Reparations and Beloved Community

A report from Theology Committee of the House of Bishops for its September 2021 gathering

Creator God, you call us all your children, inviting us to be renewed in your love season after season and in every age and time. We gratefully accept your love and blessing, acknowledging the abuse and rejection we as a church have willfully handed out. We seek your healing streams of life, aching to honor those whom we have hurt and repair the broken places. Abide with us, Creator God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, loving, living and true. Amen.

The charge of this committee was to support the Presiding Bishop's call to advance the cause of the Beloved Community. When we began our work, we quickly realized that in our context, the biggest barrier to becoming a Beloved Community is the sin of white supremacy. We addressed this issue in our previous paper which was received by the House in its September 2020 gathering. At our meeting in January 2021, the committee unanimously agreed to work on the topic of reparations which has become the hot topic in the Church and the larger society. While much has already been written on reparations in the secular and academic environment, the committee endeavors to address the issue from a theological point of view. It is our hope that this paper, coupled with the paper on white supremacy, will lend an important theological basis and framework for the conversations on this topic in the House of Bishops and in the Church at large.

The Journey thus far

The 75th General Convention of 2006 adopted three significant resolutions which catalyzed the work of reparations in The Episcopal Church. Resolution A123 Slavery and Racial Reconciliation¹ named slavery as "a sin and a fundamental betrayal of the humanity of all persons who were involved," called The Episcopal Church to acknowledge, apologize and repent of its history of participation in this sin, urged every Diocese to collect and document the complicity of and benefits from the institution of slavery in its local communities, directed the Committee on Anti-Racism to study and report to the Executive Council on how the Church can be "the repairer of the breach," and requested the Presiding Bishop to designate a Day of Repentance and to hold a Service of Repentance at the National Cathedral and each Diocese hold a similar service. This resolution was enhanced by Resolution A127 Restorative Justice² which endorsed the principles of restorative justice as an important tool for baptismal living, called the Anti-Racism Committee of Executive Council to develop resources to engage the Episcopalians in storytelling of racial

inequalities and restorative justice, invited the Dioceses to conduct their local truth and reconciliation processes, and articulated the vision of "a Church without racism, a Church for all races." Resolution C011 Church Responsibility in Reparations³ directly spoke on reparations by urging the Church at every level to call upon Congress and the American people to support "proposals for monetary and non-monetary reparations to the descendants of the victims of slavery." Out of the acts of this Convention, a number of the Dioceses, in turn, began implementing these resolutions through their local anti-racism committees or by forming special committees on reparations. We have observed that the Dioceses are at different stages of this work, some having taken an intentional journey of studies and putting aside financial resources for reparations, some others in the middle of the learning process and some others not having implemented these resolutions. It is our hope that this committee's work may inspire and energize the journey of reparations in every diocese of The Episcopal Church.

A Theological Imperative

Our Presiding Bishop, Michael Curry, has called the church to claim its identity as part of the Jesus Movement. The Jesus Movement, to which Bishop Curry has called Episcopalians, necessitates a proactive response to the demand for reparations. Borrowing from Martin Luther King Jr., Curry describes this as a movement toward the "Beloved community." As clarified in our previous paper, this community is profoundly inclusive, equitable and defined by love. It reflects God's future where all are able to enjoy the abundance of life that God has promised. This brings us to our current paper regarding the theological imperative for reparations. In or der to appreciate this imperative, it is important to say something about theological discourse in general.

Theology is God talk. But it is not God doing the talking. Rather it is human beings talking about the meaning of God in their lives. In this regard, theology is not abstract speculation, removed from human living and social struggles. As the eleventh-century Anglican theologian and Archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm, argues, theology is "faith seeking understanding" particularly social-historical contexts.

Faith is possible because God has acted in human history, thus initiating a relationship with human beings. Faith is the human response to God's invitation to be in relationship with God. This is a relationship defined not by doctrines or dogma but by commitment and work. Faith reflects the human resolve to partner with God in mending an unjust earth. In this regard, people of faith are by definition accountable to God's promised future. They are essentially compelled to lead the way in repairing the breach between an unjust present and a just future. This brings us to reparations.

Reparations is a matter of faith. It reflects the faith community's steadfast efforts to foster a "Beloved community." As such, faith communities are obliged to implement a program of reparations that not simply looks back, but decidedly pushes forward. Reparations, therefore, must involve more than compensating or apologizing for past harms. Instead, they must chart a discernable pathway toward the Beloved Community. In short, faith communities are essentially compelled to sustain a program of reparations that denounces the realities of a sinful past and acknowledges the impact and effects on the present, while transforming present systems and

structures, so to construct an equitable and just future. In the end, reparations are nothing less than an act of repentance, for they entail looking back in order to turn around and do something different. And so it is, reparations are fundamental to the very Jesus Movement to which we have been called—as seen in Jesus' call to "repent" for those who would follow him (Matthew 4:17). Reparations, therefore, are for us a theological imperative.

The Baptismal Call to Reparations

The vision of God for God's people is wholeness and peace, with all of humanity gathered to God's self. In our baptisms, we are brought into relationship with God in Christ; we are also brought into relationship with one another as the Body of Christ. As we live into that relationship, we are called to examine ourselves and our common life, to ensure that our lives and behaviors reflect and foster that unity with God and fellow humans. At points, that self-examination calls us to acknowledge and repent for those parts of our individual lives or our common life that fall short of the call of God in Christ.

The failings in our common life are no less sinful if we have not individually committed them: systemic sins are real sins, and complicity is a form of participation in them. The 2006 General Convention, in Resolution A-123, named slavery as a sin, acknowledged the Episcopal Church's participation in this sin, expressed regret for segregation (*de jure* and *de facto*), expressed its repentance, and called for a study of how the Church might "be 'the repairer of the breach' (Isaiah 58:12),⁴ both materially and relationally, and achieve the spiritual healing and reconciliation that will lead us to a new life in Christ." In its quotation of Isaiah, paired with the acknowledgment of the need for material repair, the resolution pointed towards the need of The Episcopal Church to make reparations for its willful participation in the oppression of African-Americans throughout the nation's history. Over the last fifteen years, a number of dioceses and congregations have seriously engaged with the resolution's call; now it is time for The Episcopal Church as a whole to take it up.

This call for the Church to make reparations is based in our baptism, supported by scripture, and grounded in our tradition. Baptism requires us to reject one way of life and embrace another, renouncing not only our personal transgressions but also all sorts of complicity with evils and powers that disorder the world and corrupt creation. As Presiding Bishop Michael Curry put it in his address to Executive Council,

"The sacrament of baptism is a lifelong commitment immersed in the reality of the triune God and daring to live the teachings and the ways of Jesus of Nazareth. It is a commitment to renounce, reject, and actively oppose in our lives and in our world anything that rebels against the God who the Bible says is love. It is a commitment to renounce anything that attempts to separate us from the love of God and from each other. It is a commitment to renounce anything that hurts or harms any human child of God or this creation."

The evils we renounce are not only spiritual demons but also intangible powers: chattel slavery, Jim Crow, and more subtle forms of racism and white supremacy. From redlining to racial

profiling, they represent corporate evils that the baptized renounce, whether they have participated in them individually or not. And in the adhesions to Christ, the baptized embrace a different way, centered around the reconciliation of humans to each other and to God, a reconciliation articulated in our scriptures. It is this rejection of evil and embrace of reconciliation that finds tangible expression in repairing the breach made by generations of white supremacy.

Here and in what follows, we speak of baptism as it is articulated in the theology of The Episcopal Church. Historical practice has not always lived up to this model. Baptism has, at some times and places in the history of the church, been misused as a tool of colonization. Some Indigenous Christians were forced to reject their cultures at baptism, as Christian faith was conflated with Western European cultures.⁶ But baptism, properly understood, is a means of grace and an instrument of human liberation. If it has at times been used otherwise, that is because the Church "may err and sometimes have erred, even things pertaining unto God."

The church's past practice of baptism has often been a poor reflection of baptismal theology. Re-engaging with our theology of baptism helps us recover our understanding of both the sacredness of diverse humanity and our obligation to honor Christ in the Other. This understanding, in turn, impels us to repair what is broken, that is, to make reparations.

Baptismal Identity

As followers of Jesus, we find our identity in Jesus by means of baptism. Put another way, baptism inaugurates a relationship that defines who we are. The baptized person is brought into relationship, both with Jesus and with other believers, joined together as the Body of Christ. It is an experience of rebirth—we are a "new creation." The rebirth of baptism is not just a spiritual cleansing; it is a new identity. Baptism is both pool and forge; as we are bathed, so are we also made new.

This view of baptism as forging identity is embedded in our tradition. Justin Martyr asserted that those who are baptized are "regenerated." Cyril of Jerusalem described the catechumens' renunciation of Satan as breaking their "former treaty with Hell," and their physical turning from West to East as they then made their profession of faith as "symboliz[ing] this change of allegiance."

It is also embedded in our liturgy. The renunciations and adhesions in the 1979 Book of Common Prayer's baptismal rite constitute a transfer of allegiance, as we reject "Satan... the evil powers of this world... all sinful desires," "turn to Jesus Christ," and "promise to follow and obey him as [our] Lord." The Thanksgiving over the Water notes that through baptismal waters "we are reborn by the Holy Spirit" and that through baptism "we bring into [Christ's] fellowship those who come to him in faith." The prayer book portrays baptism as creating a new identity for the believer.

The sacrament of baptism is both punctiliar and linear. As a moment in time, baptism marks a transition in identity as it conveys sacramental grace. But baptism also unfolds over the course of our lives, as we live out that identity, empowered by that sacramental grace. Baptism imposes lifelong obligations, both because baptism involves our vows or pledges, but also because,

as a new identity, it is something we live up to over the course of our lives. It provides opportunities over a lifetime to see and serve the risen Christ in others.

This was, of course, clear to the ancients. Theodore of Mopsuestia preached to the newly baptized that they must now "invoke the Trinity; you must look to it and live your life according to its will in preference to everything else." The transfer of allegiance to Christ—quite apart from the specific content of the vows—meant that the baptized must conduct their lives differently.

This thematic element in baptism was eclipsed over time. One factor was the increasing prevalence of infant baptism, normative in the medieval and early modern periods: it is difficult to speak of baptism as a deliberate renunciation of old practices and conversion to a new way of life when the only candidates are infants in the first weeks since birth. At the same time, the relationship between the Church and the surrounding culture was perhaps too cozy, in the post-Constantinian order of "Christendom," to make it easy to see the ways that allegiance to Christ contrasted with allegiance to the world. It has taken a long time for Anglicans to recover the idea that baptism has social implications, and the revision process that produced the 1979 Book of Common Prayer rewrote the baptismal liturgy.

The Theology of Baptism in the 1979 Book of Common Prayer

The theology of baptism in the 1979 Prayer Book is clear and revolutionary: "Baptism signifies and imparts the outreaching love of God, restoring persons to the intention of the Creator. It unites persons with Christ the Redeemer, and it places them within the redemption-bearing community, his Body. It is the seal in the Holy Spirit of the new life, present and to come. From the side of the human response, Baptism enacts and shapes the entry on the life of faith, obedience, and expectation. It is the sacrament of conversion, expressing a new mind, a redirection, the rejection of the tyranny of sin and the commitment to righteousness. It is the inauguration of a life renewed and set free."

Baptism is a radical claiming of our identity as God's beloved. Just as much as baptism is about God adopting us into the family, it is also about us saying no to one kind of life and yes to a relationship that God has been wanting us to recognize since before we were born. Baptismal identity bestows a new freedom and citizenship in God's realm that overrides all others. No matter what your color or ethnicity may be, or what neighborhood raised you up, or what your familial heritage is, the primary belonging of the baptized person is to God.

As a consequence of this new identity and belonging, baptismal grace stirs up in us and demands from us a radical change into which we are called to live. Therefore, the practice of the baptismal life is to daily die to the ways that are not of God. Baptismal living requires that we make choices, to reject that which is not in accordance with the Christ-like life we have promised to lead. We die to old ways, old thinking, old beliefs, and we turn, over and over again, toward God and toward a life in Christ that liberates our souls in the here and now and promises liberation for everyone who is bound by evil, oppression, corruption, or tyranny.

In the baptismal rite we commit ourselves to join in God's mission to remake the world into Beloved Community, a place of goodness, justice, mercy, beauty, kindness, and healing that God

desires. We make this commitment in the renunciations and adhesions when candidates for baptism are presented, and also in the Baptismal Covenant, as our affirmations of belief in the Apostles' Creed flow seamlessly into our promises to take our part in the work of Christ's Body in the world. And it is in the community of the church that we are formed, inspired, repentant, and ever-growing as we use our gifts for that reshaping. Therefore, formation in the Christian life is on-going. Being formed in the baptismal life is not just about learning the ways of Jesus but unlearning the ways of the world that diminish God's beloved. Yet we habitually fall short. Consequently, reflection on and "training" in dismantling systemic racism are on-going practices of the baptized life. Reparations, in particular, offer a means by which we can turn from the exploitative practices of the world and embrace the ways of Jesus.

Scripture, Tradition, and Reparations

The public discussion of reparations in the United States has roots in the church. As Duke L. Kwon and Gregory Thompson state in *Reparations: A Christian Call for Repentance and Repair*, the discussion of reparations is "deeply informed by our formation in the Christian tradition." Scripture focuses on restoration, indeed commands repayment for various shortcomings, and restoration is central to the mission of the church, according to the Prayer Book.

The catechism teaches that the mission of the church is "to restore all people to unity with God and each other in Christ." Restoration is the act of repairing something to its proper or former state; it can include restoring someone to health or restoring something to a person from whom it has been previously deprived, or the return of something lost or stolen. The restoration of people to unity with God and with one another is not possible unless we take the actions necessary to make whole those who have been hurt or deprived, to return to people what has been taken from them, repairing the injury done to them. And because "the church carries out its mission through the ministry of all its members," so therefore each member of the church is to participate in restoration, through the ministries of "justice, peace, and love." Therefore, the church must engage in the discussion and the process of reparations as a necessary part of its mission.

Scripture points the way towards addressing the economic injustice that has arisen from white supremacy. The Deuteronomic demand is for "justice and only justice" (Deut. 16:20). Tangible justice is in part economic, as laid out in demands for remission every seventh year, particularly for slaves. When slaves were sent out as free people, they were not to be sent out empty-handed, but instead were to be liberally provided for, thus giving the slave some of the bounty with which the Lord had previously blessed the slave owner (Deut. 15:12-15). In the once every fifty-year occurrence of a Jubilee, the call to justice was even broader, when the call was to redress the injustice done through such circumstances as the selling off of land, the need to sell labor in times of apparent desperation or the need to depend on someone else when one falls into difficulty (which become forms of servitude), and enslavement (Lev. 25). Specific examples of restoration dot the Hebrew Scriptures. In one case, a Shunammite woman and her household left their land during hard times, and upon their return, her request of the king was that the land, which had been taken from

them, be returned. When the king heard her story, he restored not only the land, but all the revenue of the land from the day she had left until the day she returned (2 Kings 8:1-6).

But the nation and its leaders did not always live up to the Torah's demand for justice, which was in large measure economic as the prophets made clear. The prophet Isaiah decried the covetousness of the people, which sat uneasily alongside their worship, noting that they served their own interests and oppressed their workers even on their fast-days:

Is not this the fast that I choose:

to loose the bonds of injustice,

to undo the thongs of the yoke,

to let the oppressed go free,

and to break every yoke?

Is it not to share your bread with the hungry,

and bring the homeless poor into your house;

when you see the naked, to cover them,

and not to hide yourself from your own kin? (Isaiah 58:3, 6-7)

The people of God are called to set right those wrongs that have been done. If they do so by feeding the hungry and caring for the afflicted, by removing the yoke of oppression, then they will be known as "repairer[s] of the breach" (Isaiah 58:12). Isaiah offers but one example of the call to the nation, conveyed again and again by the prophets, to set right the systemic wrongs that oppressed God's beloved children.

Avoidance is an entirely human response to such a call. The prophet Jeremiah reminds us of our tendency to cry "peace, peace" when there is no peace and of human greed for unjust gain (Jeremiah 6:13-14). The avoidance of any talk of what restoration for Christians might look like in tangible, economic terms can be an attempt—conscious or not— to perpetuate the unjust gain that has been the result of white supremacy. But the path of love points us towards the necessity of restoration. The Great Commandment (Matthew 22:36-40) calls us to love God and love our neighbor. For as we read in 1 John, "Whoever does not love does not know God" (1 John 4:8). In a world in which Black and Indigenous people have been denied economic opportunity through meaningful employment and home ownership, the question that Whites must ask themselves is if they would wish to be treated in the same way.

The parable of the Great Judgment (Matthew 25:31-46) tells us that when we see someone hungry or thirsty, or a stranger, or sick or in prison, and we then care for them, we perform acts of restoration that put us not only in unity with one another, but with God as well. In our Baptism, we vow before God to take on these responsibilities. Leaders in the nascent Christian movement apparently understood that there was a better way to live than to hold on to what they personally possessed. We are told that they had all things in common, and as a result would sell their possessions and distribute the proceeds to all, as any had need (Acts 2:44-46). In his Second Letter to the Corinthians, Paul suggested that those who have been blessed abundantly should share abundantly. Indeed, it is a gift from God to do so (2 Cor. 9). By contrast, the Letter of James focuses squarely on responsibility and obligation: if a brother or sister is naked and lacks daily food, what

good is it if we do not supply their bodily needs (James 2:15-17). Similarly, the First Epistle of John (3:17) asks how it could be that God's love would abide in anyone who sees a brother or sister in need and yet would refuse to help.

There is precedent for reparations in the American context. Reparation for slavery in the US was first recorded in 1783, in a pension given to a woman named Belinda, who had been enslaved by a loyalist, Isaac Royall.¹⁷ In the last years of the American Civil War, General George Sherman provided for 40 acres of land for former slaves in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, though this attempt at reparations for slavery was overturned by President Andrew Johnson in 1866.¹⁸ The United States government has made reparations to Japanese Americans incarcerated during World War II.¹⁹ Internationally, the German government has made reparations for victims of the Nazi Holocaust, and the Cuban government has made reparations for slavery.²⁰

The modern reparations movement started on May 4, 1969 when James Forman interrupted the Sunday service at Riverside Church in New York City before 1,500 worshippers, reading a manifesto calling for the donation of funds from white religious bodies to the creation of a Southern Land Bank, a Black university in Mississippi, a research center and the creation of an international Black appeal to promote the creation of cooperative Black businesses. When this was rebuffed, Forman turned to the Episcopal Church, sending the Manifesto on Reparations to Presiding Bishop John Hines. The General Convention, meeting in special session in South Bend, Indiana, in August 1969, allocated \$200,000 for Black economic initiatives, but its leaders strenuously objected to the idea that this constituted an acceptance of the concept of "reparations." White supremacy derailed the effort to engage more deeply with the reparative work that needed to be done. As a result, there were no discussions of reparations in the Episcopal Church at the church-wide level until the twenty-first century.

So why raise the need for reparations now? It is precisely because "now is the acceptable time" (2 Cor 6:2). In many ways the best answer is a sort of timeliness: we failed to do this work earlier, and it is never too late to do the right thing. Furthermore, the intertwined pandemics of COVID-19 and white supremacy have brought us to a point at which it is even more apparent that we are embedded in a country which has refused to face the realities of our history. The Church, at its best, has a moral role in the national discourse. If we are called to clearly speak the word of God to those in positions of power and authority, we must first speak truth to ourselves.

The baptismal renunciations and adhesions provide a theological and liturgical framework for The Episcopal Church to make reparation for the evils of chattel slavery, Jim Crow, and white supremacy as a step towards forgiveness, reconciliation, and the building of the Beloved Community. Simply put, if we do not take up the obligation to make reparations—to become "repairers of the breach"—then we reject our duty as followers of Jesus to "restore all people to unity with God and each other in Christ."

Further Exploration

This baptismal theology forms the foundation for both our communal lives of faith and our call to work for reparations. The committee's continuing work will offer some concrete examples of

how we might live into this call. Through a deeper exploration of the role of the Doctrine of Discovery in the colonization of the Americas, the committee will reflect on the implications of reparations for the Indigenous/Native American peoples. That document will be accompanied by a collection of contextual theologies of reparations, as those at work in various parts of The Episcopal Church share the theology that has informed and fueled their work on reparations. This will not be exhaustive but will provide a snapshot of the work being done by dioceses, churches and institutions, and their processes and theology will be shared as examples for those beginning this work and those in discernment about what God may be calling them to do about reparations in their contexts. Although this material will be offered to the House of Bishops as a written document, it is hoped that the source material be available in a web-based platform that is creative, accessible, and easily expanded. This next phase of work will include a list of resources for further reading and program development for use in congregations, in this way supporting the ongoing conversion and formation of the people of God.

Theology Committee of the House of Bishops

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Resolved, That the 75th General Convention of The Episcopal Church declare unequivocally that the institution of slavery in the United States and anywhere else in the world, based as it is on "ownership" of some persons by other persons, was and is a sin and a fundamental betrayal of the humanity of all persons who were involved, a sin that continues to plague our common life in the Church and our culture; and be it further

Resolved, That The Episcopal Church acknowledge its history of participation in this sin and the deep and lasting injury which the institution of slavery and its aftermath have inflicted on society and on the Church; and be it further Resolved, That we express our most profound regret that (a) The Episcopal Church lent the institution of slavery its support and justification based on Scripture, and (b) after slavery was formally abolished, The Episcopal Church continued for at least a century to support de jure and de facto segregation and discrimination; and be it further Resolved, That The Episcopal Church apologize for its complicity in and the injury done by the institution of slavery and its aftermath; we repent of this sin and ask God's grace and forgiveness; and be it further

Resolved, That the 75th General Convention of The Episcopal Church through the Executive Council urgently initiate a comprehensive program and urge every Diocese to collect and document during the next triennium detailed information in its community on (a) the complicity of The Episcopal Church in the institution of slavery and in the subsequent history of segregation and discrimination and (b) the economic benefits The Episcopal Church derived from the institution of slavery; and direct the Committee on Anti-Racism to monitor this program and report to Executive Council each year by March 31 on the progress in each Diocese; and be it further

Resolved, That to enable us as people of God to make a full, faithful and informed accounting of our history, the 75th General Convention of The Episcopal Church direct the Committee on Anti-Racism to study and report to Executive Council by March 31, 2008, which in turn will report to the 76th General Convention, on how the Church can be "the repairer of the breach" (Isaiah 58:12), both materially and relationally, and achieve the spiritual healing and reconciliation that will lead us to a new life in Christ; and be it further

¹ Resolution A123 of the 75th General Convention Slavery and Racial Reconciliation

Resolved, That to mark the commencement of this program the Presiding Bishop is requested to name a Day of Repentance and on that day to hold a Service of Repentance at the National Cathedral, and each Diocese is requested to hold a similar service.

² Resolution A127 Restorative Justice

Resolved, That the 75th General Convention of The Episcopal Church endorse the principles of restorative justice, an important tool in implementing a neutral articulation of the self-examination and amendment of life that is required to fulfill our baptismal covenant; and be it further

Resolved, That the 75th Convention, in support of and to enhance Resolution A123, call upon the Anti-Racism Committee of Executive Council to design a study and dialogue process and materials in order to engage the people of The Episcopal Church in storytelling about historical and present-day privilege and under-privilege as well as discernment towards restorative justice and the call to fully live into our baptismal covenant; and be it further

Resolved, That in the spirit of inclusion, dioceses also be invited to determine whether their call is to conduct truth and reconciliation processes in regard to other histories and legacies of racial discrimination and oppression that may be applicable in their geographic area, while not diminishing the strong call to focus on the history and legacy of slavery; and be it further

Resolved, That the dioceses will give a progress report to the Anti-Racism Committee. The Anti-Racism Committee will report their findings and recommendations to the Standing Commission on National Concerns and to Executive Council and to the 76th General Convention; and be it further

Resolved, That the Church hold before itself the vision of a Church without racism; a Church for all races.

³ Resolution C011 Church Responsibility in Reparations

Resolved, That the 75th General Convention, affirming our commitments to become a transformed, anti-racist church and to work toward healing, reconciliation, and a restoration of wholeness to the family of God, urge the Church at every level to call upon Congress and the American people to support legislation initiating study of and dialogue about the history and legacy of slavery in the United States and of proposals for monetary and non-monetary reparations to the descendants of the victims of slavery.

- ⁴ All Bible quotations are drawn from the NRSV.
- ⁵ Michael Curry, "Toward Truth and Reconciliation," June 25, 2021, https://www.episcopalchurch.org/publicaffairs/presiding-bishop-michael-currys-opening-remarks-for-executive-council-june-25-2021/, accessed 28 June 2021
- ⁶ See, for example, William Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 233; Owanah Anderson, 400 Years: Anglican/Episcopal Mission Among American Indians (Cincinnati, OH: Forward Movement Publications, 1997), 68, 111; Ian Breward, A History of the Churches in Australia (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3, 41, 167; Elizabeth Isichei, A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995), 93.
- ⁷ BCP, 872. Articles of Religion XXI.
- ⁸ Justin Martyr, "First Apology," in E.C. Whitaker, ed., *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy* rev. by Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville, 2003), 3.
- ⁹ Cyril of Jerusalem, "Mystagogical Catechesis," in Whitaker, *Documents*, 31.
- ¹⁰ The Book of Common Prayer (New York: Church Publishing Incorporated, 1979) [henceforth, BCP], 302-3.
- ¹¹ BCP, 306-7.
- ¹² Theodore of Mopsuestia, "Baptismal Homily II," in Whitaker, *Documents*, 49.
- ¹³ Daniel B. Stevick, Baptismal Moments; Baptismal Meanings (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1987), 3.
- ¹⁴ Duke L. Kwon and Gregory Thompson, Reparations: A Christian Call for Repentance and Repair (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2021), 18.
- ¹⁵ BCP, 855.
- ¹⁶ BCP, 855.
- ¹⁷ Roy E. Finkenbine, "Belinda's Petition: Reparations for Slavery in Revolutionary Massachusetts," *William and Mary Quarterly* 64 (2007), 95-104.
- ¹⁸ Special Field Orders 15, 16 January 1865; John Torpey, *Making Whole what Has Been Smashed: On Reparations Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 111.
- ¹⁹ Civil Liberties Act of 1988, Pub. L. No. 100-383, 102 Stat. 903.
- ²⁰ "Israel and Federal Republic of Germany Agreement (with schedule, annexes, exchanges of letters and protocols). Signed at Luxembourg, on 10 September 1952," *United Nations Treaty Series*, vol. 162 (1953), 206-311; Ana Lucia Araujo, Reparations for Slavery and the Slave Trade: A Transnational and Comparative History (Bloomsbury: London, 2017).
- ²¹ Gardiner Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race: Civil War to Civil Rights* (Lexington, Ky.: University of Press of Kentucky, 2003), 188-195.