we grieve, may we dedicate ourselves to addressing systemic racism and the multi-generational impact of enslavement and discrimination faced by all of the African diaspora.+

As the landing point for the first enslaved Africans in the English colonies in 1619 and the site of the first emancipation policy decision during the Civil War, Fort Monroe marks both the beginning and the end of slavery in the United States.

About Fort Monroe

The majority of the Fort Monroe peninsula was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1960 and is also listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Fort Monroe National Monument was proclaimed by President Barak Obama in 2011. In 2018 President Donald Trump signed into law the 400 years of African American History Commission Act. A special Federal Commission was formed to commemorate and educate the American public about the 1619 arrival of the first enslaved Africans to the English colonies at Port Comfort, Virginia.

Visit www.nps.gov/fomr and www.facebook.com/FortMonroeNPS for more information.

Thanks to Randy Meier for providing us with this article.



Meet Angela

(Well kind of...)

By the time Angela was brought to Jamestown's muddy shores in 1619, she had survived war and capture in West Africa, a forced march of more than 100 miles to the sea, a miserable Portuguese slave ship packed with 350 other Africans and an attack by pirates during the journey to the Americas.

“All of that,” marveled historian James Horn, president of the Jamestown Rediscovery Foundation, “before she is put aboard the Treasurer,” one of two British privateers that delivered the first Africans to the English colony of Virginia...

Now, as the country marks the 400th anniversary of the arrival of those first slaves, historians are trying to find out as much as possible about “**Angela**,” the first African woman documented in Virginia. They see her as a seminal figure in American history — a symbol of 246 years of brutal subjugation that left millions of men, women and children enslaved at the start of the Civil War.

Two years ago, researchers launched an archaeological investigation in Jamestown at the site of the first permanent English settlement in North America to find any surviving evidence of **Angela**.

She is listed in the 1624 and 1625 census as living in the household of Capt. William Pierce, first as **“Angelo a Negar”** and then as **“Angela Negro woman in by Treasurer.”** By then, she had survived two other harrowing events: a Powhatan Indian attack in 1622 that left 347 colonists dead and the famine that followed.

Yet little is known about her beyond those facts.

“It is presumed she was youngish — maybe in her early 20s,” said Cassandra Newby-Alexander, a history professor at Norfolk State University and co-author of [“Black America Series: Portsmouth, Virginia.”](#) **“Angela was her Anglicized name. We don’t know what her original name was.”**

“If they find the remains, we can know how old she was when she arrived,” Newby-Alexander said. “Did she have children? What did she die of? We will know more about this person, and we can reclaim her humanity.”

‘Horrible mortality’

The transatlantic slave trade was already more than a century old and thriving when the first Africans reached Virginia.

“The trade is full-blown in 1619,” said Daryl Michael Scott, a Howard University history professor. The Portuguese controlled much of the market,

transporting “huge numbers of Africans taken from what becomes Portuguese Angola.”

Between 5,000 and 8,000 people from Kongo, Ndongo and other parts of West Africa were being shipped each year to Portuguese and Spanish colonies in the Americas. The total number of Africans captured and transported to the Americas between 1501 and 1867 would eventually grow to more than 12.5 million.

Angela was taken captive in 1619 during a war in Kongo. She was forced aboard a slave ship, the *San Juan Bautista*, in Luanda, then a bustling slave-trading port on the coast of West Africa, according to *Jamestown Rediscovery*. The ship was headed for Vera Cruz, on the coast of Mexico.

“The ship was overcrowded,” Horn said. “It suffered horrible mortality on the voyage to Vera Cruz.” More than 120 Africans aboard died en route.

In the middle of passage, the slave ship was attacked by two English pirate ships — the *Treasurer* and the *White Lion*. The pirates climbed aboard the *Bautista*, hoping to find a bounty of gold.

Instead, they found humans, desperate people. The pirates took 60 or so Africans, splitting them between the *White Lion* and the *Treasurer*. Historians surmise that the pirates took the young, healthiest captives.

Angela was among them.

“I’ve got no evidence that she was young,” Horn said. “I base it on the general model that slavers would try to take the younger people, including children, women and males they would get the most money for. That is a chilling aspect of the slave trade. People are being treated like livestock. The capability of women to have children was in slavers’ minds. To survive a journey like that, my own sense is she was young and possibly very young. Where there is no evidence, it is fair to speculate.”

Weeks later, the White Lion arrived at Point Comfort, near Hampton, Va., where its captain traded the enslaved people for food.

The arrival of the White Lion was reported by colonist John Rolfe, who is best known for marrying Pocahontas in 1614. He wrote: “About the latter end of August, a Dutch man of Warr of the burden of a 160 tunes arrived at Point-Comfort, the Comandors name Capt Jope, his Pilott for the West Indies one Mr Marmaduke an Englishman. ... He brought not any thing but 20. and odd Negroes, w[hich] the Governo[r] and Cape Merchant bought for victuall[s].”

The Treasurer was next to arrive. A number of historical accounts reported that the Treasurer turned around quickly after being anchored near Point Comfort, avoiding an order by the governor to detain the ship and question its captain “about his

involvement in acts of piracy in the Spanish Indies,” according to Horn.

The Treasurer, these accounts reported, headed for Bermuda before returning to Virginia. But Horn says new evidence he found in December while researching archives in London show that the Treasurer arrived in Virginia four days after the White Lion with 28 to 30 Africans that had been captured on the Portuguese slave ship.

“This is the first time documentary evidence shows that the Treasurer did, in fact, leave enslaved Africans in Virginia,” Horn said in an interview. “There is a lot going on here on the part of the English to obscure how many Africans are taken and how many arrived in Virginia. ... The Treasurer left two or three Africans in August or the fall of 1619.”

One of those two or three Africans was **Angela**, who wound up in the household of Pierce.

“The majority of the Angolans were acquired by wealthy and well-connected English planters including Governor Sir George Yeardley and the cape, or head, merchant, Abraham Piersey,” according to Jamestown Rediscovery. “The Africans were sold into bondage despite Virginia having no clear-cut laws sanctioning slavery.”

But that would change.

‘Slavery in the midst of freedom’

Angela’s arrival coincided with another milestone in American history: the meeting of the first General Assembly in Jamestown’s newly built wooden church. The assembly is billed by Jamestown Rediscovery as “the oldest continuous law-making body in the western hemisphere.”

The legislative body was made up of the governor, his four councilors and 22 burgesses elected by every free white male settler in the colony. Its work from July 30 to Aug. 4, 1619, represented the nation’s first experiment with democracy, and its 400th anniversary is being marked this year.

It is a great irony, Horn said, that American slavery and democracy were created at the same time and place.

He said that “1619 gave birth to the great paradox of our nation’s founding: **slavery in the midst of freedom**. It marked both the origin of the most important political development in American history, the rise of democracy, and the emergence of what would become one of the nation’s greatest challenges: the corrosive legacy of racial discrimination and inequality that has afflicted our society since its earliest years.”

The conditions endured by settlers and enslaved people alike were awful.

The colony, which had been established in 1607, stretched from Point Comfort to what is now Richmond. There were plantations scattered for about 100 miles along the banks of the James River. Jamestown itself probably had a population of about 100.

The colonists had, at one point, nearly been wiped out. In 1609, they were under siege by the Powhatan and facing starvation that led to cannibalism. Capt. John Smith described that horror in a 1624 letter:

“October 1609 — March 1610, there remained not past sixtie men, women and children, most miserable and poore creatures; and those were preserved for the most part, by roots, herbes, acornes, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish: they that had startch in these extremities, made no small use of it; yea even the very skinnes of our horses.

"Nay, so great was our famine, that a Salvage we slew and buried, the poorer sort tooke him up againe and eat him; and so did divers one another boyled and stewed with roots and herbs: And one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered [i.e., salted] her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne; for which hee was executed, as hee well deserved: now whether shee was better roasted, boyled or carbonado'd [i.e., grilled], I know now; but of such a dish as powdered wife I never heard of.”

Angela lived through what is called the “**Second Starving Time.**” “Many people died during the Second Starving Time,” Horn said. “There isn’t enough corn to support” the large numbers of arriving settlers. “You have a period where food prices, particularly for Indian corn, are astronomical. A lot of poor servants and white indentured servants perished or died of disease. It is a grim period.”

Angela probably survived because she lived on the plantation of Pierce, one of the wealthiest men in the colony. “We know some Africans died during that period,” Horn said. “We know there were 32 Africans living in the colony in 1620. We know only 23 Africans were living in the colony in 1625.”

But by 1626, **Angela** disappears from the census records. Her fate is unknown.

Jamestown Rediscovery recently released an illustration depicting **Angela**, circa 1625, standing on the banks of the James River as ships are anchored in the background.

“We wanted to provide a setting for **Angela** that reflected what was going on in Jamestown at the time,” Horn said. “She would have been living in Jamestown six years around 1625, which is a good date for the drawing. She certainly would have been dressed in English clothing. The dockside, it is quite

possible she would have spent time down there, which was a few yards from the Pierce house.”

Horn said the artist wanted to give **Angela** a sense of dignity and autonomy. She is not dressed in rags.

“Her clothing would not have been fancy,” Horn said, “but everyday working clothing. Essentially, she is dressed in the clothing of a working young woman for the Pierce family.”

The illustration allows viewers to fill in the gaps in history, paying due to the colony’s first documented African woman.

“I see her not so much as a kind of Eve figure for Africans,” Horn said. “There were other Africans in the colony in Virginia. I see the significance of **Angela** being able to put a name to her and identify her in a place.”

And to remind Americans 400 years later what she managed to survive.



The Slave Bible (Anyone heard of it?)

The Bible contains several references to slavery, which was a common practice in antiquity.

The biblical texts outline sources and legal status of slaves, economic roles of slavery, types of slavery, and debt slavery, which thoroughly explain the institution of slavery in Israel in antiquity.

The Bible stipulates the treatment of slaves, especially in the Old Testament (sic). There are also references to slavery in the New Testament (sic).

Many of the patriarchs portrayed in the Bible were from the upper echelons of society and the owners of slaves and enslaved those in debt to them, bought their fellow citizens' daughters as concubines, and perpetually enslaved foreign men to work on their fields.

Masters were men and it is not evident that women were able to own slaves until the Elephantine papyri in the 400s BC.

During certain reigns, especially those of Solomon and David, statewide slavery may have been instituted for large building projects or work that was deemed intolerable for free men to do.

Other than these instances, it is unclear whether or not state-instituted slavery was an accepted practice.

It was necessary for those who owned slaves, especially in large numbers, to be wealthy because the masters had to pay taxes for Jewish and non-Jewish slaves because they were considered part of the family unit.

The slaves were seen as an important part of the family's reputation, especially in Hellenistic and Roman times where the slave companions for a woman were seen as a manifestation and protection of a woman's honor.

As time progressed, domestic slavery became more prominent, and domestic slaves, usually working as an assistant to the wife of the patriarch, allowed larger houses to run more smoothly and efficiently.

The rabbis are rarely described as having many slaves, but in documents in which they write about slaves, it is always from the master's point of view, which is seen by scholars as an attempt to distinguish the middle-class citizens from slaves who could possibly have held higher positions in society because they were owned by a wealthy man.

However, owning many slaves was regular among priests in the First Temple days. This was an especially common practice in Greek religion which was supported by references to high priestly slaves in Josephus' works. These works painted the priests in a negative light, and showed the end of the institution coming after the Second Temple days in 70 AD.

Philo (c. 20 BC – c. 50 AD), one of the philosophers of the time, wrote texts on how to properly treat slaves, indicating that slavery was an important part of Jewish life, but also emphasizes the humanitarian perspective offered up by many Ancient Near East scholars.

One such way of showing this was through the sharing of products, such as food and cloth, with other, underprivileged members of society.

In the 19th century, both abolitionists and defenders of slavery often invoked the Bible in defense of their positions.

Abolitionists used texts from both the Old and New Testaments (sic) to argue for the manumission of

slaves, and against kidnapping or "stealing men" to own or sell them as slaves.

The Hebrew Bible

Old Testament (sic)

Slaves had a variety of different purposes.

To determine the function, many scholars look at repetitive descriptions in texts that were written around the same time and reports of other cultures from the well-documented [Greco-Roman](#) culture.

One of slaves' main functions was as status symbols for the upper members of society, especially when it came to dowries for their daughters.

These slaves could be sold or given away as needed, but also showed that the family was capable of providing generous amounts for their daughters to be married off.

They also catered to the needs of the temple and had more domestic abilities such as keeping up the household and raising farm animals and small amounts of crops.

Masters often took advantage of their slaves being at their beck and call by requiring them to perform duties in public that the master had the ability to do himself. This showed a level of luxury which extended beyond the private sphere into the public.

In addition to showing luxury, possession of slaves was necessary for a good family background, and

many wealthy men viewed their colleagues who possessed only few slaves as the type of individual who needed to be pitied.

Enslavement

In the [Ancient Near East](#), captives obtained through warfare were often compelled to become slaves, and this was seen by the [Deuteronomic Code](#) as a legitimate form of enslavement, as long as Israelites were not among the victims; the Deuteronomic Code institutes the [death penalty](#) for the crime of kidnapping Israelite men to enslave them.

[Deuteronomy 24:7](#) The Code appears to *require* enslaving the people of cities who surrender during wartime, excepting the cities of six nearby tribes which it requires be destroyed without offer of surrender.

If the soldier desired to marry a captured foreigner, there were stipulations.

She would shave her head and wear no jewelry or cosmetics to mourn the friends and family whom were killed in the war. While the term may be different depending on how many were lost, it would be for a minimum of one month. After the grieving was over, then he was free to make wedding plans.

If he wished to end the relationship, the code stipulated he must free her. Because he forced her by the point of the sword or tip of the spear into a sexual

relationship, he forfeited the option to sell her into slavery.

The Israelites did not generally get involved in distant or large-scale wars, and apparently capture was not a significant source of slaves.

The [Holiness code](#) of [Leviticus](#) explicitly allows participation in the [slave trade](#), with non-Israelite residents who had been sold into slavery being regarded as a type of [property](#) that could be [inherited](#).

Foreign residents were included in this permission, and were allowed to own Israelite slaves. It was also possible to be born into slavery.

If a male Israelite slave had been given a wife by his owner, then the wife and any children who had resulted from the union would remain the property of his former owner, according to the [Covenant Code](#).¹

Although no nationality is specified, 18th-century theologians [John Gill](#) (1697–1771) and [Adam Clarke](#) suggested this referred only to [Canaanite](#) concubines.

Debt slavery

Like the rest of the Ancient Near East, the legal systems of the Israelites divided slaves into different categories: "In determining who should benefit from their intervention, the legal systems drew two important distinctions: between debt and chattel slaves, and between native and foreign slaves.

The authorities intervened first and foremost to protect the former category of each---citizens who had fallen on hard times and had been forced into slavery by debt or famine."

Poverty, and more generally a lack of economic security, compelled some people to enter [debt bondage](#).

In the Ancient Near East, wives and (non-adult) children were dependents of the head of household and were sometimes sold into slavery by the husband or father for financial reasons.

Evidence of this viewpoint is found in the [Code of Hammurabi](#), which permits debtors to sell their wives and children into temporary slavery, lasting a maximum of three years.

The Holiness code also exhibits this, allowing foreign residents to sell their own children and families to Israelites, although no limitation is placed on the duration of such slavery.

Biblical authors repeatedly criticize debt slavery, which could be attributed to high taxation, monopoly of resources, high-interest loans, and collapse of higher kinship groups.

“Debt slaves” were one of the two categories of slaves in ancient Jewish society. As the name implies, these individuals sold themselves into slavery in order to pay off debts they may have accrued.

These individuals were not permanently in this situation and were usually released after six to seven years.

“Chattel slaves,” on the other hand, were less common and were usually prisoners of war who retained no individual right of redemption. These chattel slaves engaged in full-time menial labor, often in a domestic capacity.

The earlier Covenant Code instructs that, if a thief is caught after sunrise and is unable to make restitution for the theft, then the thief should be enslaved.

Children of a deceased debtor may be forced into slavery to pay off outstanding debts.

Similarly, it is evident that debtors could be forced to sell their children into slavery to pay the [creditors](#).

Sexual and “conjugal slavery”

There were two words used for female slaves, which were *amah* and *shifhah*.

Based upon the uses in different texts, the words appear to have the same connotations and are used synonymously, namely that of being a sexual object, though the words themselves appear to be from different ethnic origins.

Men assigned their female slaves the same level of dependence as they would a wife.

Close levels of relationships could occur given the amount of dependence placed upon these women.

These slaves had two specific roles: a sexual use and companionship. Their reproductive capacities were valued within their roles within the family. Marriage with these slaves was not unheard of or prohibited.

In fact, it was a man's "concubine" that was seen as the "other" and shunned from the family structure. These female slaves were treated more like women than slaves who may have resulted, according to some scholars, due to their sexual role, which was particularly to "breed" more slaves.

A father could sell his daughter into this life and she could be released within six years if she was not claimed by or assigned to another man.

Sexual slavery, or being sold to be "a wife," was common in the ancient world.

Throughout the Old Testament (sic), the taking of multiple wives is recorded many times.

An Israelite father could "sell his unmarried daughters" into servitude, with the expectation or understanding that the master or his son could eventually marry her... (As in Exodus 21:7-11.) Yikes!

It is understood by Jewish and Christian commentators that this referred to "the sale of a daughter," who "is not arrived to the age of twelve years and a day, and this through poverty."

And if a man sells his daughter to be a female slave, she shall not “go out” as the male slaves do.

If she does not please her master, who has betrothed her to himself, then he shall let her be redeemed.

He shall have no right to sell her to a foreign people, since he has dealt deceitfully with her.

And if he has betrothed her to his son, he shall deal with her according to the custom of daughters.

If he takes another wife, he shall not diminish her food, her clothing, and her marriage rights.

And if he does not do these three for her, then she shall go out free, without paying money.

The code also instructs that the woman was to be allowed to be redeemed if the man broke his betrothal to her.

If a female slave was betrothed to the master's son, then she had to be treated as a [normal](#) daughter.

If he took another wife, then he was required to continue supplying the same amounts of food, clothing, and [conjugal rights](#) to her.

The code states that failure to comply with these regulations would automatically grant free [manumission](#) to the enslaved woman, while all Israelite slaves were to be treated as hired servants.

The betrothal clause seems to have provided an exception to the law of release in [Deuteronomy 15:12](#) (cf. [Jeremiah 34:14](#)), in which both male and female

Israelite servants were to be given release in the seventh year.

The penalty if an Israelite engaged in [sexual activity](#) with an unredeemed female slave who was [betrothed](#) was that of “[scourging](#),” with Jewish tradition seeing this as only referring to the slave, (versus [Deuteronomy 22:22](#), where both parties were stoned, being free persons), as well as the man confessing his guilt and the priest making atonement for his sin.

Women captured by Israelite armies could be adopted as wives, but first they had to have their heads shaved and undergo a period of mourning. ([Deuteronomy 21:10-14](#))

However, "If you are not pleased with her, then you must let her go where she pleases. You cannot in any case sell her; you must not take advantage of her, since you have already humiliated her."

Manumission

In a parallel with the [shmita](#) system the Covenant Code offers “automatic [manumission](#) of male Israelite slaves” after they have worked for six years; this excludes non-Israelite slaves, and specifically excludes Israelite daughters, who were sold into slavery by their fathers, from such automatic seventh-year manumission.

Such were bought to be betrothed to the owner, or his son, and if that had not been done, they were to be allowed to be redeemed.

If the marriage took place, they were to be set free if her husband was negligent in his basic marital obligations.

The later Deuteronomic Code is seen by some to contradict elements of this instruction, in extending automatic seventh year manumission to both sexes.

Others see the latter as a general decree, with the aspect of female manumission not being applicable within the specific circumstances of the former case, with marriage taking the place of manumission.

The Deuteronomic Code also extends the seventh-year manumission rule by instructing that Israelite slaves freed in this way should be given livestock, grain, and wine, as a parting gift; the literal meaning of the verb used, at this point in the text, for *giving* this gift seems to be *hang round the neck*.

In Jewish tradition, the identified gifts were regarded as merely symbolic, representing a gift of produce rather than of money or clothing; many Jewish scholars estimated that the value of the three listed products was about 30 [shekels](#), so the gift gradually came to be standardized as produce worth this fixed value.

The Bible states that one should not regret the gift, for slaves were only half as expensive as hired workers;

Nachmanides enumerates this as a command rather than merely as a piece of advice.

Despite these commandments, Israelite slaves were kept longer than permitted, compelling **Yahweh** to destroy the **Kingdom of Judah** as punishment.

The text also describes **Jeremiah** demanding that **Zedekiah manumit** all Israelite slaves.

The Holiness Code does not mention seventh-year manumission; instead it only instructs that debt-slaves, and Israelite slaves owned by foreign residents, should be freed during the national **Jubilee** (occurring either every 49 or every 50 years, depending on interpretation).

While many commentators see the Holiness Code regulations as supplementing the prior legislation mandating manumission in the seventh year, the otherwise potentially long wait until the Jubilee was somewhat alleviated by the Holiness Code, with the instruction that slaves should be allowed to buy their freedom by paying an amount equal to the total wages of a hired servant over the entire period remaining until the next Jubilee (this could be up to 49 years-worth of wages; in 2017, this would roughly equate with a rather large chunk of change!)

Blood relatives of the slave were also allowed to buy the slave's freedom and this became regarded as a duty to be carried out by the **next of kin** (Hebrew: *Go'e*l).

Permanent enslavement

As for Israelite slaves, the Covenant Code allows them to voluntarily renounce their seventh-year manumission and become permanent slaves (literally being slaves *forever*).

The Covenant Code rules require that the slaves confirmed this desire at either a religious sanctuary, or in the presence of [the household gods](#) (the [Masoretic Text](#) and [Septuagint](#) both literally say [*at the gods*, although a few English translations substitute *in the presence of Judges*); having done this, slaves were then to have an [awl](#) driven through their ear into a doorpost by their master. This ritual was common throughout the Ancient Near East, being practiced by [Mesopotamians](#), [Lydians](#), and [Arabs](#); in the Semitic world, the ear symbolized obedience (much as the heart symbolizes emotion, in the modern western world), and a pierced [earlobe](#) signified servitude.

Working conditions

The [Ethical Decalogue](#) makes clear that honoring the [Shabbat](#) was expected of slaves, not just their masters.

The later Deuteronomic code, having repeated the Shabbat requirement, also instructs that slaves should be allowed to celebrate the [Sukkot](#) festival.

Although the Holiness Code instructs that during the [Sabbatical Year](#), slaves and their masters should eat food which the land yields, without being farmed, it does not explicitly forbid the slaves from the farming itself, despite restricting their masters from doing so, and neither does it grant slaves any other additional rest from work during these years.

Indeed, unlike the other law codes, the Holiness Code does not mention explicit occasions of respite from toil, instead simply giving the vague instruction that Israelite slaves should not to be compelled to work *with rigor*; [Maimonides](#) argues that this was to be interpreted as forbidding open-ended work (such as *keep doing that until I come back*), and that disciplinary action was not to include instructing the slave to perform otherwise pointless work.

A special case is that of the debtor who sells himself as a slave to his creditor; the Holiness Code instructs that in this situation, the debtor must not be made to do the work of slaves, but must instead be treated the same as a hired servant.

In Jewish tradition, this was taken to mean that the debtor should not be instructed to do humiliating work - which only slaves would do - and that the debtor should be asked to perform the craft(s) which they usually did before they had been enslaved, if it is realistic to do so.

Injury and compensation

The earlier [Covenant Code](#) provides a potentially more valuable and direct form of relief, namely a degree of protection for the slave's person (their body and its health) itself. This codification extends the basic [lex talionis](#) (*....eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth...*), to compel that when slaves are significantly injured by their masters, manumission is to be the compensation given; the canonical examples mentioned are the knocking out of an eye or a tooth.

This resembles the earlier Code of Hammurabi, which instructs that when an injury is done to a social inferior, monetary compensation should be made, instead of carrying out the basic "lex talionis"; [Josephus](#) indicates that by his time it was acceptable for a fine to be paid to the slave, instead of manumitting them, if the slave agreed.

Nachmanides argued that it was a biblically commanded duty to liberate a slave who had been harmed in this way.

The [Hittite laws](#) and the Code of Hammurabi both insist that if a slave is harmed by a third party, the third party must financially compensate the owner.

In the Covenant Code, if an [ox](#) gores a slave, the ox owner must pay the servant's master a 30 [shekel](#) fine.

The murder of slaves by owners was prohibited in the Law covenant.

The Covenant Code clearly institutes the death penalty for beating a free man to death; in contrast, beating a slave to death was to be *avenged* only if the slave does not survive for *one or two days* after the beating.

[Abraham ben Nathan of Lunel](#), a 12th-century [Provençal scholar](#), [Targum](#), and Maimonides argue that “*avenged*” implies the death penalty, but more recent scholars view it as probably describing a lesser punishment.

A number of modern [Protestant Bible](#) versions (such as the [New Living Translation](#), [New International Version](#) and [New Century Version](#)) translate the survival for *one or two days* as referring to a full and speedy recovery, rather than to a lingering death, as favored by other recent versions (such as the [New Revised Standard Version](#), and [New American Bible](#)).

Fugitive slaves

The Deuteronomic Code forbids the people of Israel from handing over fugitive slaves to their masters or [oppressing](#) them, and instructs that these fugitives should be allowed to reside where they wish.

Although a literal reading would indicate that this applies to slaves of all nationalities and locations, the [Mishnah](#) (an authoritative collection of exegetical material embodying the oral tradition of Jewish law and forming the first part of the Talmud) and many

commentators consider the rule to have the “much narrower application,” to just those slaves who flee from outside Israelite territory into it.

New Testament (sic)

Slavery is mentioned numerous times in the [New Testament \(sic\)](#).

The word "servant" is sometimes substituted for the word "slave" in English translations of the Bible.

Gospels

[Jesus healed the ill slave](#) of a centurion and [restored the cut off ear](#) of the high priest's slave.

In [his parables](#), Jesus referenced slavery: the [prodigal son](#), [ten gold coins](#), [unforgiving tenant](#), and [tenant farmers](#).

Jesus' teaching on slavery was metaphorical: spiritual slavery, a slave having two masters (God and mammon) slavery to God, acting as a slave toward others, and the greatest among his disciples being the least of them.

Jesus also taught that he would give burdened and weary laborers rest.

The [Passion](#) narratives are interpreted by the Catholic Church as a fulfillment of the Suffering Servant songs in [Isaiah](#).

Jesus' view of slavery compares the relationship between God and humankind to that of a master and his slaves. Three instances where Jesus communicates this view include:

Matthew 18:21-35: Jesus' [Parable of the Unmerciful Servant](#), wherein Jesus compares the relationship between God and humankind to that of a master and his slaves. Jesus offers the story of a master selling a slave along with his wife and children.

Matthew 20:20-28: A series of remarks wherein Jesus recognizes it is necessary to be a slave to be "first" among the deceased entering heaven.

Matthew 24:36-51: Jesus' Parable of the Faithful Servant, wherein Jesus again compares the relationship between God and humankind to that of a master and his slaves.

Epistle

(Oh, boy, here we go!)

In [Ephesians](#) 6:5-8, [Colossians](#) 3:22-24, [1 Timothy](#) 6:1-2 and [Titus](#) 2:9-10, [Saint Paul](#) instruct slaves to obey their masters.

In Ephesians 6:9, Paul instructs masters to "do the same things to [their slaves]" as he had commanded slaves to do unto their masters, which is to "[r]ender service with enthusiasm, as to the Lord".

In [1 Peter](#) 2:18, [Saint Peter](#) also instructs slaves to obey their masters.

In Col 4:1 Paul instructs masters to "treat your slaves justly and fairly."

In [Romans](#) 1:1, Paul metaphorically calls himself a "slave of Christ Jesus," and later, in Romans 6:20-21, he writes about the metaphor of slavery to sin.

In [Galatians](#) 3:27-29, Paul says that in the church there is "neither slave nor free person,...for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

In [Revelation](#), two angels call themselves fellow slaves (coworkers) of [Saint John](#).

Philemon

The [Epistle to Philemon](#) has become an important text in regard to slavery; it was used by pro-slavery advocates as well as by abolitionists.

In the epistle, Saint Paul writes to [Saint Philemon](#) that he is returning [Saint Onesimus](#), a fugitive slave, back to him; however, Paul also entreats Philemon to regard Onesimus, who he says he views as a son, not as a slave but as a beloved brother in Christ.

Philemon is requested to treat Onesimus as he would treat Paul.

According to Catholic tradition, Philemon freed Onesimus. Hmmmm....

Finally, we get to the Slave Bible!!!!

(Sorry!)

It was just a momentary detour... "In research" one thing always leads to another! Still going strong at 11P.M. and I was at work at 8:30 A.M...get a life. Dude...

The Slave Bible, as it would become known, is a missionary book.

It was originally published in London in 1807 on behalf of the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves, an organization dedicated to improving the lives of enslaved Africans toiling in Britain's lucrative Caribbean colonies.

They used "the Slave Bible" to teach enslaved Africans how to read while at the same time introducing them to the Christian faith.

Unlike "other missionary Bibles," however, the "Slave Bible" contained only "select parts" of the biblical text.

Its publishers deliberately removed portions of the biblical text, such as the exodus story, that could inspire hope for liberation.

Instead, the publishers emphasized portions that "justified and fortified" the system of slavery that was so vital to the British Empire.

This unique artifact-in-focus exhibition, "*The Slave Bible: Let the Story Be Told*," is presented by Museum

of the Bible with the cooperation of Fisk University and the Center for the Study of African American Religious Life at the National Museum of African American History and Culture.

Drawing upon new research into its origins and use among enslaved Africans in the Caribbean, this exhibition tells a story of ‘how time’ and ‘place’ shape the way people understand and use the Bible.

You will also have an opportunity to join the ongoing conversation about “the Slave Bible” in the exhibition’s response area.

The exhibition grapples with this rare artifact’s implications for our understanding of “the Bible’s role in slavery” and the struggle for freedom.

It was published for slaves by people allied to slave owners, and you can guess what kind of things the “Slave Bible” of 1809 kept in and kept out.

The cover page describes the book as “Parts of the Bible, Selected for the use of the Negro Slaves of the British West-India Islands.”

Parts.

Just parts.

Because some parts of Scripture the editors didn’t want slaves hearing.

It's the subject of [a new special exhibit](#) at the Museum of the Bible in Washington, D.C.

As far as I can find, it was published by the Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands.

This ministry (here's their [report from 1825](#)) included abolitionists, though many of the ministers they employed owned slaves.

In fact, their patron in 1809 when the Slave Bible appeared was the Anglican bishop of London, who had been one of the earliest abolitionists. He worked closely with William Wilberforce. The slaves “are considered as mere machines and instruments to work with, as having neither understandings to be cultivated nor souls to be saved,” Beilby Porteus [preached in 1787](#), when support for abolition was still a very eccentric position to take. The rest of the sermon, which is well worth reading, rejects the system by which so many were enslaved and degraded.

Porteus was one of the good guys. Yet even he presided over a society that produced a cut-and-pasted Bible, designed to give slaves only part of the Good News: the part their owners wanted them to hear. That doesn't speak well of the editors, but it does testify to the power of Scripture. They felt they

had to neuter Scripture the way a farmer neuters a bull: to make it easier to handle.

What It Teaches

The Slave Bible leaves out 90% of the Old Testament, including every single psalm. The Bible's prayer book must have included too much about God delivering his people from their oppressors. It leaves out half the New Testament. That includes the book of Revelation, with all its talk about a new heavens and new earth. And Philemon, of course, because Paul begs Philemon's owner to give him his freedom. Its editors deleted almost everything that might imply a judgment on slavery or a promise of freedom in this world.

Take its selection from Exodus. It ignores [God's delivering the Israelites](#) from slavery in Egypt. It leaves out the event that *gives the book its name*. The gall! as my grandmother would say.

Its version of Exodus begins with chapter 19, when the Israelites enter Sinai. No brutal slavery, no tyrannical pharaoh, no plagues visited upon the oppressor, no Divine Passover striking the slave-owners and sparing the slaves, no crossing the Red Sea, no Divine destruction of pharaoh's army. All missing. The selection ends with the last verse of chapter 20 after the giving of the Ten Commandments.

What does this Bible teach? Law, not liberation.

Take the Slave Bible's longer selection from Deuteronomy. Its begins with chapter 4, which it titles

“An exhortation to obedience.” Chapter 6 it titles “The end of the law is obedience.” It skips chapter 7. In that chapter, God tells the Israelites to destroy the peoples of the land He is giving them. He declares: “Thou shalt not be afraid of them: but shalt well remember what the Lord thy God did unto Pharaoh, and unto all Egypt.” So that chapter had to go.

It titles chapter 8 “An exhortation to obedience in regard of God dealing with them,” titles chapter 9 “Moses dissuadeth them from the opinion of their own righteousness, by rehearsing their several rebellions,” titles the second half of chapter 10 “an exhortation to obedience,” and titles chapter 11 “An exhortation to obedience.” It then skips to chapter 28, which it titles “The blessings for obedience. The curses for disobedience.” From there it jumps all the way to I Samuel 17.

What does the Bible teach? Obedience, not freedom. *What It Doesn't Teach*

And what does it *not* teach?

The owner's responsibility for his slaves and servants. It includes Paul telling “servants [to] be obedient to them that are your masters.”

It leaves out his telling the Galatian Christians “There is neither bond nor free ... for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.”

And here are [two more verses](#) the editors of the Slave Bible left out:

“He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death” (Exodus 21:16).

And “Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour’s service without wages and giveth him not for his work” (Jeremiah 22:13).

The Cut-and-Pasted Bible

The men who created the Slave Bible meant well.

Some of them wanted to end slavery completely, because they were Christians.

Because they were Christians, they wanted slaves to know Christ. Knowing Jesus would change their lives, in this world and the next, even if they remained oppressed.

So they created a Bible for them.

But they did not give the slaves the full Word of God.

They did not share with them the whole revelation God has given his people.

It's a warning to us, who could easily do the same thing. It's also a lesson.

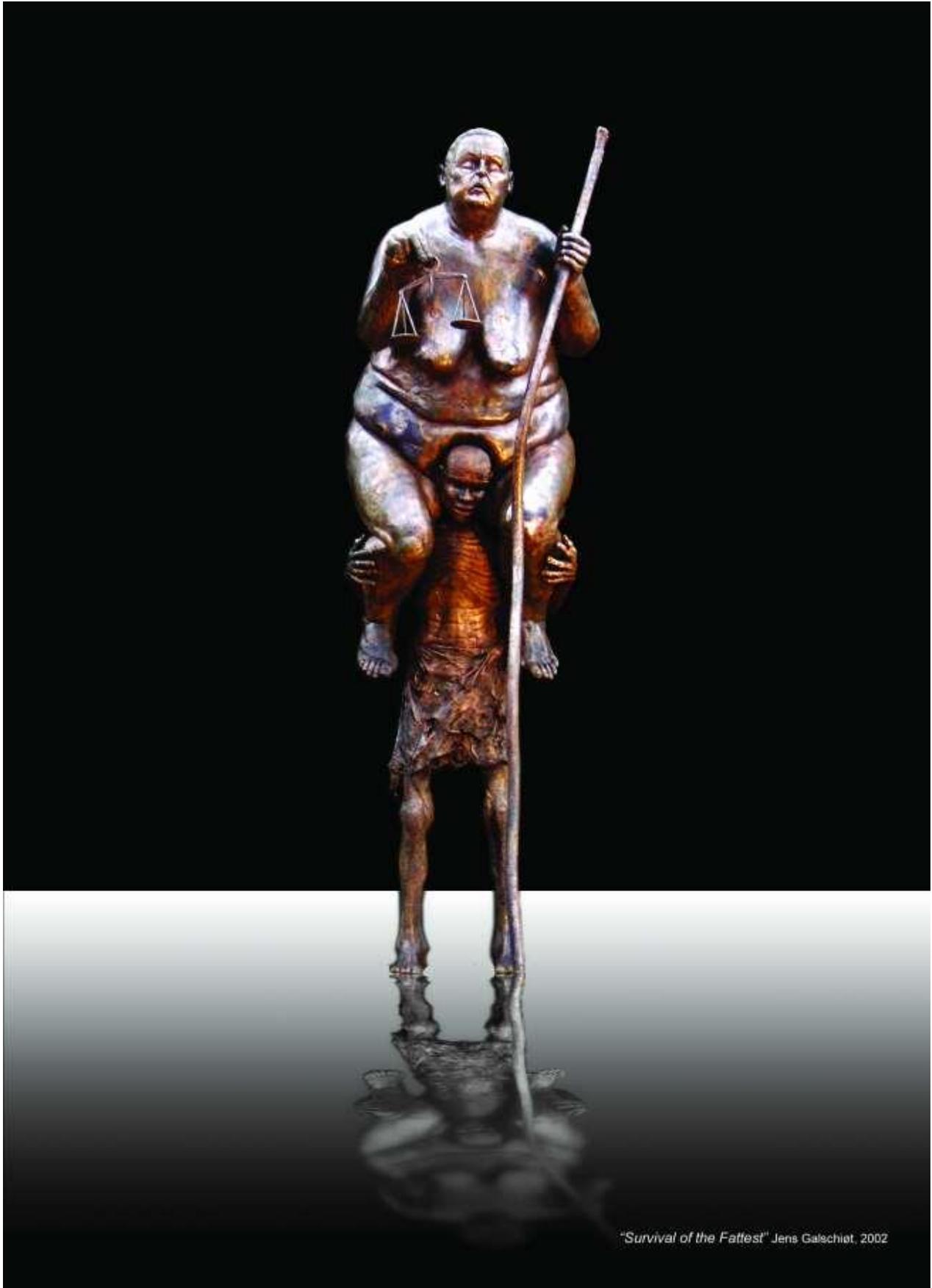
The Slave Bible's creators put themselves above Scripture and shaped the Word for their own purposes.

They wanted their slaves to believe that God wanted them to obey.

They didn't want their slaves to know that God wanted them free.

And that tells us something about the power of the Word to change lives, and to change the world.

3 Copies remain...that is it...but at the time, it was widely circulated by good meaning Christian men and women!



"Survival of the Fattest" Jens Galschiet, 2002

Survival of the Fattest

I admit to being haunted by a piece of sculpture, having seen it once, it has haunted me since. It speaks to me, I hope in some way it will speak to you as well. Once having seen it, you cannot un-see it!

The sculpture, entitled, Survival of the Fattest, is of Lady Justice depicted as “an obese woman from the West” sitting on the shoulders of a “starved African man.”

The sculpture illustrates that when addressing oppression (especially oppression dealing with race, gender, and sexual orientation), we'll often “claim a willingness” to do “**anything**” we can to help, except seriously examining and giving up the oppressive beliefs, practices, and policies that privilege us.

If we are **serious** about moving beyond privilege by engaging diversity, inclusion, and equity, then we have to be **intentional** in using whatever privilege **we possess** in ways that avoid “the perils of privilege” by “challenging privilege” and by pursuing the promise of privilege for all.

Antisemitism... means the hatred of Jews.

The word first appeared in the 19th century, when classification of people into different races was considered normal. Many people in Europe thought the 'white race' was better than other races. But do Jews belong to a separate 'race'?

And is antisemitism racism?

Racism is based on the idea that there are different human races: the 'white race', the 'black race', the 'yellow race', and the 'red race'. People of the same race are assumed to share certain characteristics.

Hitler and the National Socialists (Nazis) also believed that people could be divided into races. And they believed that the races were in competition with each other. According to the Nazis, the Jews were a weak, dangerous, and inferior race that did not belong in Germany.

The ideas of Hitler and the Nazis were racist. After the Second World War, science showed that the classification of humanity into different races is wrong. There is only one race: the human race. Other forms of antisemitism may not be racist, or less so. In the past, hatred against Jews was often fuelled by the Christian churches. Throughout the history of Christian Europe and the Islamic world, there have been times when Jews were persecuted. People turned against them, not because they belonged to another 'race', but because they did not believe in the right God.

Conclusion:

Jews are not a race, and categorizing people according to race is wrong and dangerous. Even so, some people still believe in the concept. If it is the basis for their hatred of Jews, it is undoubtedly racist.

Israeli Racism

Racism in Israel encompasses all forms and manifestations of [racism](#) experienced in [Israel](#), irrespective of the color or creed of the perpetrator and victim, or their [citizenship](#), [residency](#), or [visitor](#) status...

Wow! You may want to reread that again or allow it to sink in for a second or two.

More specifically in the Israeli context, however, racism in Israel refers to racism directed against “[Israeli Arabs](#) by [Israeli Jews](#),” intra-Jewish racism between the various “[Jewish ethnic divisions](#)” (in particular against “[Ethiopian Jews](#),” historic and current racism towards [Mizrahi Jews](#) and [Jews](#) of color, and racism on the part of Israeli Arabs against Israeli Jews.

This is important!

“[Mizrahi Jews](#)” in [Israel](#) constitute one of the largest [Jewish ethnic divisions](#) among [Israeli Jews](#).

Israeli Mizrahim are descended from Jews in the [Middle East](#) and [Central Asia](#), from [Babylonian and Persian heritage](#), who had [lived for many generations under Muslim rule](#) during the Middle Ages.

The vast majority of them left the [Muslim-majority countries](#) during the [Arab. Israeli conflict](#), in what is known as the [Jewish exodus from Arab and Muslim countries](#).

Some 607,900 Jews are immigrants and first-generation descendants by paternal lineage of “Iraqi, Iranian, Yemenite, Egyptian, Pakistani and Indian

Jewish communities,” traditionally associated with the “Mizrahi Jews.”

Many more Israeli Jews are second and third generation Mizrahi descendants or have a partial Mizrahi origin.

The other dominant sub-groups are the “[Israeli Ashkenazi Jews](#) and [Sephardic Jews](#).”

The Ashkenazi Jews –

You have no doubt heard of before but...for the record they are a [Jewish %Diaspora population](#)” who [coalesced](#) in the [Holy Roman Empire](#) around the end of the [first millennium](#).

The traditional diaspora language of Ashkenazi Jews is [Yiddish](#) (a [Germanic language](#) with elements of [Hebrew](#), [Aramaic](#) and [Slavic languages](#)), developed after they had moved into northern Europe: beginning with Germany and France in the Middle Ages.

For centuries they used [Hebrew](#) only as a [sacred language](#), until [the revival of Hebrew as a common language](#) in Israel.

Throughout their time in Europe, Ashkenazim have made many important contributions to its philosophy, scholarship, literature, art, music and science.

The term "Ashkenazi" refers to Jewish settlers who established communities along the [Rhine](#) river in Western Germany and in Northern France dating to the Middle Ages.

Once there, they adapted traditions carried from Babylon, the [Holy Land](#), and the Western Mediterranean to their new environment.

The Ashkenazi religious rite developed in cities such as [Mainz](#), [Worms](#), and [Troyes](#). The eminent French [Rishon](#) rabbi Shlomo Itzhaki ([Rashi](#)) would have a significant influence on the Jewish religion.

In the late [Middle Ages](#), due to religious persecution, the majority of the Ashkenazi population shifted steadily eastward, moving out of the [Holy Roman Empire](#) into the areas later part of the [Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth](#), comprising parts of present-day [Belarus](#), [Latvia](#), [Lithuania](#), [Moldova](#), [Poland](#), [Russia](#), and [Ukraine](#). Now, you know at least some of the poop on the Ashkenazi Jews!

Often “Mizrahi” and “North African Sephardic Jews” in Israel are grouped together due to the similarity of their history under Muslim rule and an overwhelming migration out of their countries of residence during the 20th century.

As of 2005, 61% of Israeli Jews were of full or partial Mizrahi ancestry.

Racism on the part of Israeli Jews against Muslim Arabs in Israel exist in “institutional policies, personal attitudes, the media, education, immigration rights, housing, social life and legal policies.”

Some elements within the “Ashkenazi Israeli Jewish population” have also been described as holding discriminatory attitudes towards fellow Jews of other

backgrounds, including against “[Ethiopian Jews](#), [Indian Jews](#), [Mizrahi Jews](#), [Sephardi Jews](#),” etc.

Although intermarriage between [Ashkenazim](#) and Sephardim/Mizrahim is increasingly common in Israel, and social integration is constantly improving, disparities continue to persist.

[Ethiopian Jews](#) in particular have faced discrimination from non-Black Jews.

It has been suggested that the situation of the Ethiopian Jews as 'becoming white' is similar to that of some European immigrants like [Poles](#) and [Italians](#) who arrived in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Israel has broad anti-discrimination laws that prohibit discrimination by both government and nongovernment entities on the basis of race, religion, and political beliefs, and prohibits [incitement to racism](#). The Israeli government and many groups within Israel have undertaken efforts to combat racism. Israel is a state-party to the [Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination](#), and is a signatory of the [Convention against Discrimination in Education](#). When it comes to racism – no one has the corner on this sad market.

Race, Racism and Islam

"Islam is an ideology. It's not a race."
Ibrahim Hooper, CAIR spokesperson

"Whoever resembles a people, he is of them"
Muhammad, Prophet of Islam

***"We've seen this before. There's a
master race. Now there's a master faith."***
Benjamin Netanyahu

Islam is Not a Race

Those openly critical of Islam are sometimes dubiously slurred as racists, regardless of what their true views on race may be.

In fact, Islam is not a race. Islam has nothing at all to do with genetics, nor is it an innate characteristic. It is an ideology – a set of beliefs about individual behavior and the rules of society.

People generally choose their beliefs; they do not choose their race. Therefore Muslims are not a race of people. In fact, there are Muslims of all races. Does a person change their race by adopting or leaving Islam?

Criticizing Islam is *not* racism. There is no such thing as "anti-Muslim racism" any more than there is "anti-Christian racism," "anti-Republican racism," or "anti-Capitalist racism."

So why would anyone claim differently?

It is because the battle over Islam is being fought in the West, the only arena in which it can still be critically debated. It is also here that repugnance toward racism is strong and nearly universal. From politics to high-risk mortgages and illegal immigration, "fear of the race card" is one of the strongest influences on public policy.

At the same time, it is nearly impossible to defend Islam on its own merits in the West in free and open debate. According to its own texts, the religion was founded in terror and bigotry. It's political and social code is deeply incompatible with liberal values.

Muslims societies usually rely on threat of violence to suppress intellectual critique of Islam and the freedom of other religions to fairly compete, which, if allowed, would be the slow death of Islam. Their counterparts in the West have learned to rely on "the race card." If they can paint any criticism of their religion as

"racist," then the massive evidence against Islam can be dismissed out of hand without having to contend with it.

Slinging the worst of all slurs to compensate for deficiency of fact and logic is not only weak but ironic, given that what is being defended in such cheap fashion is “an ideology” that is “*overtly supremacist*” in nature. In fact, Muslims who have learned to parrot allegations of racism are not thinking too far ahead...

What if It Really Is...a Race?

It might seem that casting Islam as a race - or Muslims a race of people - successfully protects the religion. Tough examination, either of the common ideological tie or its social effects, could be dismissed as racism. But everything is not as it seems.

If Muslims are a race because of Islam, then it means that Islam is “a racial ideology.” Therefore, what this ideology has to say about its own and other “races” becomes very important.

In fact, the Quran posits “an enormous qualitative distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims” that is hard to miss. Believers are loved by God, whereas

“infidels are hated” to the extent that they are tortured for eternity (3:32, 4:56) merely for not believing.

Muslims are told not to take unbelievers as friends (3:28) and to shun them (3:118). Those outside the circle are called “helpers of evil” (25:55), “wicked” (4:160), “fond of lies” (5:42) and compared to the worst of animals (8:55, 7:176, 7:179). Muslims are told to be merciful to each other, but ruthless to those outside of the faith (48:29). Violence is also “sanctioned” against those who are obstinate against Islamic rule (8:12-13, 9:5).

If Islam is a race, then Christianity and Judaism are races as well, meaning that “if the Quran speaks of them as inferior,” then it is “a racist book.” In truth, the Quran does more than that. In a stunning show of religious bigotry, Muslims are ordered to fight Jews and Christians *“until they pay the Jizyah with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued”* (9:29). There is no reason given in the verse other than religious status for bringing Jew and Christians under the heel of Islamic rule.

Sharia, the canonical law of Islam, is openly discriminatory toward non-Muslims. Clothes and eating utensils used by non-Muslims are considered 'unclean'.

They must keep to one side of the street, accept a "lesser form of greeting," and are not allowed to mix with Muslims at certain events.

A Muslim cannot be put to death for killing a non-Muslim.

No other religion filters perception through group identity to the extent that Islam does.

Around the world Christians, Jews and other individuals are routinely brutalized merely because they are a member of a non-Muslim group, not because they have done anything to personally deserve having their lives taken, their children maimed or their property torched.

Meanwhile, other Muslims are generally indifferent to this violence and reserve their true outrage for circumstances involving Muslim victims of non-Muslim acts, however unintentional or relatively slight.

So, if Muslims are a race, Islam would not only be a racist ideology, but arguably the most hateful and destructive in history.

Consider the words of Abul Ala Mawdudi, the founder of Jamaat-e-Islami party, and imagine that he is speaking about race (ie. substitute the word "white" for "Muslim" and "non-white" for "kufr"):

All those who are born of Muslim lineage will be considered to be Muslim, they will be subject to all Islamic laws, they will be compelled to perform the religious duties and obligations, and then whoever steps outside the fold of Islam will be executed.

Following this announcement utmost effort should be made to save as many sons and daughters born of Muslims as possible from the lap of kufr. Then whoever cannot be saved by any means should be cut off and cast away, sadly but firmly, from his society forever. After this act of purification a new life for Islamic society may begin.

How much tolerance should there be for an ideology like that?

It is bad enough that hundreds of millions of people have been killed in the last fourteen centuries by divinely sanctioned Jihad and slavery, but to retroactively supplant the stated motive of religious supremacy with that of racial superiority is hardly a step in the right direction for a religion seeking the acceptance of an increasingly skeptical audience.

Conclusion

Race is an arbitrary label that has no legitimacy. Therefore anything based on race, including racism and racial discrimination is unsound at best and immoral and inhumane at worst.

Human beings are individuals and should only be judged as such.

Islam is not a race. Muslims are not a race. Islam is an ideology that should be open to critical examination. Muslims, however, are individuals who should be protected from harm or harassment in the same way and for the same reasons as anyone else.

[Additional Note: A Muslim is defined by solely orientation toward Islam - as in being a proponent. If this qualifies as a "racial category," then so too does being a detractor of Islam. This means that any effort to denounce critics or suppress criticism could also be called "racist."]

Hi! This was an empty space that I could not make go away!

From religiously motivated discrimination and attacks on existing and proposed Islamic centers to misguided congressional hearings, Muslims in America are being unfairly targeted simply for exercising their basic constitutional right to religious liberty.

Whatever Muslims may be in Trump's America, they're not invisible. Everyone—the president, pundits, pollsters—keeps talking about the religious minority group, which makes up roughly 1 percent of the country's population. According to new data from the Pew Research Center, “the intense political focus on Islam” has yielded a sort of dual life for American Muslims.

On one hand, many Americans are suspicious of their beliefs and motives, and Muslims perceive widespread hostility toward their faith.

At the same time, experiences of discrimination haven't necessarily changed that much, and many other Americans have reached out to affirm their Muslim neighbors. President Trump may have said he wants to ban Muslims from entering America, but it

would be impossible to take the America out of Muslims: Despite heightened anxiety around their place in U.S. culture, their experiences largely mirror those of other religious groups.

American Muslims are notoriously difficult to poll. Roughly 58 percent were born abroad, and another 18 percent have at least one immigrant parent. Many of them aren't proficient enough in English to complete a lengthy survey, and the population is religiously and racially diverse. Muslims are also geographically spread out: Unlike, say, Catholics, their communities are not centrally organized. Despite these challenges, Pew completed 1,001 telephone interviews between January and April, translating their survey into Arabic, Farsi, and Urdu to facilitate participation by non-native English speakers. While the sample is relatively small, it offers a rough look at a demographic group that is hard to track.

The researchers found that Muslims perceive significant bias against them. Seventy-five percent of respondents said there's "a lot" of discrimination against Muslims in the U.S.

Sixty percent of Muslims—and 68 percent of Muslim women—said media coverage of Muslims is unfair.

And when respondents were asked about the most important problems facing U.S. Muslims today, the most popular answers included "discrimination, RACISM, [and] prejudice," "Muslims [being] viewed as

terrorists,” and “Trump’s attitudes [and] policies toward Muslims.”

In general, American Muslims are not fans of the president.

Three-quarters of the respondents said Trump is “unfriendly” toward Muslims in the U.S., and 65 percent disapprove of what he’s doing in office—slightly less than the percentage of Muslims who disapproved of George W. Bush on a 2007 version of this survey.

It’s true that a lot of people seem suspicious of Muslims.

Half of Americans say Islam is not part of “mainstream American society,” and 41 percent say Islam encourages violence more than other faiths.

These numbers are strongest among Republicans and white evangelicals: More than half of each group said there’s a great deal or fair amount of extremism among U.S. Muslims, for example, compared to 35 percent of all Americans who said the same thing.

Sixty-five percent of Republicans and 72 percent of white evangelicals also said Islam and democracy naturally conflict. (Interestingly, 30 percent of Muslims said the same thing.)

But the report reveals “other layers of Muslim life” that complicate a straightforward narrative of victimhood.

Almost half of respondents said someone had reached out to express support for their religion within the past year, compared to 37 percent in 2011 and 32 percent in 2007.

Admittedly, these performances of ally-ship and optimism can be fraught; Muslims might prefer seamless acceptance to handshakes and earnestness from well-meaning neighbors.

Muslims are more likely than other Americans to believe that people who work hard can get ahead and succeed; 70 percent said they believe this is true.

And 92 percent of Muslims say they're proud to be Americans—roughly the same as the general public.

Although two-thirds of Muslims identify as Democrats, they may have more in common with other religiously orthodox Americans than secular liberals.

Over the past decade, Muslims' growing acceptance of LGBT people has roughly mirrored trends among Christians, even as both groups have been slower to support homosexuality than the general American public.

According to Pew, Christians and Muslims are equally likely to attend worship services weekly and to say religion is important to them.

It's not clear from this report that concrete experiences of discrimination have become more common under Trump, either.

Experiences of most kinds of religious discrimination are roughly flat compared to rates reported in 2007 and 2011, when Pew previously surveyed American Muslims.

Nineteen percent of respondents said they'd been called an offensive name in the past year, compared to 22 percent in 2011 and 15 percent in 2007, and the pattern and numbers were roughly similar for Muslims who said they'd been singled out by airport-security officials.

Only 10 percent of respondents said they'd been called out by law-enforcement officials in the past year, down from 13 percent in 2011.

And 6 percent said they'd been physically threatened or attacked, the same level of physical discrimination reported in 2011.

Right now it's not possible to verify these reports against data like the FBI's HATE-CRIME statistics, but the only "What has gone up are Muslims' reports" of being "treated with suspicion..."

Pew found: 32 percent of respondents said they'd encountered this within the past year, compared to 28 percent in 2011. This stat, more than any other, speaks to American Muslim life under Trump.

People feel an abiding sense of dread, hostility, and discomfort. Meanwhile, life largely continues as usual.

Ultimately, perceptions matter.

In April, I spent an afternoon following Asma Akhras, a 40-something Muslim woman who decided to run for local office for the first time in part because of the 2016 election.

She described a feeling similar to how people sometimes talk about ambiguous gender bias: Is it sexism, or is it me?

When she knocked on a door and an old man yelled at her, it was impossible to tell whether it was because of her hijab or because he was simply rude.

In the end, it doesn't really matter if social scientists "can precisely measure what was going on" in that interaction, or how Trump has changed the lives of Muslim Americans.

It still ends up - as a cloud of doubt over an otherwise placid suburban life.