

Episode 5

[ambient sound]

Janae Pierre

I'm in Montgomery, Alabama, on a beautiful, sunny Saturday afternoon. It's actually the first official day of Spring.

[sound of walking]

That's our contributor Janae Pierre. She went to Montgomery recently to visit a place called the National Memorial for Peace and Justice. At its center is a memorial square. A pathway leads through the square.

Janae Pierre

You can see hundreds of steel slabs, many of them hanging...

Steel slabs – columns of steel, each one six feet high. There are 800 of these steel columns, most of them hanging suspended in air. That's where you'll find the names.

Janae Pierre

Many of the slabs have only one name. Some slabs have dozens of names. The names on those slabs are those of Black men, Black women, even Black children, Black teenagers.

The blocks of steel are engraved with names of Black people who were victims of lynching, and the names of counties where the lynchings happened.

Janae Pierre

I do see one from North Carolina here, Avery County, North Carolina... Bertie County, North Carolina, here... And yet another for North Carolina, Buncombe County, John Humphreys, Hezekiah Rankin, Bob Bracket... It's sobering to read the names, to see the names. So many names... so many families, right?

In all, 800 counties are represented, counties across the South and beyond – from Louisiana to New York state, and from Florida to Nebraska, and to California.

Janae Pierre

Here we go. Sampson County, Rutherford County, Rowan County...

More than 4,400 Black people died by lynching in those 800 counties between 1877 and 1950.

Janae Pierre

Rockingham County, Polk County, Pender County, Orange County...

Those are just the documented cases. There were many more.

Janae Pierre

...and New Hanover County, North Carolina, with a list of – Wow, my gosh. One, two, three... Seven, eight, nine... 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21 names...

22 known lynchings occurred in New Hanover County.

Janae Pierre

Carter Peman, Charles Linsey, Daniel Wright...

That's the home of Wilmington, North Carolina.

Janae Pierre

...Sam Gregory, Sam McFarlane, Sam McFarland, Tom Rowan, William Mouzon. And this slab sits in the middle of ... hundreds more.

I've actually been to the Lynching Memorial.

I made the pilgrimage to visit in May of 2018 – and like Jenae – I was moved: mind, body and soul.

I remember feeling stunned by the vastness of the open-air memorial, which is designed to stop you in your tracks and take in the gravity of what's on display: people. All Black. Thousands of names. Just the ones we know about now.

But what most moved me that day under the Montgomery, Alabama sun was the reaction of my date to the memorial site: my daughter, just shy of two-years-old at the time.

At that age, we went just about everywhere together. I in no way expected her to understand what the place was about, and I felt zero need to offer up any explanations about America's special brand of racial violence to my young toddler. She'll just think we're at another park or green space, on a family walk...is what I was convinced would happen. Then, this...

Before you get to the main event, those steel slabs, you pass by a dark metal statue of African men, women and children in bondage, aboard an unseen ship on the Middle Passage, headed for a life of enslavement and horrors unknown. In the shackled arms of one of the women is a baby, younger than my daughter was on that day. Something about the look on my kid's face made me start recording.

Lindsay

Wanna see the baby again?

Lindsay's daughter

Ok. Yeah.

As she took in what she was seeing, her tiny brow furrowed in confusion.

Lindsay
Say hi, little baby.

Lindsay's daughter
Hello, baby.

Lindsay
Say, we care about you, just like your mom cares about you.

Lindsay's daughter
Mommy.

At a year old, her vocabulary was just starting to expand.

Lindsay
Are you concerned about the baby?

Lindsay's daughter
Ouch... Owchee. Owcheeee.

Lindsay
Did you say ouch?

Lindsay's daughter
Yeah.

Lindsay
What, what's ouch?

Lindsay's daughter
...Owchee.

Owch. Owch-ee. She said it over and over again, leaning out of my arms and reaching toward the child and woman, as if she could help them from a fate she didn't understand, but knew enough to know, it wasn't right.

It wasn't right.

[music]

From the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University, Ways & Means presents: "The ARC of Justice," a special series inspired by the book *From Here To Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the 21st Century*. I'm Lindsay Foster Thomas.

The trail of white violence against Black people in America is long. And it's not over.

There are so many stories of brutality we'll never know. But there's a lot to learn from the ones that left behind brutal traces, grisly legacies and long term consequences. Like what happened more than a century ago in Wilmington, North Carolina.

Hannah Breisinger

In present day, Wilmington... where we're standing currently, we're pretty close to downtown Wilmington, pretty close to the historic courthouse, city hall, basically where all the old historic buildings are a lot of really old houses here...

This is our correspondent, Hannah Breisinger.

Hannah Breisinger

A few blocks away, we have one Confederate monument that was temporarily moved by the city of Wilmington during last spring's George Floyd protests in 2020, and another Confederate monument was about a block from where I'm currently standing. And I don't think the city has decided what quite to do with them yet...

Today, Wilmington is a pretty, mid-sized beach town on the North Carolina coast that advertises a historic riverfront and strong waves for surfing.

But in 1898, Wilmington was a lively, bustling port city – North Carolina's biggest city. And there were some unlikely racial dynamics in play for the time. The men in fitted suits downtown and the shopkeepers opening up for business were both white and Black. And Black residents held elected office in town government.

The city was a model for what the New South might look like.

That was, until November 1898.

Hannah Breisinger

I'm currently standing along Market street, between where Market Street intersects with North 4th Street and North 3rd Street. And here is where the white mob first gathered on the morning of November 10th, 1898.

This series is guided by the research and scholarship of Duke Professor Sandy Darity and folklorist Kirsten Mullen.

Lindsay

Can we talk about why the Wilmington massacre of 1898 is significant?

Sandy Darity

The Wilmington massacre was the point at which the possibility of joint rule between whites and Blacks in the state of North Carolina was extinguished for virtually a century.

Lindsay

Is this one of those examples of a deciding moment in American history you like to talk about where we really could have gone one way, but we chose a different path?

Kirsten

Absolutely... I mean, you're talking about the city's elite whites who were determined to overthrow what had been a duly elected Black and white leadership.

[music]

In 1898, more than half of Wilmington's population was Black. Black citizens served on the Board of Aldermen – today's city councilmembers. Black residents held skilled jobs in the city, as masons, bricklayers, and carpenters. And, there was a thriving black-owned newspaper.

Hannah Breisinger

So, I'm now walking on South 7th Street and it's a really quiet street corner, a really residential area, all you can kind of hear around here are birds and trees blowing in the wind. This is around the site where *The Daily Record* once stood back in 1898.

The *Wilmington Daily Record* was owned and edited by a Black man named Alex Manly.

Lewin Manly

He was very quiet, reticent. I never discussed what happened down in Wilmington. I'm Lewin Manly Jr, grandson of Alex Manly.

Lewin Manly lived with his grandfather, Alex, as a young child in Philadelphia. But back in the 1890s, Alex Manly was in Wilmington, North Carolina, building a renowned newspaper business. In its heyday, the *Record* was a huge success.

Bob Korstad

The black newspaper... was an important voice in the community, but it was also an important commercial enterprise. It had advertisements, it had news of the community.

That's Bob Korstad, a professor of history at Duke University's Sanford School of Public Policy. He says the paper was well-known and well-respected.

And the paper reflected an unusual community. Wilmington in 1898 was ruled by a biracial alliance, an alliance of working-class whites and Black Republicans. Remember, at this time, the Republican party was the party of Abraham Lincoln. The Democratic party was made up of many former Confederates.

Deondra Rose

During the early 1890s, these populists and the Republicans joined forces and created what's been called a fusion government. And they actually had some pretty impressive successes.

This is Deondra Rose. She teaches public policy at Duke University.

Deondra Rose

And as often is the case when one political group finds themselves on the losing side, they try to figure out a way to take back power. And so that's what Southern Democrats did.

Resentment of Wilmington's biracial leadership was growing in some quarters. Demagogues like Charles Aycock gave fiery speeches in Wilmington and across the state touting white supremacy, and news outlets like the News & Observer amplified the white supremacist campaign. Then in August 1898, Alex Manly, the Black newspaper publisher, published a controversial editorial. It was in response to a woman named Rebecca Latimer Felton, who had spoken out in support of lynching. She said one of Southern women's biggest problems was —quote— “the black rapist”.

Alex Manly clapped back.

Deondra Rose

And he said well actually, you might see that white women and Black men get together, but oftentimes it's because white women fall in love with Black men. And that really set off quite a bit of contention... it really helped to stoke that fire...

The editorial put a target on Alex Manly's back.

Meanwhile, tension was rising in Wilmington. More and more white men joined violent, paramilitary groups.

Deondra Rose

You also saw the rise of these paramilitary groups like the Red Shirts who attacked Black voters and sought to intimidate Black citizens when they wanted to participate in the election.

And so, in 1898, they had been patrolling Black neighborhoods during the weeks leading up to the election.

Chris Everett is the director of the documentary *Wilmington on Fire*.

Chris Everett

What makes them different from the Ku Klux Klan is that they didn't cover their faces at all, you know, so they walked around plain sight, broad daylight or nighttime, and they wanted you to see them.

Deondra Rose

It wasn't particularly surprising when Black turnout was suppressed... You know, there was so much intimidation.

Election Day arrived on November 8, 1898. The Democrats – the white supremacist party at the time – won in a landslide across the state. But statewide control wasn't enough.

Chris Everett

They weren't satisfied with that because they wanted to take control over Wilmington to really show the nation that white supremacy is back in Wilmington and throughout North Carolina.

The next day, Wilmington's white residents were invited to a mass meeting. Hundreds of white citizens crowded into the New Hanover County Courthouse. They adopted a "White Declaration of Independence."

Yeah, it was just what it sounds like. It included these words:

"We, the undersigned citizens of the City of Wilmington and County of New Hanover do hereby declare that we will no longer be ruled and will never again be ruled by men of African origin."

The declaration also called for Alex Manly to be removed from the city. And it called for jobs that had been held by Black citizens to be given to white men.

Bob Korstad

In order to win over this constituency, white elites made essentially the gifting of skilled jobs, both in municipal government and in private businesses that the elites controlled – they made those opportunities available to whites only.

The declaration was read, and the crowd erupted in a standing ovation. And the next morning, a mob of white men gathered at the headquarters of the Wilmington Light Infantry, a local militia unit that had served in the Civil War. The infantry stood at the ready, awaiting the signal to move out. Meanwhile, the mob mobilized.

Deondra Rose

There was a band of about two-hundred white men who got weapons and marched down to the black owned newspaper, The Daily Record, which Alexander Manly owned. And they burned it down. They were actually looking for Manly and they were, you know, yelling like, "Where is he?", trying to find him.

Lewin Manly has a letter from his grandmother, where she describes how Alex Manly managed to escape. A white friend warned him that he would be lynched if he didn't flee. But the entire city was being patrolled by armed white men. You could only get through with a password.

Lewin Manly

His friend said, "This is the password and may God be with you, my boy."

Alex Manly escaped, but the mob burned down his newspaper, the Daily Record.

Deondra Rose

And there are actually images from this massacre where you see this band of white men standing proudly in front of this burned down building. Over the course of the day, the mob grew... they were armed, heavily armed.

Lewin Manly

I had these great aunts in Wilmington and they were little girls when this happened. That's correct. They were little girls at school when they saw all these people being shot down in the street.

The fire at the Wilmington Record inflamed the group, and the crowd spilled into the city's streets. As gunfire and rumors flew, armed white mobs stormed into Wilmington's northern neighborhoods. The Wilmington Light Infantry – in theory, a peacekeeping force – they had been on standby, anticipating violence. As shots rang out across Wilmington, word reached the governor, who ordered the Wilmington Light Infantry into action. The troops rolled into Wilmington's Black neighborhoods alongside the mobs, armed with a machine gun mounted on a horse-drawn wagon, and added to the body count.

Block by block, Black people were out-numbered and out-gunned. Many were shot. Others fled the city to escape the violence, huddling in nearby woods, cemeteries and swamps. Filmmaker Chris Everett reads a contemporary account of the massacre written by Reverend J. Allen Kirk, a pastor who witnessed the events.

Chris Everett

“The shrieks and screams of children, of mothers, of wives were heard, such as caused the blood of the most inhuman person to creep. Thousands of women, children, and men rushed to the swamps and there lay upon the earth in the cold to freeze and starve. The woods were filled with colored people. The streets were dotted with their dead bodies.”

It's crazy, just hearing those words and hearing those firsthand accounts of this event.

We don't know exactly how many people were killed in Wilmington that day. Wilmington native Kent Chatfield described what he heard as a child in a clip from the documentary *Wilmington on Fire*.

Kent Chatfield

I heard a Red Shirt militia member when I was eight years old brag about them carrying cartloads ... down to the river and throwing their bodies into the river. So, you know. Cartloads.

Sandy Darity

Estimates for Wilmington that I think are in a credible range – and these are still probably low-end estimates – are somewhere between 200 to 250 Black people who were killed.

Many Black leaders who weren't killed immediately were marched to the train station.

Deondra Rose

They were told basically, you know, "You get out of here, you never come back or we're going to kill you."

Amidst the violence, white elites overturned the democratically-elected government in Wilmington and installed themselves in power.

Deondra Rose

They marched over to city hall and they basically demanded that the mayor and the Board of Aldermen resign... With each of those new resignations, a new white Democrat was installed in that person's place.

Historian Bob Korstad:

Bob Korstad

The violence in Wilmington was very well thought out. It was all planned... they had organized paramilitary groups. They had the Wilmington Light Infantry with machine guns. They had soldiers and policemen at the ready.

The Wilmington massacre filled newspaper headlines all across the country. People who had family in Wilmington implored the federal government to step in. Here's filmmaker Chris Everett again:

Chris Everett

You had people writing the president telling him, "Hey, man, something's going on in Wilmington, it's bad. Can you please do something, send help?" And no one does anything.

Lewin Manly says that when his grandfather left Wilmington, he went straight to Washington, DC. He actually managed to get an audience with President McKinley.

Lewin Manly

He wanted him to send federal troops down there and stop what was going on... And when McKinley realized that he was talking to *the* Alex Manly, he was ushered out of the White House.

The federal government did nothing to intervene. Much of Wilmington remained a war zone.

And by the end of the day, the coup was complete – the bi-racial fusion government had been toppled. The events echoed for decades to come.

Sandy Darity

This massacre just didn't hinder the African American population in Wilmington, it stunted the whole growth for the whole city. And so the city of Wilmington never really reached its full potential.

Bob Korstad

The Wilmington massacre was essentially the nail in the coffin of the fusion movement.

What happened in Wilmington wasn't new. In the thirty years before the massacre there, some 53,000 black people were murdered in the south by white terrorists. That's according to Sandy Darity, who cites contemporary witness reports and recent scholarship.

Still, the Wilmington massacre set a precedent.

Kirsten Mullen

There's a direct connection from the Wilmington, North Carolina riot to the 1906 riot of Atlanta. That same game plan was put into place.

Bob Korstad

The events in Wilmington in the late 19th century sent signals to people in other places in the South that it was going to be OK for them to use a whole variety of means to destroy the aspirations and the success of Black communities.

And not just the South. In 1908, after two Black men were charged with raping a white woman, white mobs attacked in Springfield, Illinois. 2000 Black people left town, 35 Black-owned businesses were damaged, and Black neighborhoods were destroyed by fire.

Two years later, riots shook New York, Pittsburgh, Little Rock, Columbus, and 12 other cities. In 1917, it was Houston and St. Louis.

Sandy Darity

In the year 1919 alone, there were approximately thirty-five of these incidents, if you will, across the nation.

Los Angeles. Baltimore. Omaha, Nebraska. Washington, DC. Elaine, Arkansas. Longview, Texas. And another Illinois city.

Kirsten Mullen

The Chicago 1919 riot was ignited when a black teenager who was swimming in Lake Michigan drifted into, quote unquote, the white waters and was stoned to death by a group of white men who were nearby. And there were all manner of witnesses to this event. Then, a whole week of rioting ensues where 25 black people, 13 white people are killed, over 500 people were injured, and over 1000 black families lost their homes, mostly as a consequence of their homes being burned to the ground.

In Chicago, tension had been brewing because of the growing African American population. In other cities, the violence erupted in response to Black economic progress.

Sandy Darity

There were two instances in which Black farmers were attempting to get better prices for their crops than were being offered to them by local buyers. And in the case of Elaine, Arkansas, the Black farmers attempted to form a union.

Kirsten Mullen

And in the Texas case, two prominent Black leaders... had persuaded the Black farmers to bypass the local white cotton brokers and to sell directly to buyers who were offering a higher rate of pay.

Sandy Darity

And it was in response to these efforts to get a better price for one's product, that local whites decided that they were going to put Blacks back in their place. And so they did so violently, both in Elaine, Arkansas, as well as in Longview, Texas.

This story repeated itself again and again across the country, in the North and the South.

Sandy Darity

We estimate now that there were upwards of a hundred of these massacres that took place between the end of the Civil War into the 1940s.

And, there's a clear trend.

Sandy Darity

These acts of violence occur in circumstances where either Blacks are becoming extremely politically active or these are massacres that take place in circumstances in which Blacks appear to have achieved some measure of visible prosperity.

The reign of white terror targeted Black individuals.

Remember just how many thousands of Black folks were lynched from the late 19th century through the mid-20th century.

Sandy Darity

The lynching trail is another dimension of this pattern of violence... The people who were murdered in many instances were individuals who had attained some measure of prosperity within these communities... And whatever property these individuals possessed was taken over by the whites who had participated in the executions.

These murders were happening as other kinds of terrorist acts were being perpetrated against Black communities. Bob Korstad says this violence is called "white capping".

Bob Korstad

So “white capping” is essentially an act to stamp down Black progress... And it could be anything from burning down a tobacco barn or burning down a Black business... burning up a car that some successful Black professional bought.

As the fight for civil rights intensified in the 1960s, so did white violence.

Archival newscaster

Fifteen minutes past midnight, Evers got out of his car beside his home in a Negro residential area...

NAACP leader Medgar Evers, murdered in his own driveway in 1963.

Archival newsclip

I’m Walter Cronkite. Tonight, Andrew Goodman and two companions, Mickey Schwerner and James Chaney, are the focus of a whole country’s concern.

James Earl Chaney, killed alongside two white allies to the civil rights cause in June 1964.

And on September 15, 1963, a bomb explodes at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, killing four little Black girls.

Kirsten Mullen

I was thinking about the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, in September 1963, you know, I think many listeners may know that four black girls were killed when the building was bombed. Carole Robertson, Cynthia Wesley, Denise McNair and Addie Mae Collins. But there was a survivor from that hellish blast: Addie May Collins’ little sister, Sarah Collins Rudolph, who was then 12 years old, was the fifth little girl. She’s blind in one eye as a consequence of the attack. And unlike the victims of the Boston Marathon bombers, the horrible Sandy Hook, Connecticut elementary school terrorist attacks, no restitution and no apology from the city of Birmingham, you know, for that family.

The bombs and bullets haven’t stopped. June 17, 2015: a young white man is welcomed into a Bible study group at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, one of the oldest Black churches in Charleston, South Carolina. The man sits down with the worshippers and joins them in prayer. Then, he pulls out a gun and opens fire. Nine people, all Black, were shot and killed.

And then, there are the deaths of Black people at the hands of those charged with protecting and serving the public.

[Tape of Black Lives Matter chants at a protest]

All these lives lost to white violence.

Keisha Bentley-Edwards is the associate director for research at the Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity at Duke University. She says that in most cases of white violence, the loss of Black lives is wildly underestimated.

Keisha Bentley-Edwards

If you look at the accounting of injuries and deaths, if you were to look at what the city says or the county says, it may say something like five people died. But if you look at the Red Cross or if you look at the work that Ida B. Wells Barnett would do for the NAACP, you see like two-hundred people died.

Sandy Darity

I think that this is just indicative of the extent to which black lives are devalued so that there was no motivation or incentive on the part of the folks who conducted these types of massacres to actually be concerned about what the number of black folks were who they killed.

The financial losses are difficult to measure, too. For instance, insurance companies didn't cover losses due to riots. And without insurance claims, there's often no record of the financial loss.

But attacks on the scale of Wilmington set Black families back financially for generations to come.

Bob Korstad

If you look at the racial wealth gap, you can partly trace that back to events like Wilmington in which Black wealth and opportunity was literally destroyed. Nobody paid for the damages that were done to that press. Nobody paid for the loss of livelihood for those black workers who lost their skilled jobs.

Sandy Darity and his colleague Trevon Logan have estimated the present dollar value of what was lost during some episodes of white violence. For the Elaine, Arkansas riot...

Sandy Darity

The present value of the losses in this tiny town in Arkansas is ten million dollars.

Estimated damage to the Black Greenwood district in Tulsa caused by the white riot is valued between \$500 million and \$1 billion today.

Sandy Darity

And then in the case of Chicago, the damage to residential property in the black community was so substantial that some of the estimates run into the low billions.

Billions, with a "B." Again and again, white mobs have attacked Black people, businesses, and institutions, at great cost. But, why am I talking about all this?

Because with violence on this scale with such a long history, you would think the federal government would want to investigate such atrocities. After all, the Feds have invested time and money to look into the unrest in Black communities.

Keisha Bentley Edwards

Let's talk about the Kerner Commission report.

[Archival news clip]

My fellow Americans, I am tonight appointing a special advisory commission on civil disorders.

[Archival news clip]

Not quite two months ago, as we reported, the President's advisory commission on civil disorder warned that race hatred threatened to tear this country apart.

Here's Keisha Bentley-Edwards, again.

Keisha Bentley-Edwards

This was really the administration – President Johnson's administration – trying to figure out why are black people so angry and why are they going out in the streets and what's seen as tearing up their own communities, in protest.

So, check this. No similar federal investigation has ever examined the full range of racial violence and white terrorism directed at Black people.

Lindsay

What if it had? What if it had investigated these incidents, this pattern, would that have made a difference, you think?

Sandy Darity

I think that there could have obviously been a value in detailing the facts of these various episodes of white terrorist violence. But there still would remain the question of what would have been done with the report itself.

We have yet to tally all the costs – in property, in political power, in lives. Here's Chris Everett again, director of *Wilmington on Fire*.

Chris Everett

No one still is held accountable for this, so if you don't hold people accountable and really take action with that, these type of things are going to just continue to happen.

No one was held accountable – not for Tulsa, not for Elaine, Arkansas. And not for Wilmington.

And one more thing about Wilmington. If you thought or have been taught that it was the only coup e'tat in American history, think again.

Sandy Darity

There's often a tendency to treat Wilmington, as some people actually refer to it, as the only instance of a municipal coup d'etat in the United States. OK, and this is not true. In New Orleans in 1866 and Colfax, Louisiana in 1873, and in Coushatta in 1874... there definitely were a series of white terrorist attacks that resulted in the overthrow of elected officials. And so these were all coup d'etats.

So, what happened on Capitol Hill in January 2021 should have been no surprise.

Sandy Darity

There is a long precedent in the United States for white terrorists, white supremacists to attempt to overthrow local governments...

And on January 6th, 2021, we actually observed an attempt to overthrow the federal government.

Deondra Rose

The 1898 massacre was something that was planned and organized by a group of people who were willing to resort to violence to restore what they saw as the rightful balance of power. And that's how I would characterize 1898. That's also how I would characterize January 6th in 2021.

The organizers of the Wilmington coup went on to prosperous lives. Its ringleader, Alfred Moore Waddell, reigned as Wilmington's mayor for the next eight years. And Charles Aycock, whose racist rhetoric helped stoke the flames of white supremacy? Two years after the Wilmington coup, he was elected governor of North Carolina.

Meanwhile, with his business in cinders, newspaper publisher Alex Manly had to rebuild his life from scratch in a new city.

Kirsten Mullen

We don't have the same standards. We don't view these horrors that are visited on Black people in the same way that we view the horrors that affect white people. And that's something that needs to change.

The state of North Carolina has produced a comprehensive report on Wilmington. Yet the recommendations in the report were not adopted. And in 2007, a bill was introduced in the NC General Assembly – an official apology for the Wilmington massacre. The bill was blocked by Thom Tillis, now a U.S. Senator.

We just spent five episodes detailing how today's racial wealth gap between Black and white Americans came to be. Now the question is: what do we do about it?

Coming up on the ARC of Justice: a conversation with people who are leading the charge for reparations in America...and you. Join me, Kirsten Mullen and Sandy Darity and special guests

for a live virtual event on Wednesday, April 15th. RSVP at waysandmeansshow.org. I hope to see you there.

“The ARC of Justice: Moving from Here to Equality” is a series from the Ways & Means podcast from Duke University’s Sanford School of Public Policy.

The series is co-produced by North Carolina Public Radio WUNC and Duke Professor William Darity Junior and folklorist and arts consultant Kirsten Mullen. Their book is called *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the 21st Century*. We have lots of resources at our website – waysandmeansshow.org – including links to the books and articles that we reference, and episode discussion guides. That’s waysandmeansshow.org.

This episode was produced by Malu Frasson-Nori, Alison Jones, and Carol Jackson, with Candace Manriquez Wrenn, Stacia Brown, Matt Mayjack, Erin Blanding, and Johnny Vince Evans. Special thanks to our contributors: Janae Pierre in Montgomery and Hannah Breisinger in Wilmington.

Original music for this episode was produced by youth in Durham, North Carolina, in collaboration with Black Space and Only US featuring the work of Lil Monsta, Zone, and Pierce Freelon. Additional original music for this episode was produced by Solomon Fox, appearing courtesy of Forging the Musical Future [FTMF Talent].

Season 6 of Ways & Means is made possible through support from the Duke Office for Faculty Advancement, thanks to funding from The Duke Endowment.

I’ve seen a lot of positive support for the show since we started this series, but one listener in particular sent us a message that made the whole team proud: a teacher from Carrboro High School in North Carolina who says he’s planning to have his students listen to the series soon! Go Jaguars! We would love to hear from you, too, if this season has proved useful – we’re on Twitter @waysandmeansshow – or, please, share the podcast with your loved ones and community.

Until next time, I’m Lindsay Foster Thomas.