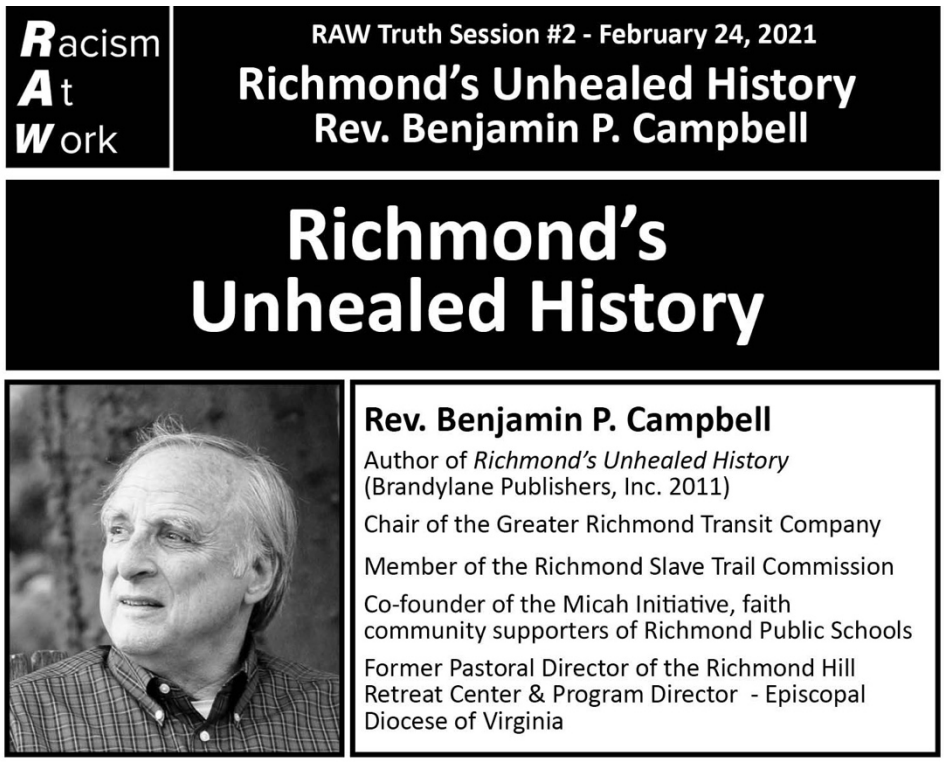


OVERVIEW

Rev. Campbell described the three historical periods leading up to the present; the first two hundred and fifty years of slavery and the 'invention' of the white race; the next hundred years of segregation; and the last fifty years of structural racism. He then discussed current manifestations of structural racism with a focus on education, transportation, housing and the jurisdictional racial divide. A question-and-answer period followed focused on steps to further the process of moving forward to a just society.

PRESENTATION SUMMARY

Rev. Campbell summarized the first period in Richmond and Virginia's history; the invention of the white race, the establishment of the system of race-based slavery, and the horrible period of slavery and the slave trade ending in the Civil War. That's the first two hundred and fifty years. And then the next hundred years which followed immediately, which is the era of segregation in Virginia, which, in the area of legal work, is finished about 1970. And then the last 50 years, which is the period of structural racism, where the names and overt statements of race have been taken away, but the structures have in many cases remain and have been renewed.

This is structural racism, not simply personal racism and may be the one that thrives most firmly, because it's more hidden than the other.

Looking from the Mayo Bridge down at those islands in the James River is where on May 24,1607 John Smith and Christopher Newport and a Powhatan native, stopped with 18 sailors. They put up a cross according to an eyewitness, which was two logs nailed together and when they put up the cross, they all cheered. The native asked why they were all cheering. He was told they were celebrating the covenant between King James and King Powhatan. And of course, they lied. It is blasphemy because they lied in Jesus' name. They had no intention of the covenant, they intended to take the land without compensation, and they regarded they people who lived there as in some way deeply defective. They are described as savages; their religion is satanic; but they are capable of being converted.

Those first years in Jamestown were hell. In 1619 a number of things happened. The first English legislature in the New World met as if people hadn't been meeting in legislatures all the time with the native tribes that were here. In July a ship called the White Lion, an English ship flying a Dutch flag attacked a Portuguese ship carrying enslaved persons from the Congo. There was another ship as well. They both had taken enslaved people off the Portuguese ship. They were low on food and traded 20 of the enslaved to the governor of Virginia. The other ship, the Argyle, showed up and they bought another couple of people. There was a lecture at the Virginia Museum of History by a man who traced his ancestry all the way back to the White Lion. We now know that there were 650 'persons of general use' who were dropped off at Jamestown from English vessels. "Persons of general use' were young men, probably some Irish, some Scots, called 'Christian men' mostly English, scraped off the streets of London, people that King James did not want to be there, in most cases deceived and put on these boats. So, there were 670-700 people being sold. In the first 20 years of Jamestown the death rate was between 80 and 90 percent, 50 percent in the first year. Survivors were called 'seasoned hands.' Everybody is working the same way, being treated the same way, so there was no distinction drawn between these 'servants.'

But over the rest of that century, you begin to see distinctions drawn. This begins to show up strongly by 1660 and by 1705 we have what has been called 'the invention of the white race'. It is in the Slave Codes of Virginia, (commended to everyone, it is on the web), compiling things that had already been put in place in an act called 'Of Servants and Slaves' The is the key point where the distinction between servants and slaves is put into law. 'Be it enacted that all masters of servants shall find and provide for their servants wholesome and competent diet, housing and lodging and shall at no time give immoderate correction and at no time shall whip a Christian white servant naked without an order from the justice of the peace.'

Those rights are specifically for servants and not for slaves. They didn't use the word 'white' before this law. Some Negro slaves had gotten baptized, so 'Christian' which was being used up until that point now was not sufficient. The baptism of slaves does not exempt them from bondage. Just because you are a Christian you are not a 'Christian. 'All children shall be bond or free according to the condition of their mother.'

If a master has a child by an enslaved person, the child is still a slave. And also, 'Be it enacted that all persons not being slaves shall have their complaints received by a justice of the peace who if he finds cause shall bind the master over to answer the complaint in court.' A servant can go to court and complain he has been mistreated, specifically for a servant and not for a slave. 'Be it also enacted that no Negroes, mulattoes or Indians (even if Christian) nor Jews, Mohammands, or other infidels shall at any other time purchase any Christian servant.'

Many of you may know there was a rebellion in 1676.Nathanial Bacon's army when it finally surrendered was half black and half white. At that time there were 6,000 persons of European heritage in bondage and 2,000 of African heritage, out of the 8,000. So the great men of Virginia got together and passed the African Slave Code that created a buffer group between the increasing number of African slaves and themselves. People might be very poor and on a 7-year indenture, but at least they were white. Being white became very valuable and it was defined by law and defined more and more over the next three centuries. As new races came into America, they had to decide whether they were white or not and that goes up to the 20th century.

In about 1700 the English took over the slave trade from the Dutch and it gained full speed in Virginia between 1700 and 1774. 114,000 Africans were brought into Tidewater Virginia. We know the numbers because they had to keep a log of who came in. Most of them came into Bermuda Hundred about 20 miles away from Richmond. Most of those people went to the Danville area because that area hadn't been farmed out.

So, then we come to the American 'half-Revolution.' After 160 years or so, the Declaration of Independence was a statement of ideals, not a statement of fact. None of us know and all of us puzzle over Thomas Jefferson's strange dualities. It is very important that he made the statement that all men are created equal, actually making it broader in his language than he felt, since what he actually meant was all white men who own property. But nevertheless, it was a powerful statement and a very important one for the world, although it had nothing to do with the way things were being practiced. Politically what it really meant was that poor whites would have some rights; in a sense what he was doing was co-opting the Colonial army to fight in the Revolution.

There was a law passed in October of 1780 which was right when the General Assembly was moving to Richmond called 'An Act For Recruiting The States To Serve In The Continental Army. There was a problem; they couldn't get anyone to fight the English. Each recruit and all our soldiers in service who have already enlisted and who continually serve faithfully until the end shall then receive a healthy sound Negro between the ages of 10 and 30 years and moreover be entitled to 300 acres of land.' If you'll fight for freedom, you'll be awarded a male Negro slave- and 300 acres of land. It needs to be taught as a half-Revolution. You know about Gabriel in 1800 who somehow got the ideals of Thomas Jefferson and tried to complete the Revolution and was hanged for it at the foot of Broad Street.

From that point on, Virginia descends into the most horrible of evil and hypocrisy. A story so horrible that neither black nor white people told it to their children. So 140 years after the end of the Civil War it was still not known in Richmond or Virginia, and that's the story of the slave market in Richmond. The Slave Trail Commission finally identified the Slave Trail and did an excavation in 2007. That's how long it stayed secret. 'Slave Trading in the Old South' by Frederick Bancroft. It was published in1931 and has a 31-page chapter on 'Virginia and the Richmond Market'; still the most detailed description of Virginia and the Richmond slave market after the uncovering of the Lumpkin Jail. It is horrifying. Between 300,000 and 500,000 persons were sold between 1820 and1860 out of Richmond city; it represented half of the economy of Richmond at its peak because of the surrounding stores and brokers, clothiers, traders, various auctioneers in the Valley. There were 6 or 8 churches in the Valley, a Jewish temple as well.All the Governor had to do was look out his back window and see. Were they rehearsing the Declaration of Independence while they were saying this? It shows how deeply we descended. It also explains one of the strange sources of Virginia's paralysis; that we were living this incredibly deep hypocrisy. Hypocrisy is paralyzing; if you lose the capacity for words to have accurate meaning, you lose the capacity to move forward in a constructive way.

At the end of the Civil War, in a wonderful paradox Virginia Union University starts as the Lumpkin Slave Jail ends; if you don't believe in the Resurrection, that's a good place to start.

Edward Pollard, who had been the editor of The Richmond Examiner wrote a book called 'The Lost Cause.' It gives you the whole Southern spiel for the next 100 years. It says 'The war restored the Union and ended Slavery, but it did not decide Negro equality. It did not decide Negro suffrage. The South's well-known superiority in civilization has been recognized by every foreign observer. And by the intelligent everywhere. The South produced 4/5 of American literature and public men, that list best known in the Christian world; that superiority the war has not lowered, and the nation would do right to cherish it.'

So, the Civil War ends. It takes about twenty years to sort things out. We actually have a period of time where black folks are getting some power. That begins to shut down about 1886. We are now in a century of segregation; Richmond is very segregated during that time. They can't have a National Labor Convention here because they have a black officer.

By 1902 we have a new constitution. It makes no bones about it: Senator Carter Glass (still a U.S. senator from Virginia in 1946) says 'This convention is intended to produce discrimination within the letter of the law and not in violation of the law. Discrimination is precisely what we propose. That is exactly what this convention was created for, to discriminate within the limits of the federal constitution and to the elimination of every Negro voter who can be gotten rid of.'

In this period of segregation, between 1865 and 1965 we will look at 5 topics that we deal with regularly that try to establish all the discrimination that existed under slavery without slavery being legal.

We will make sure all wealth stays with white people. No black person will ever be a supervisor over white people. And that black folks can't have homes built. They can't live in proximity to white people. These things are related; they can't get the education to get the job to get the wealth. What is wonderful is that the African American community develops within the city a system of wealth and barter that becomes Jackson Ward. Jackson Ward was created as a 6th ward to make sure that only 1 black person could serve on the city council. So it was a ward with a line drawn around black housing.

Housing becomes an issue as the federal government begins to get into housing. In 1930 the Home Mortgage Act creates redlining that declares every black neighborhood by virtue of who lives in it to be ineligible for mortgage lending. After the war, Rothstein's book 'The Color of Law' describes a housing policy of rental for blacks and ownership for whites, a policy that has resulted in median black wealth of 17,000 compared to a median white wealth of 170,000. That has to do with low interest financing for new suburban developments within which mortgages could only be given to white people because mortgages would not be permitted in a racially integrated neighborhood. They could only be given through the FHA and the VA to white citizens and basically built the wealth in the white community in the 2nd half of the 20th century.

The engineering studies for the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike, Route 95 go through Jackson Ward even though there was a natural valley three blocks away. They rigorously protected white neighborhoods and said that black neighborhoods were so bad it would be better if they were torn down. But they then built rental housing for blacks and supported new housing for whites in the suburbs.

Zoning is a very important thing. It begins in the determination that black and white neighborhoods will be completely separate. A law to that effect was passed in 1917 and thrown of court, passed another law and was thrown out in court; but they succeeded in ensuring that blacks and white could not live on the same street. The most profound example of that is jurisdictions. If a city wants to remain separate, you take away its ability to annex territory. That's what the General Assembly did in 1970 when they discovered they couldn't stop racial integration any other way. They took away Richmond's ability to expand. You can also discriminate by zoning that declares that only houses of a certain price can be built. If you go out into Chesterfield County on a road built with federal dollars, Route 288, to houses in the 800,000s, you won't see a lot of people of color living there. We permit building in a subdivision and prohibit low-income housing in that territory.

Virginia finally gets a university for African Americans in the 1880s but they want to keep it as training for trade jobs, so our first black governor and black mayor had to go out of state to get their law degrees in the 1960s. Public schools after the Civil War poorly funded black schools. By 1954-55 there is 'Brown vs Board' and in 1951 the case coming out of Farmville that eventually pushed for integration not because black folks and white folks had to live together, but because the only way you could have equality is if they are integrated. But our schools are

more segregated today than they were 50 years ago. The state found a lot of ways around having to integrate and to create equity in the schools.

Transportation is a final way of segregating. We had streetcar strikes and racial integration of our vehicles being prohibited in the first half of the 20th century. After WW2 we have segregation by mode of transportation. We build suburban neighborhoods, we cut down black housing and put superhighways through them, and then stop the buses at the city line. And you need about 10,000 dollars more income (to afford transportation by car). Until the last two years, when we won a couple of victories, there was no public transportation on most of our arterial highways out of the 62 square miles of the 1200 square miles of our metropolitan city.

Where we might go in housing, education and transportation. Rev. Campbell's mother was the first woman chair of a school board in Arlington County until 1956 when the school board announced that it was going to integrate schools voluntarily at which point Harry Byrd and the General Assembly summoned her to Richmond and told her they were going to take away the elected school board and eliminate the possibility of integrating the schools in Arlington County. Rev. Campbell also worked at Armstrong High School for 15 years. Education level is predictable by income level. What we seek is equity in education, not equality in expenditure. For example, the General Assembly wants to give a few more counselors to the schools, but Deep Run doesn't need the same number of counselors as Armstrong does; Armstrong needs twice the number that Deep Run does. Armstrong is 99 per cent African American but it is also impoverished because of the middle-class white flight to eastern Henrico County and Chesterfield. If we want to do public education right in Virginia, what we need to do is give twice as much income per student to the lowest income student in terms of educational support. Everybody knows that and if we do that, we have a good shot for a lot of kids to make it who can't make it today. It is not rocket science (to tell where it would work). One of the quickest ways to do reparations in Virginia, to really get honest about what we need in education, not to nickel and dime it, but to say, 'we lied about this for 390 years,' maybe we ought to just do it right. We were able to segregate as a big decision, now we ought to be able to seek equity as a big decision. Rev Campbell said, 'If I had anything that I would wish that we would do, it would be that.' Within 12 years of that, or within 15 years, if we start in preschool, you will see an enormous differential occurring. You would see your school to prison pipeline cut in half. It is the important. You would see increase in wealth, increase in employment, increase in participation, increase in the spread of jobs.

A second thing in transportation. Virginia will build a 6 or 8 lane highway like the Midlothian Turnpike, Hull Street or Route 1 and not require that there be public transportation on it. No other country in the world does that. What that is a decision that a minimum of 20 percent of the population will not have access to wherever that street goes.

Income is a stalking horse for race in America. And why? For 350 years that was the law, that poor people would be poorer than white people. So all you have to do is build that road, you get that Short Pump Town Center out there and a lot of people won't be able to get to it.

There should be a requirement that any state road in an urban area of a certain density and size must have public transportation on it. It's so important for a person at the poverty level to be able to climb out of poverty; what a difference 5-10,000 dollars a year makes in the ability to climb out of poverty (by being able to afford a car).

On housing, there is a lot of work that needs to be done because of Covid and the enormous danger of eviction; who is the person being evicted and who are the owners? We need to have inclusionary zoning, to not restrict the price of housing (in a particular area) in the counties as well as the city; to get a permit for a division of more than four or five homes, (there should be a requirement) to put in affordable housing.

The big trick in modern America which is just killing all of us is the ability to have different jurisdictions in a metropolitan city where the wealthy people live, and the low taxes happen. If you want to have equitable public education based on the principle that the lowest income person gets twice the funding as the middle- and upper-income person, you (need) to create a state property tax. It will pay the entire cost of public education in Virginia. The people who have more money will pay more money. If you live in Hanover County you have the lowest property tax in metropolitan Richmond and the highest income. We can't do in (the city of) Richmond what we need to do for public education with the revenue we have. The state created that on purpose. They made the city bankrupt with the legislation they passed. Petersburg is bankrupt because of the legislation they passed 50 years ago. Low-income people need a whole lot more support and special services and dealing with traumatic issues. When you have racial concentration, you need to pay twice the money for that system and stop trying to solve things by beating them up and that's what they are doing at the moment.

Question and Answer Period

Danita Green: At Coming To The Table we talk about repair and reparations all the time and how to best go about that. This RAW group is looking directly at systemic racism. But also what the best way of approaching what repairing Richmond would look like. We have been following the Black History Month and the series on the black church and how the church had a lot to do with the creation of the culture of the people we call African Americans which is like no other culture in the whole world. I would say the same would be true for our white brothers and sisters.

Reverend you used the term 'the invention of whiteness.' Was that purely economic or was that a moral value in creating that? I'm asking that because during that time learned men came from the church. And black American culture came from the church. There seems to be a duality in thinking about how repair should happen. Should we examine it in a moral space first so we can examine how we got here because something has to change in the heart space first, or if we make all these economic changes would we wind up right back in the same space?

Rev. Campbell: A little about the church first. The Anglican Church was the founding church of the English in Virginia and is really part of the Virginia government all the way through the

1600s. At the time of the American half-Revolution, Jefferson and Madison and this group of about 10 or 15 really well-educated people who all sit on top of plantations with slaves, these guys become deists; they don't go to church at least many of them, but they do pick up a sense of values which shows up in that statement about equality and the statute of religious freedom which I think represents Jesus better than most churches do. Jesus really believed in religious freedom. Somehow the white folks, the Quakers and the Methodists and the Baptists at the time of the half-Revolution —— the Quakers are pretty solid about abolition but the Methodists and Baptists and Presbyterians toy with it. But everybody shuts down by about 1810 and if you are a person in Virginia and you are an abolitionist, you will have to leave the state. And that is true from about 1810 to 1850. The only way you can say anything other than that is to be in favor of the Colonization Society of having people go back to Liberia.

In the civil rights movement, two things are happening. One is, the black community, having been compressed, forced into single areas of life, the church being the core organizing function of that life, the black church takes advantage of this long-term compression and explodes in what is probably the most creative moment in American history. But that was then. This is now. The white community. —- a lot of white folks spent time in the civil rights movement too with their own vision and did a lot and felt a lot —- and a lot of them are sitting on this call —- because they felt they saw in this the truth they longed for. Didn't know how to pursue it but intended.

Where are we today? A strange time. The churches are not as powerful as they were and not as central to the life of America. And they are as fragmented as the metropolitan cities are; the opposite of segregation is not integration but disintegration. The ability to bring strong, united forces to bear to bring about change is quite difficult.

Do we need to do personal stuff or legislative stuff first? All of the above. The experience of our governor in the personal work he was forced to do by what happened and folks helped him with, has proved to be very productive in this last session and you can see it is a combination of those.

I like education; it is close to the heart of God. It has to do with the development of a human being. A black pastor friend on Church Hill said it is just as important a kid graduate from high school as go to church. I couldn't agree more. It has to do with the development of a human being and the possibilities that God has in mind. Education puts these two things together. It puts human development, human cooperation, human partnership together with the significant change in economic possibility and opportunity that the black community has always wanted.

Danita Green: What I heard was both. We truly need to build a climate where we can exist. Communities of color, white communities, have a bridge of respect and know that we're not that different really.

Rev. Campbell: The truth is, white people designed this thing. When it comes to fixing it, we say that's political and we can't do it, that's too big a job. The Byrd machine didn't think it was too big a job, they spent full time at it and they created this thing the way it is. We can renounce that, but we need to get some skills here and remedy this as strongly as it was deliberately created.

Danita Green: I'm looking at the chat. We have a lot of wisdom in the room. Could you delve a little deeper into 'where do we start?' Would raising the minimum wage to 15 dollars be enough to solve this issue? Someone else asked about raising the property tax. And funding for our schools. When we start these lists, it does seem so overwhelming.

Rev. Campbell: It is. Great movements happen when you're able to concentrate somewhere. There is something happening in every aspect of our life. I like education. This cliff we built is so big you can do little things there, but the cliff is still so big because of the things that offset you are operating all the time. If you want to pay for education, you (need) a state property tax. If you want to offset the inequality by normal taxation, the only thing that offsets capitalism is healthy taxation. Capitalism creates so much inequality that it destroys itself sooner or later. To have one governor or general assembly for the metro area would change the nature of our situation. If we devoted to regional education the same energy, we put into trying to build a casino in Richmond you would see something good happen. That energy isn't there yet. It's going to take leadership. Clearly the sort of conversation that takes place in Coming To The Table is good; we can learn from one another. We might become more conscious and we might have common cause.

Danita Green: That is why Coming To The Table was started about 12 years ago by a group of white people (in Lexington and Charlottesville) who were the descendants of slaveholders and realizing they were living with black people who had the same names. They may have been different hues, but they wanted to come together as family. It has been difficult for black and white people to come together in that way. (But) Our strength is being able to come together in conversations and build relationships (and) help one another.

Sandra Taylor: It's been an interesting timeline you have had us look at. As I travel, especially in African countries you still see these slave castles, right in the middle of them are these fanciful churches; the church was always sitting there, right in the middle of things. So, it makes me wonder, wasn't there quite a lot of hypocrisy in the church in that time span and at what time did the church decide to put a lid on its ways of having prospered from the slave trade and start looking more toward what the Bible says with regard to the equality of man?

Rev. Campbell: The church is a mess; it too is a lot of different things. Jesus didn't like the church very much or the Pharisees and he was killed with the support of religious leaders. The devil loves to work with the church. If evil can sneak in and get religious blessing, that gives evil a really good cover for what it's about. In each generation some people really get the holy spirit, understand who Jesus is, get what his preaching and teaching is about. And other folks use it as a

way of sustaining and justifying their own power. It is true today and was true in colonial America. The white evangelicals like to say they got the spirit and threw out the Anglicans in the middle of the 1700s when in fact they got as corrupt as the Anglicans were. They always have some way of going off it, like the Episcopal bishop in 1835 who says slavery was really a divine creation because it gave Africans a chance to come to America and learn Christianity. The church is a mess; I've been working in it for 55 years I love Jesus and —- that's about what I got.

Danita Green: This is a bone of contention in Coming To The Table. Sometimes we use language that doesn't sit well at the table. One of our guests asks the question, 'since you mention again the creation of the white race, in order to dismantle and begin to heal, would it be possible to stop using the term black and white, particularly since so many of us who identify as being black may not be all black based on our entry into this country and some people who identify as white may not be all white either; do those terms separate us'?

Rev. Campbell: You and I have both lived through different periods here where polite people were delicate about those words. At one point we had black, then we got African Americans. Sooner or later, we'll be a Brazil where everybody is everything. The problem I'm dealing with, structural racism, is that you've got to be real about who these structures injured or continue to injury. Then there is the personal racism; how we look at one another, how we feel about one another, how we speak to one another, how people are treating one another on a personal basis. These two things go back and forth with each other. You have these people importing slaves and then calling them stupid because they can't speak English. It feeds itself back and forth. We know in the kingdom of God, in the kingdom of heaven, there is no distinction. St. Paul said that in a letter to the Galatians. We know Jesus felt that way. Our blessing is when we see one another as human beings. King said that beautifully. It is not accurate to say we are in a post-racial society.

Danita Green: We hope that this series will empower you to move toward a just and peaceful society. For the audience, what singular action can you do right now to bring the change you want to see. It starts not with the state or local government, it starts with you guys on the call. We are hoping on the chat you will be able to find comrades if it means contacting the legislature or writing a letter or marching down Monument Avenue or helping rebuild and remodel our school system, whatever you feel you can do, we want to see those answers.

A personal question (for Rev. Campbell) is; when you started down this road, were you well received, did you have a lot of rebuttals.

Rev. Campbell: I first started something called the Richmond Urban Institute in the 1970s. Henry Marsh had just become mayor. We had two leaders, a black woman and me, we had a board that was deliberately 50 percent black and 50 percent white. We were trying to see what we could do, recognizing that equity was fundamental. She and I got in a fight. She went after three white members and two black members so I went after her and said you've got to stop this; she

didn't like that. So the board fired us both. The level of intimacy and trust was not sufficient to make a judgment that one or the other of us was out.

We didn't create this, we were born into it; there's a lot of pain, a lot of injustice and a lot of anger. If you want to work with it, you are going to get marked up and you're going to make some big mistakes because you are learning the hard way and there is a tremendous amount of pain and abuse that has occurred. My book, I got in more trouble with white people. I would walk into a church with a bunch of white people in the education program. I decided to start with the same ten-minute program I started with which is to say I'm not interested in white guilt. If you're going to feel guilty it means you're just going to whine the whole time I'm talking to you or you're going to get mad at me because you don't want to feel guilty; that's the most likely thing that will happen. I want them just to learn, pay attention; its to everybody's benefit. There are a lot of places that don't ask me back anymore.

Danita Green: We have that in common. We have (on the chat) a lot of people who are going to be bold, to talk to their neighbors, go straight to their legislative body, about things not only going on in your (their own) community but somebody else's community. If you know that the bus route has been changed and won't let people get to work, even if you're not affected by that, this is still your city. You can complain about something going on somewhere else in the city.

Rev. Campbell: So, if people in Chesterfield said folks in the city can't get to a job out here. What would happen if we stopped playing games with these jurisdictional divides? What would happen if the city of Richmond says it needs more money for its public schools and people in Henrico told their members of the General Assembly to support it? That hasn't happened yet. There is still this acceptance to set things up unjustly and not be responsible to one another.

Danita Green: As you say, the division is intentional. What if we decided to jump over those lines of demarcation?

Rev. Campbell: Wow!

Danita Green: The Coming To The Table Reparations Circle is working all the time toward repair in the city. We have Tina Slaughter who is a co-convener. If you would like to join the Reparations Circle or being a part of the RAW working group, we would love that you would put that in the chat. What are your thoughts about the leadership voices that made themselves known in the summer of 2020? There were some national ones, but also some ones here in Richmond. How do you think what some would call protests, and some would call rioting, how did you think that affected our legislature?

Rev. Campbell: Virginia has set this up so that most of the financial and racial answers we need are not in the city of Richmond, it is in the General Assembly and the surrounding counties. In the Monument Avenue marches, a whole lot of those kids were from the surrounding counties. They wouldn't dare do it to the Henrico or Chesterfield police. People were looking for a way to

address this centuries old inequity and injustice. In that sense, that people got out, is really important. The scary piece is the only issue that got addressed was police behavior. I have an image of a three or four level wedding cake with a bride and groom on top. On top of (my) cake is a statue of Robert E Lee. (If) I take that statue off the wedding cake, now I got four levels beneath it. Our problem is this stuff has been built into our society. If it were just a problem of removing a statue or a piece of legislation, we would be okay. It is built in and this generation of revolutionaries has got to become more knowledgeable and stronger to bring about the changes needed.

Danita Green: We were all glued to our televisions as we watched these monuments come down. All over the world, people were in support of fairness, of social equity, of economic justice. This was a powerful global movement.

Rev. Campbell: I'd still give you four JEB Stuart statues for one properly funded Armstrong High School.

Danita Green: Yes.

Rev. Campbell: That's 800 lives we could make a difference in. They could make a difference for us in the future.

Danita Green: I would dovetail with that. We have seen at Coming To The Table how different generations look at race issues. When you are with a generation of two younger than we are, how are they seeing this?

Rev. Campbell: They are less forgiving of the racism we live with. My godfather invited me over to supper and smoked his big cigar and told me what it was like to be a state senator during the Byrd machine in Richmond. (in order to explain his point of view) I want to read this, in 1965 a fourth-grade textbook that every single child had to study in Virginia. 'Northern and Southern people did not think alike about slavery. Northern people did not need more help to work their small farms. Whereas the large planters in the South needed many more people to do their work. By this time many people knew slavery was wrong. But the planters did not know how they could free their slaves and keep their plantations going. Some people in the North said Southern people had to free their slaves no matter what happened to their plantations and the people in the South said they had no right to tell them what to do. They believed each state had the right to determine how the people lived in that state. The North and South quarreled about the right each state had. While men fought and died on the battlefield, old men and women and children did all they could to help in the war. Some Negro servants left the plantations because they heard President Lincoln was going to set them free, but most of the Negros stayed on the plantations and went on to do their work. Some of them risked their lives to protect the women and children they loved.' That's it, 180 pages of history and one page about Booker T Washington, the only page about anyone who is not white. So, I come from that to where we are today. I

see today a kid of 16 and it's important that he sees that and doesn't internalize it. The separation however that the suburbs create, the people have less and less experience of diversity. White kids in Henrico or Chesterfield or Hanover, if they have one black kid in the room, they think they live in a diverse society. People grow over generations and we hope they do here.

Danita Green: Hayat maybe you can open up to the audience to ask questions directly. Thanks to the audience for you interest in this and in Rev. Campbell's book. (Richmond's Unhealed History). People want to know where they can find a chapter near them; go to the Coming To The Table website.

Barbara Brown described her experience as a school administrator and said she would like to be on a committee that decides where the money is going. Even in schools that are integrated, African American students have fallen behind. We need to be hiring African American men as teachers; it is the human element I'm concerned about.

Rev. Campbell: We do have in the city of Richmond (a plan) to recruit African American men. Rodney Robinson is the teacher of the year at the Children's Detention Home.

Midge Falconer: You talked about the different time zones up to the 60s. Can you share a little bit about where we are in 2021 and how much has changed and what steps we can take to move things along especially after all the events that happened with George Floyd? Do you see these as moving things further along?

Rev. Campbell: Twenty somethings have more inter-racial relations. (But) We have major barriers that are created in Virginia and America that need to be identified and gone after. They shouldn't end up in this political fight between Democrats and Republicans. (We need) to look at these icebergs under the water. Marijuana arrests for black men are 4 times the rate of arrests for white men. I would like to see inter-racial groups picking an issue and going after it. Churches can do that. Get an inter-racial group and then go to meet with an all-white suburban church and have a real conversation as human beings. It wouldn't hurt for some of these mega churches like St. Paul's or Mt. Gilead to engage with the city as well. Twenty years ago, black churches were very active in Richmond. Today (we are fragmented). The most important thing is to have enough developed confidence that we can do it together.

Prepared by Jim Evans and Midge Falconer