THE INTERPLAY OF VIOLENCE AND TRAUMA IN HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF CONFEDERATE SYMBOLS

by

Merri Katherine Hemphill Davis
A Dissertation
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Dedication

This is dedicated to Meshach for all his patience, encouragement, and support; to my children Alex, James, and Christa for their belief in me; and to James F. Garrett for teaching me the importance of justice and empathy.

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I would like to thank Drs. Karina Korostelina, Jennifer Ritterhouse, and Daniel Rothbart, my exemplary committee who offered invaluable help and encouragement throughout the dissertation process. Thanks also to Dr. Adina Friedman, who kindly reminded me of the importance of a completed dissertation, and to Colleen Spears, whose extraordinary editorial skills allowed this project to be completed.

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List of Abbreviations

American Psychiatric Association ..... APA
Diagnostic and Statistical Manual ..... DSM
Historical Trauma ..... HT
Ku Klux Klan ..... KKK
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ..... NAACP
Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome ..... PTSS
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder ..... PTSD
Practical and Realistic and Desirable Ideas for Social Enrichment ..... PARADISE
Southern Christian Leadership Conference ..... SCLC
Trauma-Informed Community Building ..... TICB
Trauma-Informed Community Conflict Resolution ..... TICCR

Abstract

THE INTERPLAY OF VIOLENCE AND TRAUMA IN THE HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF CONFEDERATE SYMBOLS

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George Mason University, 2019

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This study investigates the interplay of violence and trauma in conflict surrounding Confederate symbols in the small Southern city of Danville, VA. Analysis of data confirms a dual causality of trauma within the case study context: Trauma both results from and contributes to violence surrounding historical interpretations of Confederate symbols. Contrary to psychologically based theories of group and collective trauma which preference intergenerational transmission of trauma through Freudian psychoanalytic mechanisms, data from the case study suggests a constructivist model. In such a model, traumatic meanings are both dynamic and derived from collective interpretations of actual or perceived events which may change based on historical, social, or political conditions. Interruption of sociological processes incorporating traumatic historical events into a revised collective identity exacerbated by moral injury trauma rather than psychological symptomology appear to effect meaning-making surrounding Confederate symbols in the Danville community. Data also indicates

community traumatization and a typology of structural trauma weakening social networks and diminishing resilience. A trauma-informed model for addressing community conflict is presented.

Introduction

On August 12, 2017, Charlottesville, Virginia made international headlines as it erupted into deadly violence trigged by a White nationalist march against plans to remove a statue of Robert E. Lee from a nearby public park. Waving Confederate Flags and carrying Nazi emblems, clashes between protestors and counter-protesters left dozens injured and bleeding. By afternoon the violence escalated as 20-year-old White supremacist James Alex Fields, Jr., drove his vehicle into counter-protesters killing 32-year-old Heather Heyer and injuring 19 others. Two days after the events in Charlottesville, protestors toppled a statute of a Confederate soldier in front of a government building in Durham, North Carolina. Placing straps around its neck and chanting "No Trump, no KKK, no fascist USA" the crowd attacked the toppled statue, spitting, kicking, and making obscene gestures at its crumpled form. Within days of the Charlottesville violence, Confederate statues were removed from Baltimore city, North Carolina's Duke University, and the University of Texas at Austin. In Lexington, Kentucky, the city council voted unanimously to remove two statues from its city center, while school boards in Virginia and Texas, states with half of all schools named after Confederate generals, began considering costly renaming projects.

Two years earlier, in 2015, an ongoing controversy regarding a Third Confederate National flag flying over the City Museum in Danville, Virginia, resulted in a bitter,

racially divisive debate which escalated to death threats against government officials. The museum, long a symbol of the Confederacy, was the 19th century city home of Confederate officer, tobacco planter, and mayor of Danville William Sutherlin. Following their flight from Richmond after its capture by Union forces, the Sutherlin's mansion housed Confederate President Jefferson Davis and his cabinet for seven days in April 1865. In the early decades of the 20th century the mansion was restored by joint funding from the Danville Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy and the city of Danville, later becoming the Whites-only Confederate Memorial public library and site of the first student-led Civil Rights protest in Danville. Propelled by the connection of the Confederate flag to the mass killing of Black worshippers in Charleston by White supremist Dylann Roof in 2015, the museum director recommended the flag's removal to the City Council. The City Council scheduled a public forum prior to the council voting on the museum director's recommendation. The evening of the City Council vote, a group calling themselves "Anonymous CSA" threatened African American Councilor Rev. Larry Campbell and his family if he voted to take the flag down ("Danville City Councilman Threatened," 2015). The threat was verified by the Virginia Fusion Center, a collaborative organization comprising Virginia State Police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the US Department of Homeland Security. A similar threat was simultaneously made against two other Virginia legislators, one in Richmond and one in Fredericksburg (Thiboeau, 2015a).

In a divisive 7-2 vote, on August 5, 2015, the council approved a city ordinance limiting the flags permitted to be flown on city property to the national, state, city, and

missing in action/prisoner of war flags. Following the flag's removal the night of the vote and unsuccessful attempts to elevate the case to the Virginia Supreme Court, groups including the Heritage Preservation Association, the Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Virginia Flaggers began installations of oversized Confederate battle flags in key geographic locations around Danville. On July 23, 2016, Confederate supporters hoisted a massive 30 ft. by 50 ft. flag, described as the "world's largest Confederate battle flag," onto a 109 ft. pole using a hydraulic crane as bagpipes played and rifles and cannons manned by Confederate reenactors fired a salute (Metcalfe, 2016). Accompanying the Confederate battle flag installations, billboards were placed on Route 58, a main thoroughfare in Danville, welcoming visitors to the "The Last Capitol of the Confederacy." Fourteen Confederate battle flags now surround the city, including one installed at the foot of the Martin Luther King Bridge, dominating the horizon adjacent to African American neighborhoods.

While various explanations linked to heritage and history are offered for their public display, for opponents such public memorialization of Confederate symbols and memorials are acts of violence emanating racism. Dr. Lisa Woolfork, an African American Black Lives Matter activist and University of Virginia Professor, posits that these symbols promote not only "explicit violent racism but also subtle institutional racism" (Jaffe, 2017). Woolfork views Confederate symbols as embodying a latent structural violence which endorses White supremacy. Following the August 2017 events in Charlottesville she explained,

> the real violence was allowing these Confederate monuments to remain in the center of our city as a paean or a testament or an endorsement of not just 19th century White supremacy, but 21st century endorsement or tolerance of White supremacy. (as cited in Jaffe, 2017)

Similarly, New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu characterized Confederate statue supporters as members of the "Cult of the Lost Cause…a White movement over the past hundred years to push back against reconciliation and demonstrate that there was no sense of guilt for the cause in which the South fought the Civil War" (Wendland, 2017). These sentiments are echoed by Dennis Anderson, Jr., a 63-year-old African American born and raised in Danville as he articulates the very personal effects of Danville's Confederate battle flag installations:

> I know that when white Americans wave the Confederate flag, they feel good about that war fought by their ancestors. That war was fought for the souls of the slaves. When I see that flag, it evokes the same fear in my soul…I agree the Confederate flags and statues belong in a museum, but when they are on every corner of Danville, my hometown, they cause pain to the soul. (Anderson, 2017)

While debates over the display of Confederate symbols, particularly on public property, appear to have spiraled since the 2015 mass killings of worshippers in Charleston, they are not new. According to John Coski, perhaps the foremost expert on the Confederate battle flag, in the decades following the Civil War the meaning of the flag was divisive even among former Confederates and their partisans who "insisted that the battle flag is an apolitical symbol…and therefore not objectionable to a re-united

America" (Coski, 2005, p. 19.) For the former Confederates, the Confederate battle flag was distinct from the Confederacy's national flags, the latter in their view representing the Confederate States of America (Coski, 2005, p. 19). It is the third of these national flags which is central to the current conflict in Danville.

Contemporaneously, perspectives regarding Confederate symbols appear consistently to segue into difficult conversations regarding the role of slavery and racism in the formation of the Confederacy and as a catalyst for the Civil War. My interest in historical interpretations of Confederate symbols is not confined to analyzing these polarized opinions but to more deeply understand the belief systems and sociological and social group processes that undergird the opinions. Further, the goal of my research is to develop an approach or methodology that may help resolve community conflicts surrounding Confederate symbols. Specifically, I am interested in whether divisiveness regarding historical interpretations of Confederate symbols evidence a typology of unresolved trauma. Unlike trauma that people commonly relate to post-traumatic stress disorder, collective trauma emanates from the violation of deeply held beliefs which are essential to the formation of group identities. As historical experiences of horrific violence remain unreconciled, both perpetrators and victims are harmed as guilt, pain, and suffering are held suspended in stories, narratives, symbols, and even cultural reenactments such as holidays or parades. Particularly in communities which have experienced entrenched conflict surrounding Confederate symbols over an extended period, disparate beliefs concerning the symbols may diminish social relationships between opposing groups, reducing community wellness as social and financial capital

remain focused on the past. In the case of Danville, the trauma of temporally distant violence and loss associated with the Civil War and slavery appears to be kept fresh by current generations through such symbols and narratives. These symbols, like Confederate statuary and flags, can be thickly imbued with collective memories and meanings representing the very essence of who we believe ourselves to be—the deepest traumas and most cherished accomplishments of the social group which confers our identity.

My interest in this research has both a personal and a professional genesis. While serving as a Christian minister in Danville from 2010 to 2014 I was overwhelmed with the poverty, rates of incarceration, substance abuse, racism, and blighted condition of many neighborhoods within the city. The city looked and felt impoverished. Abandoned industrial buildings and derelict houses were part of the cityscape. A microcosm of the racial segregation on Sunday mornings in Danville, racial tensions were evident even in my tiny congregation. Delivering breakfast Wednesday mornings to poor neighborhoods and visiting with parishioners, I found myself in structurally unsound homes often lacking heating or cooling systems, adequate plumbing, and infested with rodents and insects. As I left in 2014 to resume graduate studies in Conflict Analysis and Resolution, I prioritized the concepts I learned based on their explanatory potential of the degraded social and physical environment in Danville.

Over the last five years I have learned that in traumatized communities, historical narratives, and symbols strengthen social group boundaries, often creating a vulnerability for future conflict. According to theorist and psychiatrist Franz Fanon, such cultural

markers may be used to mobilize social groups for violence "well before the political or armed struggle" with "approaching conflict in mind" (1952, p. 176). It is therefore unsurprising that pro-flag supporters in Danville including Sons of the Confederacy leader Ed Clark characterize attempts to remove the flag as a form of "cultural genocide" (as cited in Thibodeau, 2015a). Others in Mr. Clark's organization like member Kevin Stone seem ready to escalate to violence in their defensive of such symbols, claiming they would no longer passively watch flags, monuments, and other memorials removed: "I'm tired of defending. I'm ready to charge" (as cited in Metcalfe, 2016).

I have also learned that causal analyses of violence and trauma regarding historical interpretations are challenging. Conflict surrounding Confederate symbols appears to reflect the relevance of the Civil War to Americans not only in the city of Danville but nationally. According to Pew Research in surveys made on the 150th anniversary of the Civil War, more than half—56%—of all Americans believed that the Civil War was "still relevant to American politics and political life" (Pew Research Center, 2011). In the same 2011 Pew Research survey, 25% of Americans still considered themselves Southern. Frequently, economic or realist political perspectives are emphasized, ignoring sociological, historical, and cultural implications. Even at the pinnacle of American government, an appreciation of the diversity of historical interpretations of Confederate symbols, which for many represent pain and racism, seems lacking.

Objectives of the Research

Using the case of Danville, the aim of this research is to investigate whether a linkage of trauma and violence may help explain conflicts regarding the display of Confederate symbols. Over the last two decades, violence and trauma have increasingly been linked. Trauma has been identified as not only a result of but a cause of direct and structural violence, contributing to entrenched cycles of social conflict. In a dual causality, trauma's deleterious effects go beyond individual harm to collective degradation: to groups', communities', and even nations' increasing propensity for violence. Linked not only to psychological, physical, and spiritual degradation, trauma is now included in models of aggression. Blurring the victim/perpetrator binary, traumatized perpetrator groups may torture and kill to minimize psychological symptoms of their trauma, while traumatized victims may seek vengeance for historical episodes of violence temporally distant but psychologically and emotionally contemporaneous. Sustaining structural violence or triggering new violence decades or generations following the original harm, trauma may degrade community wellness, affecting economic and educational opportunities. It may affect historic interpretations, shaping collective narratives including symbols and monuments, linking past harm to present conflict and beliefs about the future.

The primary research question for this dissertation is: How is violence around historical interpretations of Confederate symbols is affected by moral injury trauma? Attempting to answer this research question, the dissertation examines linkages between communal violence and trauma in literature, manifestations of trauma leading to violence

in social identity group processes, the perpetration of atrocities leading to typologies of collective trauma, and its effect on processes and groups. The dissertation also focuses on the relationship between trauma and violence and value-based constructions of social group membership. The research has two important objectives. The first is to investigate whether underlying causes of social conflict surrounding historical interpretations of Confederate symbols and memorials can be traced to the dynamic of trauma and violence. The second is to expand and link existing theories of collective trauma into a preliminary model for use by conflict resolution practitioners in community settings.

Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 1, Theory, discusses and critiques theorical explanations of value-based group conflict, examines manifestations of trauma and violence on collectives, and describes how symbols and historical narratives may function as repositories of unprocessed trauma. The chapter also examines theoretical underpinnings of public memory and various typologies of collective trauma including moral injury, cultural and structural/community-based traumas, and psychoanalytic theories of trauma. Chapter 1 also explores the effects of trauma on social group identity processes.

Chapter 2, Methodology, describes the qualitative, case study, narrative-based methodological approach to the dissertation research. This chapter discusses the history and purpose of qualitative research and case studies, emphasizing the production of context-dependent knowledge through such studies. This chapter also describes assumptions for the research and explains narrative inquiry as a methodology. As part of the methodological chapter the researcher describes the triangulation of multiple data

sources in the research including semistructured interviews, 2015 City Council Meeting video analysis, field observations, and community socio-economic data to increase validity of findings. The Methodology chapter presents procedures for data collection and analysis including interview questions and guidelines used by the researcher and various models applied in the analysis of data.

Chapter 3, Case Study, presents Danville as both a key and local case for studying the linkage of trauma and violence in conflicts surrounding historical interpretations of Confederate symbols. As a center of Virginia's slave-based tobacco economic system, Danville in many ways exemplifies a prototypical Southern context for understanding slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, Massive Resistance, and the Civil Rights movement. The historical experiences of Danville outlined in Chapter 3 help create a context for understanding the narratives and themes regarding Southern identity, the Civil War, and racial dynamics represented in the research data collected from the semistructured interviews and City Council meeting video analysis.

Chapter 4, Results, details the results of the data collection and analysis of four data sources: the video record of the August 5, 2015 City Council Meeting, semistructured interviews, field observations, and review of community socio-economic data. A narrative and thematic analysis is provided of data from each of the sources. Six primary conceptual constructions were identified from the video record and the semistructured interviews. Within the video data, 6 themes, 16 subthemes, and 3 primary narratives and were identified. Primary themes included (a) opinions and attitudes, (b) duality of meaning, (c) history, (d) identity dynamics, (e) victimization and trauma, and

(f) systems of power. Analysis of the semistructured interview data also yielded 6 conceptual constructions and 6 primary themes. Nineteen subthemes and 4 primary narratives also emerged from the interview data. Primary themes include (a) opinions and attitudes, (b) duality of meaning, (c) identity dynamics, (d) victimization and trauma, (e) systems of power, and (f) divided community. Observations yield similar thematic results. Using Pinderhughes et al.'s (2015) community trauma assessment, Danville meets the criteria for a traumatized community.

Chapter 5 discusses the results of the research findings, confirming a dual causality of trauma with the Danville case study context. Trauma both results from and contributes to violence surrounding historical interpretations of Confederate symbols. Rather than the moral injury trauma suggested in the research question, the typology of trauma resulting from violence surrounding historical interpretations of Confederate symbols appears to be aggregate of cultural, moral injury, and structural/community-based trauma. Participants in the conflict surrounding Confederate symbols use trauma narratives as a justification for violence, and public memory projects represented unresolved trauma within the community.

Chapter 6 concludes that contested interpretations of Confederate symbols in Danville constitute deeply traumatic historical wounds surrounding issues of Southern loss, race, and structural violence. The narratives and themes represented in research data offer dramatically different ways of collective remembering depending on social group affiliation. Confederate symbols and memorial sites in Danville, particularly the City Museum, formerly the Sutherlin Mansion and Confederate Memorial Library, emanate

hate and racism for non-Southern identity groups. For these groups the symbols serve as reminders of fundamental injuries of racism and marginalization. Likewise, Southern identity group members express deeply felt narratives of trauma and loss. Their loss is associated with what they characterize as an invasion by a tyrannical federal government during the Civil War and of a way of life represented by the symbols of the Confederacy. These markers serve as a collective representation of group virtues including pride and heritage associated with a lost way of life. Chapter 6 offers a model for addressing trauma-based conflict within the Danville community. This model integrates existing sociological theories with models of empathy escalation, theories of change, and conceptualizations of mitigating structural violence.

Chapter One: Theory

Over the last decades, the effects of violence and trauma on historic interpretations, collective memory, and public memorialization have increasingly been acknowledged. Trauma has been identified as having a dual causality, both a result of and cause of direct and structural violence, contributing to entrenched cycles of social conflict and degradation of community well-being. Groups, communities, and even nations which experience traumatizing events have been shown to have an increased propensity for violence. Blurring the victim/perpetrator binary, traumatized perpetrator groups may torture and kill to minimize psychological symptoms of their trauma, while traumatized victims may seek vengeance for historical episodes of violence temporally distant but psychologically and emotionally contemporaneous. Sustaining structural violence or triggering new violence generations following the original historic events, trauma may exacerbate violence and diminish economic and educational opportunities. Trauma may effect historic interpretations, shaping collective narratives regarding symbols and monuments linking past harm to present conflict and beliefs about the future and escalating fears and tensions between social groups. Synthesizing social identity theory with frameworks linking community violence to trauma may hold possibilities for deeper and more transformational understanding of these entrenched conflicts. Recent research connecting the perpetration of violence to a reduction in trauma-related symptoms as well

as literature regarding symptoms of moral dissonance following the violation of deeply held beliefs against killing and atrocities may also offer insight regarding intractable violence surrounding historic interpretations of Confederate symbols. This chapter examines how existing theory offers a foundation for an investigation of the interplay of violence and trauma on current social conflict surrounding historic interpretations of Confederate symbols and memorials. The chapter begins by examining theories of social identity, sociology, and identity formation focusing on how groups function in preparing for and engaging in social conflict. Next trauma is explored historically and theoretically; and finally, the chapter turns to collective remembering and the effects of trauma on social group processes. In closing the chapter discusses theory and literature regarding the collective unconscious, moral constructions, and public memorialization.

Theories of Identity Formation and Normative Group Functioning

Identity is formed both individually and collectively. Sense of self is a psychological term that describes individuals' psychic organization and how they relate and react to their experiences in the world. Two seminal theorists in identity formation, Erickson (1968) and Piaget (Piaget & Cook, 1952), suggest cognitive and identity development incorporates environment and external events into the identity maturation process. Internal standards of behavior comprising sense of self are developed through cognitive processing, environmental factors, perceptions, and attributions and are integrated in a process known as social learning (Bandura, 1973, p. 54). Values, culture, race, and gender permeate the sense of self that comprises a complete self-concept for an individual. While by adulthood self-concept is relatively stable, there are several

mechanisms through which changes may occur, including traumatization following experiences of violence (Brown as cited in Schmidt, 2006).

In contrast to sense of self or self-identity, social identity is created in shared group membership such as family or kinship groups, community, religious affiliation, nationality, or race, providing conscious and subconscious feelings of belonging, security, and acceptance. Social identity theory posits that individuals construct multiple, nested social identities which change in salience throughout life reflecting a continuum of values, beliefs, and customs. Social identity through group affiliation supplements individual sense of self, connecting members to a collective and providing criteria for normative behaviors, values, and beliefs. According to social identity theory, individuation or self-identity development competes with social or group identification in the process of identity-formation (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 147). Affiliation with a social identity group begins as adults significant to a child introduce projections of group identity through symbols, cultural practices, rituals, and narratives. With maturation, more complex ideas regarding religious beliefs, practices, and values related to large group belonging develop. The construction of social identity groups includes a dynamic, a shared moral framework and world view, as well as claims about space or territories, which are frequently highly symbolic (Peacock, Thornton, & Inman, 2007, p. 214). Individuals may espouse membership in a variety of social identity groups but have few core identities. While identities may shift in salience over an individual's life span, core identities are fairly stable (Korostelina, 2007, p. 51). Research has shown that salience of social identity is both stronger in collectivistic cultures than in individualistic

cultures and is influenced by internalization of group attitudes, norms, and values (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 148).

Social identity theory emphasizes that identities are formed through membership in an in-group in opposition or comparison to members of an out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986, as cited in Korostelina, 2007, p. 51). An identity system serves multiple functions for group members: It increases self-esteem and social status while providing safety, support, protection, and acceptance (p. 51). Even in the absence of hostile intentions by an out-group, intergroup dynamics can produce enemy images, generating behavior by in-group members that is confrontational, increasing the probability that out-groups will respond in kind, consequently reinforcing negative stereotypes (p. 59). Some research indicates that minority groups experience more in-group bias, discriminatory behavior, a stronger collective self, more elaborate self-stereotypes, and process more group-level information than majority group members (Brewer & Weber, 1994; Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; and Simon & Hamilton, 1994, all as cited in Korostelina, 2007, p. 59). Among in-group or majority group members, perceived intergroup conflict or out-group threats increase in-group identification and in-group bias (p. 60). Social identities become a mechanism for invoking social arrangements, sealing agreements, and providing a template for social interactions (Tilly, 2005, p. 209). Groups may yield significant power within societies, legitimizing acts of aggression leading to violence, or identifying and implementing community-based conflict resolution. As Peacock et al. (2007) observe, “when ordinary people momentarily hold power, they claim new

identities; confirm adapt, or abandon shared moral frameworks; and cement intergroup enmity or harmony" (p. 220).

Social identity theory suggests that conflict may be triggered or exacerbated by differences in moral frameworks between competing societal identity groups, particularly in an environment of stress such as limitations on space or other resources or power struggles for control of the state. Assuming goals of a group regarding its own identity include the processes of protecting, expanding, or purifying, Peacock et al. also prioritize differences in group moral frameworks and their sources—what groups hold sacred and how they embody these values in symbols—as influencing potentiality for conflict (p. 212). Expanding this theory, they identify three circumstances under which cultural conflict could be expected to turn violence: (a) when violence means or has symbolic meaning for the group enacting the violence, (b) when group members act in what they see is self-defense to protect what is sacred, and (c) when a group acts in ways that are not considered violent within its own moral framework but are understood as violent by other groups have differing moral frameworks (p. 208). According to Ross (2007), a significant aspect of social identity group processes is the perception by group members that their fate, security, and self-esteem are intertwined with that of the group (p. 85).

Collective values, beliefs, and moral frameworks. Trompenaars and Hempden-Turner (1997) suggest three interrelated components of cultural functioning with communities and groups: (a) main attitudes and views; (b) norms and values; and (c) products, within which social groups function (as cited in Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 148). As they function within the cultural environment, social groups prioritize values,

beliefs, and attitudes to protect group interests as well as the morality and well-being of each group member (pp. 148-150). According to Triandis (1988, 1995), environmental changes have been found to affect the cultural characteristics of group functioning, forming “specific cultural syndromes” (as cited in Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 149). Triandis (1988, 1995) defines cultural syndromes as the “explicit set of values, attitudes, beliefs, norms, and models of behavior that distinguish one group or culture from another (as cited in Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 149). According to Korostelina (2007), collectivistic cultures which preference group identity over individualism contribute to the coalescence and dominance of social identity (p. 154). As group members internalize rather than just associate with social groups, they assume group values, beliefs, feelings, and goals as well as form conflict behavior to defend the group (p. 172).

Communities living in peace exhibit a multiplicity of group identities which are interconnected and mutually strengthened (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 30). A variety of social identity groups within a community such as familial, religious, educational, civic, and special interest offer a diversity of group membership opportunities to community members. Such engagement provides multiple affiliations helping prevent polarization between groups. As social groups function together in “connectedness” they can offer the will, commitment, and competence to contribute to the common good (Selznick, 1992, p. 33). Sociological models of groups and communities contributing to moral well-being have certain attributes. Among these features are: (a) focus on whole rather than segments of person; (b) perceive participants as having intrinsic worth; (c) foster open, trusting communications; (d) obligation is

mutual, diffuse, and open-ended; (e) privilege personal development, security, and satisfaction; and (f) foster belonging and a common identity (pp. 190-191). Such sociological models are both normative and descriptive, striving toward an ideal moral framework in which "the primary group serves society by inculcating and sustaining motivations and disciplines, which consider the individual member's special needs and intrinsic worth" (p. 193). Within these typologies of community functioning, the bonds of the community are purposed toward human flourishing, using a shared history to produce a sense of community manifested in loyalty and piety while maintaining a distinctive identity (pp. 360-361). Communities also establish and enforce moral codes, including measures of deviancy within historical and cultural boundaries (p. 128).

Conflict and group functioning. Even peaceful communities without a history of violence experience generally unfavorable perceptions of out-groups (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 30). As conflict is protracted, environmental changes may trigger a cultural syndrome resulting in group members within an individualistic society contradicting their personal attitudes and perceptions to preference group narratives and perceptions. Within communities having a history of violence, in-group identity supersedes other kinds of identities leading to distortions in perceptions regarding security, threat, and even morality of other groups (p. 31). As Selznick posits, group members are vulnerable to manipulation where individual perceptions, beliefs, and understandings are supplanted by uncritical judgement and swayed by "fantasy and illusion, managed communication, and collective excitement, frequently by group leaders" (1992, p. 189). Tightly bounded fixed identities can also be destructive as they

lead to insularity and withdrawal from community life. As Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) describe, in communities engaged in generations of hostility, a plurality of identities merges into a single, dominant category which is then "juxtaposed against that of the dangerous Other" (p. 31). As these dominant in- and out-groups form, "threat-logic" replaces features of the community moral well-being model and replaces reality with the "fantasy and illusion" and group differences and perceptions deviate from reality (p. 5).

According to Schmidt (2006), definitions of normal and abnormal behavior are group specific (p. 53). Deviance from societal norms or rules includes aspects of both positive reinforcement and adverse consequences; deviant behaviors differ from group to group, change over time, and may be situational and opportunistic—and importantly, may be destructive or simply a violation of accepted cultural norms (Schmidt, 2006). Violence is not viewed in absolute terms but considered in the context of views and perceptions regarding the history, needs, and beliefs of the ethnic or social group identity. A type of social identity, ethnic identity incorporates feelings of belonging or attachment to an ethnic group, engagement in group-specific behaviors and practices, and exploration of or commitment to an ethnic group. Volkan (1997), one of the early elicitors of the causes and effects of identity-based conflict, offers this insight:

> When one large group interacts with another, "we-ness" whether it is described with reference to religious, ethnic, national, or racial affiliation, acts as an invisible force in the unfolding drama. It may be useful to compare this unseen force to a basic physiological function…when a group is in continuing conflict or

> even at war with a neighbor group, members become acutely aware of their large-group identity to the point where it may far outweigh any concern for individual needs, even survival. (p. 25)

Collective axiology. As changes to community moral frameworks occur as a result of violence, groups claim vast differences in value-systems, denunciating others as having morally degenerate character. Focus is shifted from the perpetration of violence by the in-group to the moral deficiencies of out-group members. With this shift from a moral well-being model to a threat-based value system, what Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) refer to as collective axiology and axiology of difference may be assessed. Collective axiology is a shared value system which, according to Rothbart and Korostelina (2006), is used to guide members of a collective to "permissible" responses to hostilities, providing a world view and criteria for group membership (pp. 7, 49). Axiology of difference is based on three forms constructed by social identity groups: mythic narratives, iconic order, and normative orders. Mythological histories or mythic narratives of subduing and conquering are woven into the development of identity groups, glorifying the persecution of "the other." As Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) describe, these mythic narratives regarding the threatening "other," exaggerating differences between in-groups and out-groups, sanctifying actions against enemies, and justifying prejudices, violence, and depravity, build social cohesion within groups. This normalizing process occurs as an individual's attachment to a specific social or ethnic group solidifies and his or her perceptions and reactions to violence are viewed through the lens of that group. Iconic order, the second element in axiological difference, elevates

enemy images above temporal and physical boundaries and into transcendency. Emerging from specific narratives about particular events, “icons function as graphic expressions of negativities,” becoming venerated representations of “unjust, immoral uncivilized, or possibly inhuman character” (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 39). Icons imbue meanings into images representing particular narratives and circumstances to the collective to dehumanize and denigrate the other, overemphasizing differences between groups. Normative order, or a system of reciprocal moral obligations, is the third element in the process of axiological difference and focuses on the constructive of dualities which define who “we” are and “who are others” (p. 41). Dualities used to establish normative order include sacred/profane, good/evil, or virtuous/vicious (p. 41). Value judgements underlie duality of group identities establishing a prototype or idealized model of events using symbolic content that serves as a model for future generations of story-tellers within the collective. Teliomorphic models of normative orders allow past, present, and future events to exist in mythic rather than chronological time, dynamically allowing new events to become part of an old sacred past (p. 45).

According to Rothbart and Korostelina (2006), while dynamic, axiological differences in groups can be modeled with respect to variables of collective generality and axiological balance. They identify four criteria for determining collective generality of an in-group: (a) homogeneity of perceptions and behaviors of out-group members; (b) long-term stability of group beliefs, attitudes, and actions; (c) resistance to change in their ideas about the Other; and (d) the scope or range of category of the Other (p. 47). Axiological balance accesses negative and positive perceptions of out-group

characteristics. A balanced axiology indicates the ability of groups to recognize their own moral failings as well as perceive both positive and negative traits within other groups. Low degrees of axiological balance correspond to a “diminished capacity” for independent thought and a fixed duality with in-groups assigning to themselves a sense of moral supremacy (p. 49). Together, axiological balance and collective generality define a group’s collective axiology (p. 49).

Narratives, symbolic communications, and rituals in social groups. Social scientists including sociologists, social psychologists, social identity theorists, and anthropologists have weighed in on the significance of symbolic communication within groups and communities. Theories of social communication and sociological models privilege symbols in collective making meaning. Symbols facilitate social relationships. Speech, art, literature, rituals, or dramas within social groups are communication acts explaining who “they” are, how “they” are connected and what has happened to “them.” According to Tilly (2005), these communication acts are a part of constructing identity (p. 209). Twentieth century ethicist Stanley Hauerwas (1995) emphasizes narratives as “embodied traditions” which (a) provide context, meaning, nuance and application to community narratives; and (b) are shared by members of the community to provide support to other group members who share the worldview promoted by the narratives (as cited in Clandinin, 2007, p. 27).

Within his social drama theory, Duncan (1968) theorizes five elements: (a) the situation in which the action occurs; (b) the nature of the act in upholding order in group life; (c) social roles which embody social functions; (d) a means of expression; and (e)

the ends, goals, or values which are believed to create and sustain social order (p. 67). Such social dramas, according Duncan (1968), are played out before audiences whose approval is necessary in the legitimation of power (p. 69). Social dramas must have villains and heroes which either threaten or protect the moral frameworks and world views of the particular social groups; it is this identification with social group leaders and causes, that allows anxiety, fear, and loneliness to be vanquished (p. 237).

Based on Victor Turner's (1957, 1974, as cited in Ross, 2007) concept of social drama, conflict theorist Ross (2007) emphasizes the significance of "psychocultural" dynamics by social identity and ethnic groups including shared stories or narratives, rituals, celebrations, symbols, and memorials of groups as a methodology for analyzing and understanding intergroup conflicts. According to Ross (2007), as these cultural enactments occur in the daily life of the community, they offer "emotionally meaningful" explanations of group perceptions and beliefs (p. xv). As Ross explains, conflicted groups emphasize different actions, motivations, and affects in narratives describing the same events (p. 31). He points to what narratives include and exclude as significant to their analysis (p. 31). Mythic narratives consolidate norms and beliefs and define boundaries between social groups, providing rules for interaction (Korostelina, 2014, p. 28). Regardless of the function, typology or form, myths serve basic functions of social identity formation and the legitimization of power (Korostelina, 2014, p. 30). Myths contributing to identity formation focus on defining and preserving commonalities, traditions, collective dignity, and territorial claims based on "sacredness" of a place. Legitimizing myths justify a social identity group's exceptionality, including moral

superiority, love for freedom and honor, emphasizing suffering, and military valor (p. 31).

Kaufman (2001) posits narratives may be specific or general depending on the purpose they are serving within the social group that is creating them (as cited in Ross, 2007, p. 34). Narratives, according to Kaufman (2001), may blend together key events, heroes, metaphors, and moral lessons (as cited in Ross, 2007, p. 34). Psychocultural representations are not static, but rather continue to be created as changing social conditions demand in order to explain the present and shape the future (Tilly, 2005, pp. 209, 211). Symbols and symbolic actions, including verbal statements, are used to evoke historical narratives as a mechanism for making sense of the present. As narratives are repositories of collective memories, they are selective, focusing on emotionally significant events while failing to acknowledge or address competing social identity group perspectives.

Narratives matter, according to Ross, because they have roles in sustaining or diminishing conflict. Narratives can limit the choices leaders have in avoiding or resolving conflicts when they provide structural frameworks for cognitions and emotions. As reflectors, narratives may offer a template for in-group members to follow regarding the group's understanding of a conflict and may also provide insights to conflict resolution as group fears and concerns are understood. Narratives also serve to "emphasize differences or commonalities among parties" that either support continued escalation or may lead to de-escalation and even peace-making as sides appreciate and explore the perspectives of the other side (Ross, 2007, pp. 43-44). Social identity groups

may express collective memories and perceptions through narratives that attempt to make sense out of past experiences and future actions, reinforcing perspectives of emotionally significant events (Ross, 2007, p. 30). Ross outlines four roles that narratives serve in conflict analysis: (a) narratives help us understand how groups perceive their social and political context and the conflicts in which they are involved; (b) narratives may reveal "deep fears, perceived threats and past conflicts" of a group; (c) narratives may reflect a preferential ordering system regarding actions or values; and (d) sharing narratives or stories is a process through which communities are "constructed and strengthened" (p. 31). Important to the present research, analysis of narratives, including what the narrative includes and excludes, aids us in understanding the motivations of parties to the conflict. According to Kaufman (2001), the judgements that are made in group narratives may alternate between portraying one's own group as strong or vulnerable and may be particularly relied on in times of high uncertainty and stress (as cited in Ross, 2007, p. 32).

Social constructs and resulting social identity frameworks, functioning generally as oppositional values within binary pairs, become relatively stable and can be communicated widely. According to Kelly (1963), such binaries are used as "transparent templets" through which the realities of the world can be interpreted (as cited in Korostelina, 2014, p. 25). As binaries provide the building blocks for narratives, they allow social group members to justify their perceptions of social orders and historical events as well as provide a basis for social activities and forms of political mobilization (Korostelina, 2014, p. 27). Threats to group identity increase social cohesion and

differentiation, incorporating binary oppositions which according to Korostelina (2014) “replicate the existential and metaphysical contrast between sacred and profane” used by in-group members to justify direct and structural violence toward out-group adversaries (p. 23). In her investigation of the construction of narrative of identity and power in Ukraine, Korostelina (2014) describes how these binaries are used in social communities to explain the development of evil, predict its emergence, memorialize past struggles over evil, and offer lessons regarding how it can be overcome in the future (p. 24).

Often collective memories are formed into narratives using mnemonic devices such as physical objects. Symbols, particularly flags, are frequently embodied with values and meanings which are deeply emotive of the moral and cognitive framework of the social groups which fly them. Such collective memories are often at odds with more evidenced-based historical reconstructions (Korostelina, 2014, p. 35). Threats to sacred icons or sites can trigger past losses within groups, creating a link to present threats (p. 37). According to Prince (2004), flags and other emblems may be a focus of “intense emotion” representing the collective or group identity in a manner that makes an attack on these symbols equivalent to an attack on the group itself (p. 23). As Ross (2007) explains, emotions surrounding flags and other emblems represent a collectivity to its members that is synonymous with the group itself (p. 285).

Literature links public memory projects to collective remembering or forgetting of histories and to social identity group and communal processes which incorporate trauma and violence into historic narratives. Public discourse emanating from traumatized groups may use symbols, memorials, and rituals, or as Rothbart and Korostelina (2006)

characterize them, iconic images, to scapegoat and vilify out-groups, shifting moral responsibility for violence and suffering to the depraved, criminal character of the victimized group (p. 39). According to Rothbart and Korostelina (2006), as sensory images are linked to cognitions, complex cognitive content regarding in-group virtues or out-group depravity can be simplified and replaced by "emotionally-charged" symbols which become collective representations (p. 39). Narratives support boundaries between social identity groups as well as allowing them to frame themselves in the best moral light. According to Korostelina (2014), these binaries become entrenched in the knowledge used by social identity groups to organize public discourses, historical reinterpretations, categories for inclusion and exclusion, and criteria for citizenship (p. 24). In turn, conceptions of morality of powerful in-groups can be legitimized while moral constructions of marginalized out-groups can be questioned, justifying their punishment, expulsion, and silencing (Erikson, 2016, pp. 8-9).

Theories of Collective Memory and Collective Unconscious

Theories of the collective unconscious and collective memory emphasize the communal nature of memory, signification, and the historical interpretation of events. Kosicki and Jasinska-Kania (2007) define collective memory as encompassing "social sharing," the "ongoing talking and thinking about the event by the affected members of society" incorporating "all representations of the past, including the assumptions and norms that separate events in the past from commemorative events in the present" (p. 5). In a long tradition of sociological interest in the social nature of memory, in the early 20th century Emile Durkheim acknowledged both collective consciousness and collective

representation while not explicitly recognizing collective memory. He did, however, understand commemorative rites as a societal mechanism for maintaining a sense of continuity with the past which in turn shapes social group identity. Durkheim (1912, as cited in Ptacek, 2015) emphasizes the collective emotional force in triggering and remembering social change through ceremonies, commemorations, and mythology. Using the term effervescence to describe both the creative cycles of intense, hyperexcited emotions eliciting social change and the noncyclic mourning rites associated with death, illness, loss, or other misfortunes and calamities, Durkheim (1912) acknowledges "a communion of consciousness and a mutual comfort resulting from this communion" (as cited in Ptacek, 2015, p. 87). According to Durkheim, foundational or commemorative activities within social groups are used to introduce change into social order or as a mechanism of remembrance. Collective ceremonies including those of great violence, according to Durkheim (1912, as cited in Ptacek, 2015), inculcate new normative behaviors through social myths. These myths, acted out in ceremonies, sustained social order, validated social change, or metaphorically exorcised evil or mourned loss, at times through ritual sacrifice (as cited in Ptacek, 2015, p. 87). Durkheim's theories of social change negate evolutionary or linear processes, instead positing three primary mechanisms of social change: structural differentiation, historical development of institutions, and "short-term intensive transformation of the social whole through a dynamic of change through increased interaction" (as cited in Ptacek, 2015, p. 76). Durkheim identifies cycles of typically violent upheaval during which social structures were forged followed by periods which he characterizes as slackening of social bonds. At

the heart of Durkheim's tradition on memory is the emphasis on collective identity including individual perception and moral frameworks, being reinforced through linkages to the past (as cited in Misztal, 2003, p. 124). Expanding Durkheim's theories on memory, Halbwachs (1952/1980) posited that collective memory and social frameworks for memory are dependent on group membership which support the reconstruction of memories (p. 38). The past, according to Halbwachs (1952/1980), "is not preserved but it is reconstructed on the basis of the present" (p. 40).

While theories of identity formation include memory as a part of the development of individual or group identity, according to Schuman and Scott (1989), Durkheim's theories regarding collective consciousness posit that memories are shared recollections of the past that are "retained by members of a group, large or small, that experienced it" (as cited in Alexander, Eyerman, Giesen, Smelser, & Sztompka, 2004, p. 65). Eyerman (2004) also emphasizes the retention and transmission of memories through rituals and public commemoration or group discourse (p. 65), echoing Halbwachs's observation that language and "the whole system of social conventions" allow us to reconstruct our past (1952, p. 173). According to Misztal (2003), present-day discourse regarding the workings of memory rely heavily on Halbwachs's work (p. 124).

Generational theories of memory developed by social psychologists posit the importance of both collective remembering and forgetting as new generations reflect on significant past social and cultural events (as cited in Alexander et al., 2004, p. 71). Pennebaker and Banasik (1997) indicate that every "twenty to thirty years" construction and reconstruction of collective memory, including traumatic memories, occurs (as cited

in Alexander et al., 2004, p. 74). In the Durkheim tradition, Misztal (2003) emphasizes the importance of periodic commemorative rites during which groups recollect the past, making the mythical past its present, promoting these memories to confirm group identity and unity (p. 126).

According to 20th century psychiatrists Adler and Jung (1981), symbolic and archetypical motifs are a part of an unconscious reservoir of knowledge which is both hereditary and universal in contrast to personal or experiential memories (p. 30). The collective unconscious is comprised of forms, archetypes, and symbols which Jung considers "patterns of instinctual behavior" primordially existing in the psyche of all cultures and societies outside of the direct experiences of individual. Adler and Jung (1981) explain, "From the unconscious there emanate determining influences which, independently of tradition, guarantee in every single individual a similarity and even a sameness of experience…the almost universal parallelism between mythological motifs" (p. 39). Unfettered by temporality or geography, Adler and Jung see the archetypal material as an explanatory hypothesis for reactions, interpretations, and formation of mythology underlying dualist religious and value frameworks within social groups (p. 31). The collective unconscious uses archetypal images as a basis for expression in literature, social dogmas and rules, and artistic works, representing similarities in the basic structure of the human psyche. Similarly, Adler and Jung posit that linguistic matrices used to derive meaning from historical categories are formed from primordial images held in the unconscious (p. 27). Based on Demos' research (1955) Jung characterizes myths as a product of the unconscious interacting with the conscious,

merging data borrowed from experience to create contributions to knowledge (as cited in Adler & Jung, 1981, p. 27). Primordial types and symbolic figures are changed into a conscious pattern corresponding to tradition or transmission from the unconscious. Myths and fairytales are derived from psychic contents not yet conscious, frequently utilizing images which prescribe order. These formations are designed to attract, convince, fascinate, and overpower (Adler & Jung, 1981, p. 5).

Public Memory Theory

According to Dwyer and Alderman (2008), commemoration projects such as symbols and memorials and monuments both express a version of history and constitute a dynamic social or collective interpretation of the past (p. 172). Giving the example of the growing efforts to commemorate the American Civil Rights movement, they identify representations of collective memory that are connected to social identity as particularly vulnerable to social conflict, "providing a place for resistance and struggle" (pp. 172, 176). Similarly, Inwood and Alderman (2016) posit that public memory sites within the United States characterize its geography, offering a forum for bringing into the collective consciousness of Americans a more full and complete understanding of its historic violence, particularly racialized violence (p. 11).

Theories of Trauma

In many ways, the 20th century could be thought of as "the century of trauma," not only for the horrors, violence, and destruction of two World Wars and multiple genocides but for the emergence and acceptance of theories of trauma. In contrast to the present emphasis on the social and communal nature of trauma and recovery, researchers in the

20th century understood trauma as form of mental illness afflicting an individual following the overwhelming fright of an external violent event. In 1980, in the face of mounting pressure from Vietnam veterans' and sexual assault advocacy groups, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) was included in the American Psychiatric Association's (APA) *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Psychiatric Disorders* (DSM), allowing diagnosis and treatment as well as legal recognition and in some cases compensation (Harms, 2015). A normative shift took place regarding beliefs about trauma and victimization resulting in the almost universal acceptance of PTSD (Fassin & Rechtman, 2009). This shift placed trauma in the context of symptomology and a diagnosis, creating a value in the PTSD label albeit a condition from which one could recover. Beginning with Judith Herman, M.D.'s *Trauma and Recovery* in 1992, the prevalence of societal trauma and need for healing even apart from PTSD symptomology in military veterans began to be recognized, but on an individual level. Herman's (1992) research pronounced distinct effects on victims' "sense of self," loss of autonomy and control over their bodies, a sense of betrayal, and a breach of trust resulting in a withdrawal but also a desperation for social intimacy. As Suarez-Orozco & Robben (2000) describe, in the decades to follow, the hegemony of the PTSD concept was so great that collective manifestations of massive trauma were largely neglected.

Tedeschi and Calhoun's (1995) proposed theories of "post-traumatic growth" resulting from traumatic experiences describe the unexpected positive outcomes of traumatic experiences including enhanced self-concepts and relationships with others and a sense of new possibilities (as cited in Harms, 2015). Early conceptualizations of

recovery from trauma suggested stressed a continuum of post-traumatic wellness and social support as a significant mechanism in mitigating harm from traumatic exposure. Perhaps most problematic during the late 20th century was the subjectification of the trauma sufferer who in literature and everyday life embodied the construction of a "patient" isolated through medicalization and diagnosis and controlled by physicians. While literature from this period clearly examines processes of recovery this occurred only in relationship to the medical systems and structures. The roots of this medicalization are found in earlier thinking regarding mental illness. As Foucault (1965) posits, while Freud demystified the asylum structure, abolishing silence and condemnation of mental illness, he also contributed to establishing medical structure nearly divine in stature.

As early as 1865, following the American Civil War, physicians recognized the damaging effects of violence and near-death experiences not only on soldiers but civilian populations. In the next two decades, led by French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot, the connection between violence and symptoms of what was called "hysteria" in young women were proven to be psychological (Herman, 1992, p. 11). Pierre Jane and Sigmund Freud began to theorize connections between traumatic events and altered states of conscious, with Freud arguing in "The Aetiology of Hysteria" that symptoms of hysteria could be understood as resulting from early childhood sexual abuse (Herman, 1992, p. 18). Like Charcot's findings from his study of hysteria, which he called the "Great Neurosis," Freud and Jane identified physical symptoms including motor paralyses, sensory losses, convulsions, and amnesias associated with an altered state of

consciousness (Herman, 1992, p. 12). This, however, remained at odds with findings of trauma having an external causality. Responding to contemporary critiques of Freud, Leys (2010) explains

> what many critics of Freud fail to grasp is that, even at the height of his commitment to the seduction theory, Freud problematized the origins of the traumatic event (sexual abuse) by arguing that it was not the experience itself which acted traumatically, but its delayed revival as a memory after the individual had entered sexual maturity and could grasp its sexual meaning. (p. 20)

According to Leys (2010), Freud rejected a causal analysis of trauma in which a traumatic event assaults from the outside. As the external triggers of war trauma became obvious, however, Freud rethought both the importance of infantile psychosexual drives and outside trauma, deriving subsequent theories of narcissism and death drive. Leys (2010), in her comprehensive study of the genealogy of trauma, remarks, "it cannot be emphasized too strongly that, in spite of the developments I have summarized, Freud's writings of the 1920's and 1930's remained fraught with doubt and vacillation."

According to Suarez-Orozco and Robben (2000), beginning in the early 20th century traumatic or "fright neuroses" were studied in small numbers of cases of industrial accidents and natural disasters. It was after the deliberate infliction of massive trauma on large groups of people following the First World War that trauma symptomology from combat, first thought to emanate from concussive effects of shells, began to be linked to psychopathology (Suarez-Orozco & Robben, 2000). During World War I physician, psychologist, and anthropologist William Rivers successfully used

empathy and the "talking cure" pioneered by Freud and Breuer to treat combat trauma, linking the extreme stresses and group processes of combat to soldier's symptoms (Suarez-Orozco & Robben, 2000). Rivers's approach was adopted as standard practice until Abraham Kardiner's interest in the distress of World War I veterans combined with a developing interest in anthropology led him to a framework that incorporated both social processes and psychological trauma resulting from the extreme stresses of violence (Suarez-Orozco & Robben, 2000).

Collective or group trauma, however, continued to be understood as mainly affecting the military; the extinction of millions of Armenians in Turkey, Spain, Russia, and the Ukraine were virtually ignored (Suarez-Orozco & Robben, 2000). Deleterious effects on perpetrators of violence at both a communal and individual level have been theorized at least since the beginning of the 20th century. Following the mass violence and destruction of World War II, an expanding consortium of Black intellectuals led by Aime Cesaire condemned the violence of European imperialism. Cesaire (1955), in *Discours sur le colonialism* (*Discourse on Colonialism*), used massacres of the colonized to not only indict the colonizer but, significantly, as proof of its capacity for decivilizing its perpetrator:

> They prove that colonization, I repeat, dehumanizes even the most civilized man; that colonial activity, colonial enterprise, colonial conquest, which is based on contempt for the native and justified by that contempt, inevitably tends to change him who undertakes it; that the colonizer, who in order to ease his conscience gets into the habit of seeing the other man as an animal, accustoms himself to treating

him like an animal, and tends objectively to transform himself into an animal. (p. 41)

Following the revelations of mass atrocities of the Japanese and Nazi concentration camps, survivors were initially thought to be widely unaffected by their experiences. In 1954 the term “concentration camp syndrome” was coined (Suarez-Orozco & Robben, 2000). Like Fassin and Rechtman’s (2007) assessment of the politicization of PTSD, “concentration camp syndrome” became a tool of commodification as concentration camp survivors struggled to receive compensation from the German government while hired specialists denied connections between survivors’ symptoms and the symptoms of concentration camp syndrome using Freud’s work connecting adult neuroses to early child abuse. Despite Freud’s difficulty with reconciling his psychoanalytic theories with war trauma, his work on altered states of consciousness and disassociation identified in his “pre-psychoanalytic” resonated with the fragmentation found in children of Holocaust survivors (Leys, 2010).

Based on his own experiences of incarceration in Dachau and Buchenwald, Bruno Bettelheim (1980) constructed premises of social processes including “survivor’s guilt” and “identification with the aggressor” as survival coping mechanisms that were later criticized and largely discounted in favor of notions of passive subordination, self-respect, the cultivation of friendships, and even denial (as cited in Suarez-Orozco & Robben, 2000). As Suarez-Orozco and Robben (2000) describe, following the collective violence of the concentration camps, anthropological and psychoanalytic cooperation waned as the two disciplines diverged, “giving way to the hegemony of PTSD.” In 1966

clinicians began to be “alarmed” by the number of children of survivors of the Nazi Holocaust seeking treatment, resulting in theories regarding the intergenerational transmission of trauma (Danieli, 1998). Such studies have since expanded to include children of World War II and Vietnam veterans; the Japanese Hibakusha survivors of the atomic bomb; children of genocide survivors in Turkey and Cambodia; indigenous peoples suffering the ill effects of colonialism including Africans, Australian aborigines, and Native Americans; as well as offspring of survivors of dictatorships in Chile and Argentina, apartheid in South Africa, and Baha’is Iran (Danieli, 1998). Beginning with the children of Holocaust survivors, these cases informed the development of theories regarding historical, multigenerational, or intergenerational trauma, positing the transmission of trauma through a variety of mechanisms. One such mechanism is a family systems framework which understands the family as a carrier of conscious and unconscious values, myths, fantasies, and beliefs (Danieli, 1998). Additional explanations and contexts for the multigeneration legacies of trauma include biological, social learning theory, performing memory, psychological, and witness schema models.

Theories of Group, Community, and Collective Trauma

Epistemologically, theories of group or collective trauma fall primarily into two categories: psychological, realism-based theories and sociological, social constructivist theories. Psychologically based theories of collective or group trauma causally link causality trauma to experiences of manmade or natural violence and to specific symptomology. These models associate the symptoms experienced by traumatized individuals—fear, repression, isolation, degraded self-esteem, and perceptions of lack of

safety—in the social processes of groups and communities. Traumatizing events include historical and contemporary experiences of suffering in the context of famine, colonialism, war, natural disasters, and political and structural violence. Utilizing new techniques in neuroscience, biological mechanisms mitigating and mediating trauma and resilience in social groups are also being investigated. For example, Masten and Narayan (2011) examine pathways of risk and resilience in mass violence experiences of children and youth. Theories regarding collective memory, the "nonconscious," and injury to assumptive world beliefs have expanded the literature of trauma to more fully incorporate communities or groups suffering from the after-effects of wars and mass violence. Biruski, Ajdukovic, and Stanic (2014) studied social reconstruction in 333 adult trauma survivors of the 1991-1995 Croatian/Serbian War. They found intergroup rapprochement and need for apology as necessities for improving the post-conflict relations between groups following collective trauma (p. 4). Theorized as a "loss of the assumptive world," Kauffman describes American's feelings of insecurity, loss of freedom, and injustice following the events of 9/11 and civilian deaths related to terrorist attacks in the destruction of the World Trade Center, attack on the Pentagon, and crash of United Airlines Flight 93 in Pennsylvania as examples of the effects of trauma on a collective (Kauffman, 2002). From an organizational psychology and organizational behavior perspective Pratt and Crosina (2016) incorporate nonconscious-related theories and methods, viewing trauma at the collective level as a social defense mechanism. While Pratt and Crosina's (2016) hypothesis is intriguing, it has not been validated through subsequent research extending theories of nonconscious processes from the individual to

the group. It is, however, an important concept to be considered in the present investigation of the linkage of violence and trauma to the dynamics of group processing.

Psychoanalytic Theories of Trauma

As the founder of psychoanalytic thought in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Freud influenced this understanding perhaps most profoundly in his exploration of the "tendentious nature of our remembering and forgetting" (Freud, 1899, as cited in Leys, 2010). As Leys (2010) describes, it is not the experience itself that causes trauma within Freudian thought, but the memory of the thought; trauma for Freud is constituted by "deferred action," a dialectic between two events that react with "immemorial" yet "unforgettable" residues of trauma in the unconscious. Alexander et al. (2004) posit psychological models of trauma following the sequence of repression, distortion, lifting societal repression through the use of language, restoring memory, and relieving communal suffering by expressing pent-up emotions of loss, and mourning through public acts of commemoration and cultural representation. In conjunction with the work of Danieli (1998) on the intergenerational effects of traumatization on Nazi death camp survivors and Freud's conceptualizations of memory, Volkan (1997) and more recently DeGruy (2005) formed theories regarding group traumatization of descendants many generations removed from the initial traumatizing experiences.

Psychologically based, historical trauma (HT) as described by Brave Heart, Chase, Elkins, and Altschul (2011) is a complex and intergenerational form of PTSD resulting from European conquest and colonization. According to Brave Heart et al. (2011), HT is defined as a cumulative emotional and psychological wounding across

generations emanating from massive group trauma. Studies (Brave Heart, 1999; Brave Heart et al., 2011) explain it as the impact of colonization, cultural suppression, and historical oppression of indigenous peoples in Canada and North America. Gaining popularity "as a trope to describe the long-term impact of colonization, cultural suppression and historical oppression of many indigenous peoples," historical trauma offered explanations for the continued experiences of marginalization manifested in political, health, economic, and sociological suffering of native peoples in Canada and America (Kirmayer, Gone, & Moses, 2014, p. 300). Mechanisms of the transmission of historical trauma in this context are "unresolved grief" which Brave Heart et al. (2011) describe as "profound unsettled bereavement resulting from cumulative devastating losses, compounded by the prohibition and interruption of Indigenous burial practices and ceremonies" which causes "'soul wound' or psychic-spiritual scarring resulting from long-term trauma and unresolved mourning" (p. 283). According to Duran and Duran (1995), historical trauma is confirmed through indigenous spiritual beliefs regarding the wounding of the earth which results in a corresponding wound to caretakers of the earth, all of which occurred in conjunction with European colonization and was repeated in the 20th century by the U.S. government (as cited in Hicks, 2015).

Based on its context in indigenous colonization trauma, DeGruy (2005) used historical trauma and PTSD to build a model of "Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome" (PTSS), explaining "scars left by the oppression of slavery" in the collective psyches of descendants of slaves and enslavers in the United States (DeGruy, 2005). Hicks (2015), in her lengthy unpublished doctoral dissertation, critically analyzed DeGruy's (2005)

model of “Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome” (PTSS) using a plethora of theories regarding intergenerational trauma including Freud’s repetition compulsion theory, attachment theory, conspiracy of silence, soul wound, and unresolved grief, concluding that multigenerational transmission of trauma indeed has resulted in African Americans inheriting “legacies of trauma from their enslaved and oppressed African ancestors” (Hicks, 2015). Foundational to such psychologically based theories of historical trauma is the hypothesis of replication of individual traumatic causality in communal trauma. Shalev, Tuval-Mashiach, and Hadar’s (2004) study of the effects of mass violence found that symptoms of PTSD-like traumatization tended to abate after the first year, were unevenly distributed throughout the community.as compared to natural disasters. Silver et al. (2002), in a nationwide longitudinal study of psychological responses to September 11, found that increased symptomology was tied to demographic variables including gender, intactness of support system, prior psychiatric or medical history, and severity of exposure and loss from the attacks (as cited in Shalev et al., 2004). In both the indigenous and African American experiences, PTSD symptomology occurs at significant rates with present-day populations, including loss of beliefs regarding the safeness of the world, alienation, alcoholism, depression, “vacant” esteem, anger, “racist socialization,” and domestic violence (Brave Heart et al., 2011; DeGruy, 2005).

Theories of historic, intergenerational, and multigenerational transmission of trauma include aspects which seem to be supported by the research and experiences of caretakers, social scientists, and survivors. The concept that past traumatic events experienced by communities negatively impact communities or individuals in the present

can be evidenced particularly in cases of historically marginalized groups. Based on longitudinal studies such as Silver et al.'s (2002, as cited in Shalev et al., 2004), effects of mass violence do create PTSD-like symptomology in communities. As Burnet (2012) describes in her work in Rwanda following the genocide, communities and individuals experience trauma as a result of experiencing and witnessing violence: a traumatization which will likely impact future generations. According to Kirmayer et al. (2014), however, "establishing definite causal linkages across generations in the case of historical trauma is exceedingly difficult, perhaps even impossible" (p. 307). The nuanced differences between the effects of the symptoms of trauma, such as anxiety, depression, disassociation, feelings of shame and worthlessness, and the actual transmission of the trauma through parents and grandparents' interactions with the next generations is difficult. While Volkan (1999) reports group identity and social process changes resulting from/in mass violence, it is unclear how long these changes are sustained without further traumatization through new experiences of violence. Communication theories which support conceptualizations of collective memory formed through social practices such as conversational remembering and more formalized nationalistic narratives seem the most plausible mechanisms for transmission across multiple generations. Following the third generation, transmission seems conflated with sustained structural violence and even perhaps mental illness which continues to create new waves of trauma. As Kirmayer et al. (2014) point out, at least in the application of historical trauma to the indigenous case, the inclusion of historical grief and loss which is excluded from definitions of PTSD in the current DSM introduces new themes and dynamics outside of multigenerational PTSD.

An alternate or ancillary explanation for the enduring effects of colonization, marginalization, and cultural oppression may also be revealed in a closer study of nationalism and national identity using Tilly's (2000) theories of inequality in social transactions to investigate formations of nationalism which inculcate structural violence. As Kirmayer et al. (2014) remark,

> Despite the evident limitations of the comparison, trauma theory has argued for broad commonalities in the response to massive violence. The assumption is that there are universal processes of psychological adaptation that give rise to predictable forms of psychopathology for victims and their descendants. Historians and other social scientists have taken up this mental health theory. (p. 303)

In certain cases, postcolonial distress, which implies both contemporary and historic suffering, may be a more appropriate descriptor than historical trauma.

Transgenerational transmission of trauma theorized by Volkan (1997) uses a psychoanalytic lens to apply Freudian theories to experiences of group traumatization within ethnic identity groups temporally removed from the actual traumatic events of war and genocide. Volkan (1999) describes social processes which occur in groups following violence including "survivor's guilt," also identified by Bettelheim (1980, as cited in Suarez-Orozco & Robben, 2000), a condemnation of their own survival in the face of mass deaths of others, and loss of the social state of "poise." Similar to Silver et al. (2002, as cited in Shalev et al., 2004) and Shalev et al. (2004), Volkan (1999) differentiates the deleterious effects of manmade, natural, or accidental disasters,

contrasting meaning-making of survivors accepting natural disasters as “fate” or the “will of God”; accidental disasters which often result in the assignment of culpability of a few individuals; and massive trauma due to conflicts or wars where suffering is deliberately inflicted by enemies. Purposeful violence resulting from large group hostilities, Volkan posits, escalates group bonding by triggering psychological processes including increased rigidity of group identity boundaries and primacy of maintaining group “psychological borders” preventing the assimilation and acceptance that promotes healing and resilience in other collective traumas (Volkan, 1999). Volkan (1999) identifies a process of large-group identity overtaking the salience of individual identity in such experiences of collective violence so that “The influence of a severe and humiliating calamity that directly affects all or most of a large group forges a link between the psychology of the individual and that of the group” (p. 45). Volkan proposes that society manifests symptoms of collective disorder and process disruption similar to those experienced by the individual exhibiting signs of PTSD.

Volkan (1999) supported his theories with field work in Kuwait following the Iraqi invasion there, conducting thematic analyses of 150 interviews with randomly chosen Kuwaitis to identify societal changes resulting from violence. His findings confirmed changes in social practices including delays in marriage as a response to mass rapes of Kuwaiti women and psychological distancing of fathers from children following the humiliation and torture of Kuwaiti men by Iraqi soldiers in school buildings. Additionally, Volkan reported Kuwaiti children identified with the aggressor in the invasion and humiliation of their fathers, Saddam Hussein, mirroring the distancing of

humiliated fathers and causing increased gang affiliations among youth and significant disruption of the family. Corresponding to Freud's theories about trauma, Volkan reported that such societal disruption can occur years after the trauma, making linkages to the actual case more difficult (1999).

In separate studies, Volkan confirmed what he regarded as the intergenerational transfer of trauma in the second and third generations of Holocaust survivors in Israel through their own manifestations of emotions, anxiety, depression, or other feelings, or through the "depositing" of an already-formed mental image into the developing identity of the child (Volkan, 1987, as cited in Volkan, 1999). He theorized that the "deposit" of traumatized images into the developing identities of children, when occurring by the thousands or millions within groups, affects the group identity, creating a network of trauma and humiliation that they will in turn pass on to subsequent generations (Volkan, 1999).

Kogan (2012) posits two mechanisms of psychological transmission of historical trauma, "primitive identification" and, like Volkan (1999), "deposited representation." Primitive identification occurs as a child assimilates and unconsciously adopts parental damage through interactions, causing the child to be unable to differentiate between her "self" and the damaged parent. In contrast, deposited representation manifests when the parent forces, consciously or unconsciously, aspects of his or her own identity onto the child, making the child into a reservoir for "deposited images" of their own trauma. Children of traumatized parents must deal with shame, rage, helplessness, and guilt that

their parents have been unable to integrate in addition to trauma they themselves may experience. As Nazi camp survivor Henry Krystal (1968) describes,

> Survivors form abnormal families and communities. The families tend to be sadomasochistic and affect-lame. The communities are laden with the burden of guilt and shame, preoccupied with the past. The imprinting of inferior status can be perpetuated by a number of generations. (p. 346)

Any new traumatizing experiences of subsequent generations adds to the terror transmitted by the parents, reinforcing internal fears in the child. Survivors of massive trauma either personal or historical live in two worlds, one of unintegrated traumatic memories and a second of present reality (Laub, 2013). Often the trauma is held with crystal clarity, unintegrated and discretely segregated in the brain, while paradoxically unable to be recalled except through emotional or sensory states. As the traumatic memories remain unintegrated, survivors have access to a variety of horrifying sensations and feelings without the capacity to translate them into symbols that can allow verbal communication. As the traumatic recall is triggered, the survivor relives the experience not as a memory but as a fresh and terrifying present moment.

According to psychological models of trauma, certain causes of trauma including political/ethnic/religious violence, as studies of recent conflicts in the Middle East and Bosnia indicate, are more complex contributors to intergenerational transmission of trauma. Based on Bandura and Boxer's studies cited in Muldoon (2013), identity-based ethnic/political violence has overwhelmingly negative outcomes on the self-perceived competency of individuals, a measurement used by psychologists to quantify the effects

of trauma. These individuals appear less competent regarding the violence they witness and experience. Such shifts in competency translate into more debilitating effects, increasing aggressive responses and the duration of the internalizing effects of violence and trauma. Children studied in Palestine and Bosnia showed such signs and self-reported increased levels of aggression years after exposure to political/ethnic violence (Muldoon, 2013). Increased symptoms of post-traumatic stress were noted in Iraqi refugees in the United States who had previously experienced torture and oppression (Kira et al., as cited in Muldoon, 2013). As the trauma associated with historical violence remains unprocessed by ethnic or social groups, feelings of helplessness, humiliation, and fear remain fresh, comingling with current events and preventing mourning for the "loss," whatever it might be, from taking place.

Borrowing from both cultural and psychological models of trauma, Weingarten (2004) posits a witness schema model for trauma transmission. According to this model, four mechanisms of intergenerational transmission exist in the context of political violence. Weingarten (2004) defines such transmission as "those acts of an inter-group nature that are seen by those on both sides, or on one side, to constitute violent behavior carried out in order to influence power relations between the two sets of participants" (p. 46) which children did not themselves experience. Beginning with witnessing of trauma, Weingarten proposes that the schema of witnessing affects the witness and "the family, community and wider society" (2004, p. 47). She describes four witnessing positions: Witness Position 1, awareness and understanding of how to take effective action; Witness Position 2, unawareness of meaning and significance but empowered to intervene;

Witness Position 3, unawareness of meaning and significance and unable to intervene; and Witness Position 4, awareness of meaning and helpless or ineffective in relation. Assigning Position 4 as the most distressing, Weingarten describes children in this position as knowing their parents have suffered trauma but feeling powerless to comfort them. Using examples of political violence including war, genocide, military service, immigration, fear of reprisals, and even colonial rule and slavery, Weingarten posits the categories of transmission mechanisms of trauma as: biological, psychological, familial, and societal. Perhaps the most controversial of the four is biological transmission which Weingarten establishes through the work of Bessel van der Kolk and quantitative research by Yehuda tracking cortisol levels as a biological mechanism of transmission (Yehuda, 2002, as cited in Weingarten, 2004). Both survivors of the Holocaust and offspring who had not lived through the Holocaust but heard of it from their parents had symptoms of trauma and correspondingly lower than normal levels of the hormone cortisol, higher levels of which in 2016 were identified as facilitating social networking, consistently shown as a mediator of resiliency following traumatization (Kornienko, Schaefer, Weren, Hill, & Granger, 2016).

Theories of Cultural Trauma

Alexander et al. (2004) offer a constructivist model of what they refer to as cultural trauma. In this model, cultural trauma is defined as injury felt by members of a collective that "leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (p. 1). Smelser (2004) qualifies and expands this definition:

> a memory accepted and publicly given credence by a relevant membership group and evoking an event or situation that is: a) laden with negative affect, b) represented as indelible, c) regarded as threatening a society's existence or violating one or more of its fundamental cultural presuppositions. (p. 36)

Cultural models assume that trauma is socially constructed; it may be either historically real or imagined in a mythological narrative but according to Smelser, it differs from a psychological trauma in "the mechanisms that establish and sustain it" (as cited in Alexander et al., 2004, pp. 38-39). Unlike psychological trauma which involves psychological symptomology such as anxiety, fear, and adaptation, Smelser situates cultural trauma as sociological processes primarily involving social agents and collective groups. According to Smelser, no discrete historical event or situation can be considered by itself traumatizing (as cited in Alexander et al., 2004, p. 35).

Two critical aspects of Smelser's definition of cultural trauma are that the memory of an event must be represented as negatively effecting a "value or outlook felt to be essential for the integrity of the affected society," and the memory must be associated with a strong negative affect, typically disgust, shame, or guilt (as cited in Alexander et al., 2004, p. 36). It is through the construction of cultural traumas, Alexander et al. (2004) posit, that societies are able to acknowledge suffering and assume moral responsibility for them, joining in the suffering of others (p. 1). Building on Kia Erikson's (1976) distinction between collective and individual trauma, Alexander et al. emphasize the experience of collective trauma as damaging social bonds, impairing a community's ability to effectively provide support (as cited in Alexander et al., 2004, p.

4). Manifestation of trauma in communities and social groups is an instability in collective identity resulting in a degraded ability to maintain a collective system of meaning making (p. 10).

According to Alexander et al. (2004), events do not create trauma, but rather collective beliefs assert it; trauma is socially mediated and must be constructed even in the case of "morally justifiable claims of victimhood" (p. 9). Collective traumatization therefore becomes relative to the social-cultural process of the acceptance of a new system of cultural classification inculcating the trauma (p. 10). Power structures and narrative-producing social agents within the cultural system ultimately determine the acceptance of a traumatic definition into the collective's system of classification. The foundation for Alexander et al.'s model of the acceptance of a new trauma system into the cultural framework is based on Max Weber's (1968) conception of "carrier groups" (as cited in Alexander et al., 2004, p. 11). Carrier groups are comprised of influencers or social agents situated in particular places within society who offer new systems of meaning-making through revised narratives, in this case of collective traumatization, to audiences within historic, cultural, and institutional environments (p. 11). As Alexander et al. point out, constructing the story or narrative of trauma and persuading others that they have been traumatized does not occur without contestation and may create significant intergroup polarization (2004, p. 12). They identify four questions to which compelling answers must be provided in order for the trauma narrative to be successfully incorporated into group identity: What is the nature of the pain? What group of persons was affected? How do wider audiences share an identity with the "immediately

victimized" group? Who is the perpetrator or caused the trauma? (Alexander et al., 2004, p 14).

Alexander et al.'s (2004) cultural trauma analytical framework can be summarized as: (a) a painful injury to the collective is defined, (b) a victim is established, (c) responsibility is attributed, (d) ideal/material consequences are distributed, (e) using the collective identity is successfully revised to incorporate the trauma, (f) a calming-down period ensues, (g) public memorialization occurs, (h) new sacred spaces and icons are established and trauma is routinized, and (i) reconstructed identity serves as a social resource for future problem solving (Alexander et al., 2004, pp. 22-23). In the same volume, Eyerman (2004) describes the articulation of cultural trauma as a process aiming to reconstitute or reconfigure collective identity following "a tear in the social fabric" evoking a need to reinterpret the past to reconcile the present and future (p. 63). As Tota (2006) observes, while Alexander et al. represent their cultural trauma framework as generalizable, questions remain about the workings of social memory within non-Western societies (p. 86). Multicultural meanings of memory, such as those explicated in Vivian's (2004) work on the distrust of archival memory and declination of commemoration in Gypsy culture may not be adequately considered by Alexander et al. (as cited in Tota, 2006, p. 86). As Fassin and Rechtman (2009), emphasize, however, trauma results from the commonality of suffering that increasingly links humanity as a traumatic "kernel" in all social systems.

Community Trauma Models

Increasingly, manifestations or symptoms of trauma have been identified at the community level. These manifestations are present in the social-cultural, physical, and economic environments of traumatized communities (Pinderhughes, Davis, & Williams, 2015, p. 4). Pinderhughes et al. (2015) recognize social-cultural effects of community traumatization to include damaged social networks and trust, the ability to take action for change, and social norms (p. 4). Likewise, they note the effects of community trauma on the physical/built environment to include high rates of poverty and unemployment, crumbling infrastructure with dilapidated buildings and deteriorating roads, poor transportation services, and crippled local economies (p. 4). Finally, they pinpoint increased levels of violence, crime, and delinquency; substandard education; psychological distress; and health problems as indicative of trauma at the community level (p. 5). According to Pinderhughes et al., communities that experience high rates of violence have a corresponding high rate of trauma (p. 9). Trauma in communities may be caused by an event that affects only parts of the population but has structural and social traumatic consequences leaving "indelible marks upon their group consciousness" (p. 11). Higher availability of unhealthy substances such as alcohol, tobacco, and drugs and both direct and structural violence, including inequality and inequity, harm people in traumatized communities (p. 20). Community trauma leads to and exacerbates violence which results in loss of life, as well as traumatization, of individuals within a community (p. 21). Community trauma may also result from "regular incidents" of interpersonal, historical, and intergenerational trauma (p. 22).

A key finding of Pinderhughes et al. and confirmed by Landau (2007) is the correlation between trauma and damage to social interactions, networks, and relationships which naturally promote healing and resilience following communal violence (Landau, 2007; Pinderhughes et al., 2015). These affects occur as the trauma is incorporated and processed by the social groups within the community through dynamic shared meaning making. Community symptoms of traumatization include intergenerational poverty; long-term unemployment; relocation of businesses, corporations, and jobs; limited employment opportunities; and government and private disinvestment, affecting individuals while legitimizing structural violence and maintaining social inequity (Pinderhughes et al., 2015, p. 20). Disinvestment; disconnected damaged relations; destructive social norms; low sense of political social efficacy; deteriorated environments; unhealthy, dangerous public spaces and crumbling built environment are also indicative of traumatized communities (p. 20). Residents living in traumatized communities have a decreased sense of collective political and social efficacy, resulting in less capacity to take collective action and increased acceptance of violence within families, peer groups, and the community (p. 15). Pinderhughes et al.'s community trauma framework proposes trauma-informed community interventions aimed at addressing equitable opportunity, infrastructure improvements, and repair of broken social networks (p. 23). Several models of trauma-informed community building are offered by Pinderhughes et al. including the the Practical and Realistic and Desirable Ideas for Social Enrichment (PARADISE) Plan and the Trauma-Informed Community Building (TICB). Both of these models stress simultaneous improvement of both the

physical/built environment and the social-cultural environment to promote community resilience and wellness (p. 25).

Based on Emile Durkheim's (1897, as cited in Landau, 2007) work on social disequilibrium and Kurt Lewin's (1951, as cited in Landau, 2007) field theory, Landau (2007) proposes an alternative assessment framework to community trauma using the Linking Human Systems (LINC) Community Resilience model. Using systems theory, she analyzes the micro, meso, and macro effects of trauma, incorporating individual, communal, and population symptomology; long-term societal damage; resiliency factors; and proposed interventions to prevent violence. As part of this model, Landau (2007) developed a transitional field map which assesses internal psychosocial factors and external environmental factors contributing to communal movement toward resiliency following mass trauma.

More recently violence has been linked to group processes aimed at reducing the painful effects of trauma. In mixed-methods research, group violence has been shown to effectively negate symptomology of PTSD in several studies, linking the perpetration of violence to attempts by traumatized perpetrators to mitigate their internal pain. According to Weierstall, Schalinski, Cromback, Hecker, and Elbert (2012), "perpetrating violent acts could actually help to 'immunize' group members against adverse effects of traumatic stressors and significantly reduce the risk of developing PTSD" (pp. 1-2). These studies make clear the linkage and dual causation of trauma and violence. Groups and individuals fomenting violence are themselves are frequently survivors of domestic, community, and structural violence. Community wellness studies recognize institutional

sources of trauma, such as inequitable access to economic resources, as well as sustained by trauma-related dynamics including rigid, exclusionary group identity boundaries. As Smith discusses in Eriksson (2016), systems of power embedded into societal structures produce frameworks privileging certain constructions of morality while delegitimatizing others (p. 247). As moral claims are used to legitimize violence as a "logical, indeed rational response to a perceived social problem," social distance between groups is increased, validating cycles of violence and resulting traumatization (p. 247). According to Pinderhughes et al. (2015), communities experiencing high rates of violence have a correspondingly high prevalence of trauma which mediates further cycles of violence (p. 20). The causal links between traumatization and violence vary with the severity of the trauma, the nature of the violence, and preexisting vulnerability based on socio-economic, infrastructure, and psychological factors as well as levels of social support offered. Importantly, Pinderhughes et al. (2015) acknowledge not only direct but structural causes of both violence and ongoing traumatization which degrade communities.

Literature correlates community traumatization with both direct and structural violence as well as increased levels of aggression and systemic degradation to social processes sustaining social cohesion. Studies linking traumatization to group violence are wide ranging, suggesting that environments dominated by organized violence escalate violent behavior and cycles of violence (Weierstall et al., 2012, p. 7). While community traumatization can occur following natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina, communities suffering from manmade violence such as civil wars or violence legitimized

through governmental institutions and systems are more vulnerable to traumatization. Sommer et al. (2017) link social structures and numbers of violent offenses to more intense trauma symptoms and appetitive aggression, the pleasure of harming others, in high-risk male offenders in South Africa (p. 171).

Literature also links trauma and violence to community institutions and systems. Research by Gilligan (2002), MacNair (2002), and Hamblet (2011) correlates symptoms of trauma, particularly shame, with the perpetration of killing legitimized by institutions such as political, military, police, and prison systems. Recent scholarship has identified moral injury trauma as affecting groups, communities, and even nations. Moral injury trauma is linked to compromised self-identity resulting from destructive levels of shame and guilt following the violation of core beliefs or values (Dombo, Gray, & Early, 2013, p. 199). Moral injury trauma may occur following the perpetration or witnessing of atrocities or other violence, such as betrayal or injustice, by legitimate authorities which infringe on individual or group normative bounds of behavior. Traumatizing violence sanctioned by influential political or religious leaders, such as genocide or slavery, is also linked to moral injury and is posited to have multigenerational effects (Muldoon, 2013).

According to Laub (2013), traumatized communities are laden with the burden of guilt and shame and preoccupied with the past. Survivors of massive trauma from either personal or historical violence live in two worlds, one of unintegrated traumatic memories and a second of present reality (Laub, 2013). Dynamic social identity constructions including collective memories, historical narratives, symbols, monuments, and rituals used to legitimize institutions and power are affected by trauma. Prolonged

and repeated traumatic experiences, and observed, inflicted, or constructed in narratives of historical events may mask profound guilt, loss, or humiliation within groups. Building on the "shattered assumptions" theory, Biruski et al. (2014, p. 4) found that restoring beliefs about benevolence and the world as a safe place mediates community recovery.

Theories of Moral Injury Trauma

A newer conceptualization of trauma, moral injury, is linked to compromised self-identity resulting from destructive levels of shame and guilt following a violation of core or deeply held moral beliefs or values affecting both individuals and collectives (Dombo et al., 2013, p. 199). While scant academic research has been identified regarding the effects of moral injury trauma on collectives or communities, existing literature posits the effects of moral injury to be "pervasive, ongoing and permanent," creating a morally injured collective consciousness (Graham, 2017, p. 83). Moral injury theory postulates that the effects of acting against social group values, virtues, and moral codes or being the victim of such actions may result in internal conflict, moral diminishment, shame, and guilt.

Moral injury is believed to stem from exposure to external events which overwhelm and threaten one's internal schema. Literature consistently attributes moral injury to unresolved dissonance between morals and actions resulting in "intense guilt, shame, and spiritual crisis, which can develop when one violates his or her moral beliefs, is betrayed, or witnesses trusted individuals committing atrocities" (Jinkerson, 2016, p. 1). Among the most severe symptoms of moral injury trauma reported in the literature is

the internalization of overwhelming shame and guilt which damages moral integrity (McCormack & Riley, 2016, p. 26; Vargas et al., 2013, as cited in Jinkerson, 2016, p. 2).

First identified among military veterans and in groups such as law enforcement, moral injury is posited as a damaging consequence of the violation of deeply held moral convictions. In his research with Vietnam Veterans, Shay (1991) characterizes moral injury as the impact on an individual of "a betrayal of what's right, by someone who holds legitimate authority in a high stakes situation" (as cited in McCormack & Riley, 2016, p. 20). Shay (2014) describes the symptoms of such moral injury typology as encoding the body like a physical attack, deteriorating the "character, ideals, ambitions, and attachments…destroying trust" and replacing it with the "expectancy of harm, exploitation, and humiliation from others" (as cited in McCormack & Riley, 2016, p. 20). As dissonance between beliefs and values and violence remains unresolved, guilt, shame, alienation, demoralization, self-hating, and interpersonal problems may result (Drescher et al., 2011; Litz et al., 2009; Nash & Litz, 2013; Vargas et al., 2013, all as cited in Jinkerson, 2016, p. 1).

Liz et al. (2009) and McCormack and Joseph (2014) describe moral injury as that which results from an individual perpetrating violence or acting in other ways that violate or betray their moral ideals (Liz et al., 2009, as cited in McCormack & Riley, 2016, p. 20; McCormack & Joseph, 2014). McCormack and Riley (2016) have identified such trauma among police officers medically discharged from duty due to PTSD. Based on an interpretative phenomenological analysis methodology and data collected through semistructured interviews, McCormack and Riley (2016) identified loss of self and

compromised social group identity including feelings of failure, shame, moral betrayal, and silence regarding internal suffering (p. 23).

Building on Kauffman's theories regarding "loss of the assumptive world," moral injury may affect groups following a failure to help others in anguish or participation in atrocities or other actions which contradict group moral and normative behavior prescriptions (Jinkerson, 2016, p. 2). Two typologies of moral injury are described in the literature, one focusing on witnessing structural or experiencing direct violence resulting from political or institutional misuse of power and the second resulting from direct and deliberate perpetration of morally questionable violence by individuals or groups. Graham (2017) characterizes these typologies as agential moral injury and receptive moral injury trauma (p. 13). Agential moral injury, according to Graham, arises as we take actions which violate our moral precepts resulting in harm to others and leaving us morally diminished and burdened, often feeling shame and guilt. Receptive moral injury results from "actions of individuals and communities against us" (p. 13). While symptoms of moral injury trauma are frequently comorbid with PTSD, moral injury includes not only private experiences of guilt but public shame leading to intense and negative self-evaluation which Graham characterizes as "soul wounding" (2017, p. 79). Graham (2017) posits similar symptoms from collective moral injury, including both communal temporal and historical effects, bringing "past injuries into present consciousness" in a "macrosystemic…trans-historical" context (p. 91). Moral injury theory postulates that the effects of acting against social group values, virtues, and moral codes or being the victim of such actions may result in internal conflict, moral

diminishment, shame, and guilt. Graham (2017), conceptualizes six categories of moral injuries affecting both individuals and communities (p. 84): “time out of place; a questing body; ambivalent loyalties; moral ambiguities; defective agency; and spatial aversion,” emphasizing the effects of moral injury on historization of traumatic events (pp. 84-92, 138). These categories mirror processes identified by social identity theory regarding group efforts at moral legitimation following experiences of collective violence. Graham’s categorizations also echo social identity theory regarding group responses to threat narratives, particularly those affecting memory, temporal dislocation, disrupted moral codes, and need for absolution/cleansing of shame following perpetration of violence.

Collectives suffering from moral injury may devote themselves to violent, destructive behavior (Gilligan, 2002, p. 1157). According to Gilligan (2002), the shame and humiliation resulting from a sense of collective or even national shame, particularly in highly patriarchal societies, is a direct causation of violence (p. 1152). Likewise, Gilligan (2002) posits collective shame or humiliation as the basic psychological motive or cause of violent behavior and individuals and groups struggle to achieve pride and minimize internal pain (p. 1158). While guilt may motivate an individual or group to correct or attempt to compensate for acknowledged wrong, shame is linked to a flawed perception of self-identity more closely to the “crossing of a moral line” and to the perpetration of violence. Trauma resulting from moral injury, while recognized as having long-lasting and deleterious effects including shame and humiliation pivotal to collective

violence, is not considered a mental disorder by the American Psychiatric Association (Gilligan, 2003; McCormack & Riley, 2016).

Trauma and Group Processes: Effect of Trauma on Group Processes

Trauma is theorized to affect numerous group processes including salience of identity, identity group differentiation, perceptions of out-groups, collective axiology, and moral frameworks. Social groups may incorporate collective representations of themselves as victimized, incorporating cultural narratives of loss as an integral part of their social identity. Trauma may act to strengthen group processes including differentiation and favorable social comparison, changing collective responses to threat narratives emphasizing traumatic historic events, exaggerating in-group virtues while stigmatizing out-groups. Unhealed group trauma, according to Staub, can be a source of collective violence as value systems including "decline in self-esteem, loss of faith in the benevolence of the world and in legitimate authority" affecting social identity processes like the devaluation of out-groups through scapegoating (Staub, 2003, p. 299). As Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) describe, mythic narratives regarding the threatening "other" exaggerate differences between in-groups and out-groups, sanctify actions against enemies and justify prejudices, violence, and depravity, building social cohesion within groups. Stereotypes of out-groups promoted along with rigid social boundaries between "us" and "them" may also be vulnerable to the influence of collective traumatization. Mythological histories of subduing and conquering may be woven into the development of group identity glorifying the persecution of "the other." Favorable comparison manifests as in-groups attribute positive characteristics to themselves, giving righteous

meanings even to morally questionable and violent actions while consistently assigning negative, inferior attributions to out-groups. Trauma may magnify vulnerabilities and activate defensive strategies to “stabilize, repair, maintain and protect” social identity in the face of threats (Volkan, 2013, p. 3). Traumas resulting from violence which contradicts social identity group core values or beliefs may create symptoms of guilt, shame, or profound loss. As social identity processes incorporate violence and trauma, hostile or prosocial cognitions toward other groups are influenced.

Traumatized communities and social groups suffering from moral injury trauma may use group processes to attempt to resolve moral dissonance by recognizing, taking responsibility for, and mourning actions which have violated their moral positioning. This approach to moral injury trauma may result in post-traumatic growth through restitution and reconciliation with those who have been harmed. According to Graham (2017), such mourning or “lamentation” necessitates a collective movement from moral ambiguity to moral accountability. A contrasting group response may be a shift in moral obligations comprising of group normative positioning to sanctify, purify, or in other ways legitimize group violence, decisions, and actions (Harre & Van Langenhove, 1999, as cited in Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006 p. 34). This process is aided by rationalization regarding embedded “dispositional characterizations” of in-group members as good and morally superior (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 37). Groups construct and sustain narrative templates which justify shifts in normative positioning to incorporate “good” violence, using normative orders such as binaries of good/evil, iconic motifs, and mythological/venerated accounts of historic episodes (p. 38). Such processes centralize

an axiology of difference through stigmatization, devaluation, and dehumanizing out-groups. Based on the work of Ross (2007) and Graham (2017) regarding narrative production, communities affected by moral injury trauma may construct mythological narratives aimed at repelling shame, guilt, and immorality, emphasizing categories contrasting the moral superiority, purity, reverence, and godliness of in-groups with sinful, unclean, subhuman, and savage out-groups.

Trauma and Collective Values, Beliefs, and Moral Frameworks

Effects of trauma on social identity may include shifts in group beliefs or value-commitments to accommodate meaning-making of communal violence (Volkan, 2013, p 2). Conceptions of morality of powerful in-groups may be legitimized while moral constructions of marginalized out-groups can be questioned, justifying their punishment, expulsion, and silencing (Eriksson, 2016, pp. 8-9). Trauma resulting from mass violence such as slavery, war, and terrorism may be incorporated into cultural schemas of social identity groups altering collective axiology, moral frameworks, and moral vision which group normative behaviors. Trauma embedded in collective axiology may provide members a conceptual framework "reinforcing an internal peace…absolution and justification for acts of good violence" guiding members of a collective to "permissible" responses as threat narratives are processed (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 7, 11). When analyzed using the variables comprising collective axiology, historic interpretations by morally traumatized collectives would likely produce a low degree of axiological and high degree of collective generality, consolidating a "monolithic" depiction of the evilness of out-groups in contrast with the faithful, sacred defenders of

the in-group. As Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) explain, the central tenet of an axiology of difference is the "conversion of private hatreds to public devaluations" (p. 35). Changes to collective axiology or moral frameworks of groups and communities in turn influence historic interpretations of cultural symbols and memorials. A shared moral vision evidenced through its value-commitments enables social groups to transcend the painful present while focusing on a perfected future.

Focusing on contemporary discourses and practices of exclusion, punishment, and criminalization, this literature situates stigmatization or "othering" in compromised social distance which in turn affects moral responsibility. As Smith discusses in Eriksson (2016), systems of power embedded into societal structures produce frameworks privileging certain constructions of morality while delegitimatizing others (p. 247). As moral claims are used to legitimate violence as a "logical, indeed rational response to a perceived social problem," social distance between groups is increased, validating cycles of violence and resulting traumatization (p. 247). In her examination of the "troubles" between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, Smith posits that emotions like shame, humiliation, and fear can affirm communal bonds or reduce the social status of subordinate groups, justifying their exclusion from existing social and political orders (Smith, 2016, p. 266). Shifts in collective memory, the "nonconscious," assumptive world beliefs, and changed moral conceptions in communities or groups are posited to emanate from the traumatic after-effects. Literature links collective traumatization to violence, correlating aggression with shame, guilt, and moral dissonance, all symptoms of trauma related to moral injury.

Scant scholarly research has been conducted on the effects of communal moral injury or its effects on social conflict outside of combat soldiers and emergency responders (Weierstall et al., 2012, p. 7). In their research on post-traumatic stress disorder resulting from mass trauma, Shalev et al. (2004) characterize effects of trauma on collective processes as “a condition in which adaptive mechanisms fail and vulnerabilities emerge and dominate” (p. 5). As such failure of adaptive mechanisms becomes systemic, forms of violence are maintained within social and political structures and the rippling effects of traumatization may damage societies over an ever-widening temporal span. Shalev et al.’s (2004) study of the effects of mass violence found such symptoms of PTSD-like traumatization in Israeli communities.

Smelser (2004) differentiates between psychological repression of trauma in collectives and mass denial as happened in Germany following the Holocaust or the United States regarding slavery in the 19th century following the Civil War (p. 51). Emphasizing the dynamic nature of historical, social, and political conditions that would allow the creation of a cultural trauma, he minimizes the potential for a repressed, “smoldering” trauma being held in “psychological incubation” (p. 51). Yet, Smelser acknowledges the psychological processes of blame and scapegoating within collectives and communities when a culturally “sacred” event, object, or narrative is attacked.

Following 9/11, literature has increasingly identified linkages between trauma and shifts in moral conceptions and value systems. While not directly linking traumatic injury to collective value-systems, Eriksson (2016) as well as Fassin and Rechman (2009) analyze the effects of moral absence in social conflict attributing abdication of moral

responsibility to an erosion of social proximity (Eriksson, 2016, p. 3). The existential suffering created as moral systems, constructions, and ethical codes are challenged or violated, as Eriksson (2016) and Fassin and Rechtman (2009) describe, trigger the traumatic "kernel" present in all social systems.

Trauma and the Salience of Group Identity

Watkins theorizes a correlation between the salience of group identity and negative effects of traumatization on social group members. She posits two models of internalization based on the degree of salience between an individual and their collective identity (Watkins, 2000, as cited in Suarez-Orozco & Robben, 2000, p. 186). As individuals experience a high degree of salience with a social group including a chosen trauma and adopt such cultural beliefs as a personal belief system, the trauma is always accessible and, according to Watkins, vertically internalized (as cited in Suarez-Orozco & Robben, 2000, p. 187). Within a highly salient group social identity trauma acquires an "always present directive force" that determines behavior and emotional response, deeply motivating individual group members (D'Andrade as cited in Suarez-Orozco & Robben, 2000, p. 187). In contrast, horizontal internalization allows for a shifting salience based on contextualization, with the traumatized self-representation or chosen trauma serving as a resource for group members. According to Watkins, horizontal access allows the trauma to be accessed to consolidate against perceived threats or to accomplish situationally dependent group goals (as cited in Suarez-Orozco & Robben, 2000, p. 188). In this way, present injury increases the salience of past trauma. Watkins (as cited in Suarez-Orozco & Robben, 2000) theorizes that intergenerational vertical access to

internalized trauma continues to diminish until threats to the community occur, prompting a reemergence and growth in salience of the chosen trauma as a protective system for group identity.

Using organizational psychology and organizational behavior theory, Pratt and Crosina (2016) incorporate nonconscious-related theories and methods, suggesting trauma at the collective level as a social defense mechanism. While Pratt and Crosina's (2016) hypothesis is intriguing, it has not been validated through subsequent research extending theories of nonconscious processes from the individual to the group. It is, however, an important concept to be considered in present investigation of the linkage of violence and trauma to the dynamics of group processing of moral injury trauma.

Trauma and Cultural/Group Symbols, Memorials, and Public Commemoration

Both psychologically and sociologically based theories of collective trauma recognize objects, symbols, and cultural artifacts as triggers or repositories of memory. The suffering and trauma of temporally distant violence may be kept fresh by current generations through symbols, memorials, and icons coming to represent the very essence of group value-commitments and normative behavior. From a constructivist perspective, meanings are mutable, changing depending on context and requiring articulation for meaning to be designated. According to Alexander et al.'s (2004) theories regarding cultural trauma, both identity and systems of meaning making are effected by trauma resulting in a revision of the collective identity of suffering communities. Identity revision gives way to what they describe as "reaggregation" (p. 22). Lessons learned from the trauma are reflected in cultural icons and are "objectified in monuments,

museums, and collection of historical artifacts as the revised collective identity becomes rooted in sacred places and structured in ritual routines" (p. 23). Igartua and Paez (1997) consider cultural artifacts and creations including film, art, and music as containers for collective memory (as cited in Alexander et al., 2004, p. 70). They espouse that analyzing such artifacts can help reveal how a collective may symbolically "confront traumatic events for which it is responsible" (Igartua & Paez as cited in Alexander et al., p. 70). Alexander et al. see this process of revision as resulting in positive normative implications for collective social life as members of the community, not only those in injured groups, recognize and participate in the pain of others (p. 24). In his study of the formation of African American identity, Eyerman (2004) points to literature, painting, and music as expressions of the trauma of slavery beginning prior to the Civil War, and during and after Reconstruction (p. 73). Characterizing the long history of visual representations of slavery produced by White artists commemorating the contented slave, Boime (1990) refers to the "visual encoding of hierarchy and exclusion" (as cited in Alexander et al., 2004, p. 73). According to Hale (1998), beginning in the 20th century violence and torture of Blacks jettisoned from the private spaces of the plantation into the public spectacle of Black lynching. As such violence was performed it "conjured a collective, all-powerful whiteness even as they made the color line seem modern, civilized and sane" (p. 203).

Cultural emblems such as flags, icons, and statuary representing social group identity often represent the deepest traumas and most cherished accomplishments of an identity group. Narratives and historic interpretations produced by morally traumatized

collectives including symbols, icons, and memorials could be expected to produce historic interpretations employing survival mechanisms deflecting or suppressing shame and guilt, with high reactivity toward characterizations of powerful in-groups as unjust or immoral.

Effects of Trauma on Historic Narratives and Interpretations

Social scientists from diverse disciplines confirm trauma's effects on narrative development. Cultural trauma theorists prioritize the development of trauma narratives regarding historical or imagined events as integral to trauma processing. As such narratives are woven into the social fabric of a community, master narratives recognizing suffering and establishing collective guilt can be created, allowing space for reconciliation and reducing community conflict between groups. Social identity theorists posit changes to identity boundaries, value systems, and collective axiology from traumatic exposure which in turn influence historic narratives and interpretations of historical events. Based on premises of social identity trauma theorizations, historic interpretations and narratives constructed by collectives suffering may be impacted in several ways. As Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) explain, "for groups traumatized by past violence, events acquire a mythic quality, defined by categories of the sacred and the profane" which in turn influence the dynamic of group normative order construction and moral positioning around traumatic episodes (p. 45). Communities experiencing historic, multigenerational trauma may reduce the many available group identities to a single unified category relying on ideological mythological narrative to secure moral legitimacy (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 31). Traumatic narratives produced from such

communities may reveal a moral separation between virtuous, moral perpetrators and amoral victims through the use of binaries. Moral injury theory also suggests that shifts in collective or group moral frameworks may occur following traumatic exposure. To relieve moral dissonance resulting from moral injury trauma, normative positioning of agential moral injury sufferers may be revised to accommodate behaviors previously considered amoral.

As shame, humiliation, and defeat and other psychological effects of trauma are incorporated into knowledge used by social identity groups to construct the moral binaries underpinning group narratives, they support binary discourses of good and evil. As Ross (2007) explains, “group narratives are not morally neutral” (p. 42). Ross (2007) introduced an analytical framework for assessing group narratives within the context of conflict: past events and metaphors and lessons; narratives as collective memories; selectivity, fears, and threats to identity; in-group conformity and externalization of responsibility; multiple within-group narratives; and ethnocentrism and moral superiority claims (p. 34). The use of these six features for data analysis is discussed in more detail in the chapter on Methodology.

Trauma and Public Memorialization

Inwood and Alderman (2016) posit that public memory sites within the United States characterize its geography, offering a forum for bringing into the collective consciousness of Americans a more full and complete understanding of its historic violence, particularly racialized violence (p. 11). Likewise, Dwyer and Alderman (2008) believe commemoration projects such as symbols and memorials and monuments both

express a version of history and constitute a dynamic social or collective interpretation of the past (p. 172). Public memory projects become particularly contentious as they embody collective trauma and are used to sanctify or demand moral reflection regarding opposing interpretations of historic narratives (p. 172). Mirroring Audergon's (2004) descriptions of oral or written narratives, Dwyer and Alderman (2008) propose that public memory projects may erase from consideration representations of marginalized groups that contradict with values and worldviews of powerful in-groups. While monuments are posited to represent victory, memorials hold a connotation of loss; when situated in public space these memory projects embody a "normative power…reflecting and reproducing social ideas about the past, and thereby shaping the future" (p. 167). Giving the example of the growing efforts to commemorate the American Civil Rights movement, Dwyer and Alderman (2008) identify representations of collective memory that are connected to social identity as particularly vulnerable to social conflict, "providing a place for resistance and struggle" (pp. 172, 176).

Public memory projects including narratives, symbols, and memorials are often representative of such unresolved trauma. Public discourse emanating from morally traumatized groups may use symbols, memorials, and rituals to scapegoat and vilify out-groups, shifting moral responsibility for violence and suffering to the depraved, criminal character of the victimized group. Graham (2017) identifies three sequences involved in creating a traumatic history: shattering of worldview, emergence of survival mechanisms, and recovering and rebuilding (p. 138). A related response to relieving moral dissonance of moral injury could be a shift in the normative positioning of perpetrating groups to

accommodate behaviors previously considered amoral. Combining Ross's (2007) and Graham's (2017) categorizations and sequencing of trauma narratives, a thematic analysis of historic interpretations of contemporary social conflicts, including symbols, memorials and rituals and narratives, may explain how participants suffering from moral injury trauma understand the conflict, surfacing each party's trauma, deepest fears and concerns (Ross, 2007, p. 43).

Ordinary objects, symbols like flags and statuary, may be used to embody or hold collective trauma as they are imbued with narratives of historical trauma, defeat, or glory. Such objects and rituals may be used by group leaders in times of stress and anxiety to reaffirm group differentiations. As meanings of these signs, symbols, and rituals are imposed on subsequent generations trauma or glory is transmitted. According to Volkan (1997) groups use symbols and rituals to solidify group boundaries, protecting social identity through environmental uncertainties such as revolutions, political shifts, wars, deaths of leadership, or other states of vulnerability like economic collapse (p. 202). The psychological power of these symbols or markers as a factor in collective violence is often underestimated. Social identity group leaders such as politicians, military officers, or clerics may use such symbols or markers to influence or coalesce groups members against out-group rivals.

The psychological power of these symbols or markers as a factor in collective violence is often underestimated. Social identity group leaders such as politicians, military officers, or clerics may use such symbols or markers to influence or coalesce groups members against out-group rivals. Coski's (2005) comprehensive examination of

the Confederate battle flag describes defense of the battle flag as “tantamount to defending home and hearth, honor and principle” with the flag endowed with symbolic embodying of the “welfare and morale of Confederate military units” (pp. 32, 35). According Coski (2005) in modern times the flag has come to represent an antigovernment ideology to those who see the Civil War as a defense of constitutional liberty against an intrusive federal government (p. 22).

As Gilmore (1998) explains, public memory sites provide a space for social interpretations of the past, serving at times to allow conflict to continue through representations of memory after the fact (as cited in Inwood & Alderman, 2016). “Terror lives on” through public memory sites according to Gilmore, “continuing to serve its purpose long after the violence that gave rise to it ends” (Gilmore, 1998, as cited in Inwood & Alderman, 2016, p. 12). Most recently, literature reflects the analytic work of geographers and city planners in addressing the processes of “collective remembering and forgetting of histories of trauma and violence” (Foote, 2003, as cited in Inwood & Alderman, 2016, p. 11).

Similarly, Feldman (2012) posits that public memory projects such as heritage sites and memorials may yield historical interpretations that facilitate the intersection of memory discourse, power, and national identity. Dwyer and Alderman (2008) propose that removing symbols like the Confederate flag perpetuates forgetting the past without engaging in “working through” contradictory memories including guilt on the part of both conservative and progressive political ideologies (p. 11).

Extensive literature produced by American historians traces the development of public memory regarding the Civil War including interpretations perpetuated through symbols, rituals, commemorations, and monuments. As historian David R. Goldfield (2003) describes, efforts at creating collective interpretations of the Civil War that privileged Southern perspectives began before Reconstruction ended. As the Southern counterrevolution against Reconstruction sought to reverse the political and economic gains of freedman, Ku Klux Klan violence, disenfranchisement of the bulk of the Black population through poll taxes, and the weakening of the Northern resolve to enforce new configurations of labor in the South worsened the plight of former slaves. Historian Eric Foner speculates in his award-winning account of the failure of Reconstruction that more "than any time since the beginning of the antislavery crusade and perhaps in our entire history" racism was deeply imbedded in America's culture and political system during Reconstruction (p. 604). By the summer of 1865 many localities including the states of Mississippi and South Carolina adopted ordinances and Black Codes laws to control the "negro question" regarding labor with Mississippi rejecting the Thirteenth Amendment altogether (p. 199). Virginia expanded its definition of vagrancy to include laborers who refused "the usual and common wages given to other laborers" (p. 200). As Goldfield (2003) describes, led by Confederate widows, evangelical Christian rituals "became the medium for bonding community members to the orthodoxy of the Lost Cause" (p. 75).

Blair's (2004) investigation of competing commemorations of the Civil War in Virginia from 1865 to 1915 is a powerful example of how commemorations and rituals can be used not only to form social boundaries dividing social and political groups and

strengthening group identities but to allow a “restructuring of public space” defining who and how the Civil War would be recognized (p. 1). As Blair theorizes, newly created traditions of the Civil War “were politics and power” allowing the past to be used in “postemancipation battles for power in the South” (p. 24). These traditions included not only how and where deceased soldiers were buried or reburied, but the use of public space and the establishment and celebration of holidays such as Emancipation Days celebrated by African Americans and Memorial Days celebrated by former Confederates. Such endeavors allowed historic ideologies to be sustained primarily through the mourning endeavors of White women, creating a means for protecting the memory of the Confederacy while not overtly committing treason while also establishing changed definitions of power and privilege based on who appeared in and controlled public space (Blair, 2004, p. 78).

According to Volkan (1997), symbols are used to mark both chosen traumas and chosen glories, powerful psychological processes for initiating, solidifying, and passing on group identities. While symbols of chosen glories may be proudly displayed, symbols of chosen traumas effect group identity more significantly, “bringing with them powerful experiences of loss and feelings of humiliation, vengeance, and hatred” which may trigger unconscious defense mechanisms (p. 82). These symbols and memorials can serve as tangible representations of normative order dualities, representing in-group virtues such as valor and purity as well as solidifying out-group deficiencies (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 41). Ross (2007), in his studies of the contestations around Confederate symbols in Richmond, Virginia, characterizes them as identity markers

imbued with collective memories, meanings, and representations of specific group identity. As he explains in his investigation of the role of such symbols in prolonging social conflict surrounding the Civil War, while arguments are ostensibly about opposing interpretations of "flags and their placement," opposing sides are in fact disagreeing over issues surrounding the meaning of the past including "the validity of their long-held beliefs" (Ross, 2007, p. 295).

Theories of Silence and Community/Collective Trauma

In her study of community and collective trauma, Audergon (2004) links trauma with the theories of "silence:" suppressed narratives and revisionist history. Mirroring Graham's (2017) later sequencing of moral injury, she describes communal trauma as atrocities that "stay in the fabric of family, community and society for generations" (p. 20), requiring a narrative of the trauma to be told, breaking the silent dynamics of atrocity before healing can begin (Audergon, 2004). Historic interpretations and narratives of violence constructed by collectives suffering from moral injury therefore may include attempts to erase historic events to decrease painful moral dissonance. Citing power dynamics that allow dominant groups to remove stories of communal trauma from historical narratives, Audergon (2004) conceptualizes "societal splitting" as privileged groups saying "it's all in the past" while marginalized Others continue to suffer (p. 21). In some cases, Audergon posits that history is revised to say the atrocity never happened, resulting in what Bertman (1995) describes as a form of "cultural amnesia" (p. 605). Events such as the Holocaust and genocide of Native Americans are minimized, or trauma is removed from the narrative as with the enslavement of Africans and the

characterization of colonization as heroic and adventuresome (Audergon, 2004, p. 5). Audergon (2004) suggests the importance of identifying the underlying dynamics of community-wide trauma and addressing these dynamics through facilitated community forums aimed at the development of a collective narrative. Her approach, however, is based on the premise that a collective can experience the psychological symptoms associated with a traumatized individual, essentially suggesting a typology of mass PTSD rather than accounting for group sociological processes. Additionally, a limitation in Audergon's research is that it appears not to consider the communal effects of trauma caused by the violation of communal/group value-commitments and moral schema. Audergon's research, despite these gaps, provides a useful foundation for additional investigations regarding effects of trauma on group narratives, particularly moral injury trauma, as well as the construction of potential community interventions.

Trauma in Collective Memory and Collective Unconscious

Trauma may also affect historical interpretations and narratives of violence through the formation of schematic narrative templates which shape what people remember about their national historical past and how they remember it (Wertsch, 2002, 2008, as cited in Hirst & Echterhoff, 2012). According to Hirst and Echterhoff (2012), Russians, for example, have developed multiple specific narratives with the same basic plots to explain their national identity in terms of defeat of foreign invaders. Similarly, the United States has several different narrative templates regarding "the mystique of Manifest Destiny" and the "reluctant hegemon" (Hirst & Echterhoff, 2012, p. 73). These templates are derived both formally through state institutions and public policies and

through conversation; the same psychological phenomena shape conversational and group memory, resulting in convergence of shared representations of the past (Hirst & Echterhoff, 2012). Hirst and Echterhoff (2012) account for both the collaborative inhibition of collective memories and the spread of memory by means of social interaction which they refer to as social contagion (pp. 59, 63). Such collective memories, schematic narrative templates, and shared group representations could reflect moral injury.

Neal (1998), in his work on national trauma and collective memory in America, describes long-lasting social damage resulting from collective trauma which endures in the collective consciousness of the nation (p. 4). Defining collective trauma as an event that "appears to threaten or seriously invalidate our usual assessment of social reality," he posits that the conditions surrounding the trauma are replayed in an attempt to find meaning from the experience even when dismissed from consciousness (p. 7). According to Neal, collective feelings of anxiety and despair result from collective trauma, permanently changing the nation's sense of fear and vulnerability (p. 4). Neal imagines the boundaries between dualities of good and evil, sacred and profane, as growing increasingly fragile following a collective experience of trauma. This may necessitate repair work to social systems including social orders and shared values as the trauma event fragments perceptions of social rules and continuity (p. 5). Collective sadness and anger may also result, escalating to violent action as was observed after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. (p. 5). Like Durkheim, Neal sees historical events as collectively interpreted by social groups as

symbols and mythologies that reflect on the “the problems and challenges” of contemporary life. Through the development of new perspectives of past events, new generations attempt to make new meanings to place the events within current social frameworks and concerns (p. 213).

Conceptualizations of collective memory formed through social practices such as conversational remembering through storytelling also support theories of historical trauma transmission (Assmann, 1995, as cited in Hirst & Echterhoff, 2012). Studies of collective memory have been described in terms of psychological mechanisms likened to epidemiological processes which spread viruses. Collective memory formation or representations of the past held by community members that contribute to the community’s sense of identity can then be studied in terms of social/mnemonic processes and underlying psychological processes (Hirst & Echterhoff, 2012). These templates are derived both formally and through conversation; the same psychological phenomena shape conversational and group memory, resulting in convergence of shared representations of the past (Hirst & Echterhoff, 2012). While not solely devoted to the transmission of trauma, such collective memories, schematic narrative templates, and shared group representations could result in intergenerational sharing resulting in what would appear very similar to trauma transmission.

Chapter Two: Methodology

The methodology chapter describes the design, framework, research assumptions, and approach to data collection and analysis. Narrative inquiry as a discipline and as an appropriate epistemological choice for the research is also discussed. Research questions and demographics of research participants are provided.

Research Design

A qualitative single case study using an inductive method of investigation was selected as the design for the present research regarding historic interpretations of Confederate symbols and memorials. As Marshall and Rossman (2016) describe in *Designing Qualitative Research*, the choice of a qualitative research methodology is justified as the research "seeks cultural description," "delves in depth into complexities and processes," "seeks to understand experience," and "cannot be done experimentally for practical or ethical reasons" (p. 100). Qualitative research centers on studying participants' views and experiences through interviews and observations, embracing contextual conditions in which they live, and analyzing their perspectives (Yin, 2016, p. 9). The selected approach proved appropriate for investigating the impact of violence and trauma on social conflict surrounding historic symbols and memorials in Danville, Virginia. Data collected and analyzed included archival, historical, and demographical; on-site observations; and 25 semistructured interviews regarding Confederate symbols in

Danville, Virginia. Photographs as well as other artifacts from the case study site in Danville and surrounding counties were also collected and analyzed. As Saldana (2016) explains, “qualitative inquiry demands meticulous attention to language and images, and deep reflection on the emergent patterns and meanings of human experience” (p. 11).

A qualitative design coupled with an inductive methodology of research allowed the researcher to investigate social conflict with a goal of exploring social dynamics and processes which might result in new theories or explanations. This chapter discusses the methodological framework, a brief overview of the theoretical basis discussed more fully in Chapter One, assumptions, data collection procedures, and data analysis models.

Methodological Framework

A case study methodological framework was selected for the investigation of the interplay of trauma and violence on social conflict surrounding historic interpretations of Confederate symbols and memorials. Case studies are recommended when research seeks to create theory regarding groups, eliciting a deeper understanding of a subject. According to Marshall and Rossman (2016), a case study methodology is most appropriate when research focuses on: “society and culture in a group,” and frequently entails “multiple methods” including “interviews, observations…and historical and document analysis” (p. 103). Case studies deal directly with the actual context of a research topic both by allowing for data gathering through observation and access to subjective opinions of interviewees and contributing both theoretical elaboration or analytic generalization from resulting data (Yin, 2016, p. 68).

Case study design approximated 20% of research conducted in the social sciences between 1975 and 2000 (Simons, 2009, p. 511). Case studies, according to Simons (2009), are united by an interest in focusing on in-depth investigation of the particular; they are a design frame that may incorporate a variety of methods (p. 512). Thomas (2011) suggests that identifying both a subject and an object for a case study provides both a "practical, historical unity" and an analytical frame or phenomenon to be researched within the case (p. 513). Recognizing the need for and implementing research using both a subject and an object within a case study framework provides structure for the researcher's investigations, encouraging a result that offers an explanation, not solely description. In the present study, Danville is the subject of the research while social conflict surrounding historic interpretations of Confederate symbols is the object. As causes of the conflict are revealed, an explanation can be offered. The elaboration of a theory regarding the object of the research, however, is not the focal point of study, but rather a means to an explanatory end. The narratives and themes produced by the interviewees regarding the meanings of Confederate symbols and the nature of the conflict surrounding them in the greater Danville community, along with historical research of Danville, form the data of the case study.

Canadian academic Jacques Hamel (1993) traces the origins of case studies in the social sciences to sociology. Early in its sociological use, criticisms centered around the case study's "presumed lack of representativeness and objectivity" particularly amid ensuing debates between qualitative and quantitative research methodologies (Hamel, 1993, p. 488). Hamel describes case studies as developing from clinical studies in

psychology and medicine characterized in the French tradition as a "monographic approach" (p. 489). Hamel sees the clinical character of the case study as leading to an "in-depth study" conducted by "totalizing" through a wide set of methods (p. 489). The notion of "totalizing," which he attributes to French anthropologist Francoise Zonabend, consists of "capturing the social fact in its entirety, in all its aspects and all its relations with other social facts" (p. 491). As Hamel (1993) describes, "a phenomenon or problem resulting from life in society, the constraints linked to social relations and the sense that these possess" (p. 489). Case study research based on Hamel's (1993) description becomes a helpful option in investigating a phenomenon from the perspective of a participant's point of view. In the sense that social life or processes are similar throughout society, it therefore becomes generalizable as it reveals common approaches to meaning making, which in turn can offer a sociological explanation. Early uses of case study methodology in researching the meaning of social facts include Le Play's work in France in the late 19th century. Le Play investigated the lives of worker and peasant families between 1855 and 1885 "in order to define the principal types of production and the methods of family reproduction" in the assumption that the family as a microsocial unit could reveal "the state of the society as a whole" (Hamel, 1993, p. 492). In the United States the Chicago school including its leaders Robert Park, Everett Hughes, and Horace Mine, used case study methodology to investigate integration in certain districts of Chicago, believing that these neighborhoods permitted observation of the social phenomena "prevailing generally in American cities" (p. 492).

A case study methodology, while seemingly appropriate for the subject investigation, does manifest some inherent weaknesses. Within the qualitative design, a case study was employed to facilitate a “rich, in-depth explanatory narrative” rather than the generalization possible through a larger sample (Hammersley & Gomm, 2000, as cited in Thomas, 2011, p. 512). As Marshall and Rossman (2016) describe, case studies may produce “practical, contextualized knowledge” or phronesis, not necessarily generalizable knowledge (p. 20). Using a single location or case for field research regarding current social conflict regarding historic symbols and memorials may yield data that is not fully representative of other settings, thus further limiting generalization and depth of understanding. Finally, as Yin (2016) explains, the aim of case study research in discovering “patterns and processes” could be hampered by the investigation of a single site (p. 105). While findings from the present research will not be generalizable, the choice of a single case study allows a deeper exploration of social dynamics, historical and cultural influences, and group processes within the Danville case.

Perceived strengths and weaknesses of the case study as a research methodology involve not only the debate concerning the generalizability of the data it produces, but discussions regarding the type and quality of the knowledge generated. The case study is a much maligned, largely misunderstood, and yet highly popular approach to both quantitative and qualitative research. Flyvbjerg (2006) outlines commonly attributed weaknesses of the case study, including complaints that it is “subjective, giving too much scope for the researcher’s own interpretations”; “can’t generalize”; produces practical

knowledge when “theoretical knowledge is more valuable”; in a single-case format “cannot contribute to scientific development”; and “is often difficult to summarize” (p. 219). Case studies are traditionally believed to be of value only as they are linked to or used to develop a hypothesis which can then be validated by larger studies. Gerring (2004) describes the case study as surviving in a “curious methodological limbo” absent any generally acceptable framework or typology (as cited in Thomas, 2011, p. 511). In contrast to its many purported weaknesses, proponent practitioners view case study design as a mechanism for eliciting a deep understanding of a phenomenon. Yin (2016) and Robson (2011) agree that the case study is a strategy used to study “the particular” in a variety of disparate settings. Yin (2016) categorizes case studies into holistic, critical, and extreme cases and offers a system of “analytic generalization” which he defines as a two-step process involving the development of a conceptual claim followed by the application of the same concepts or theoretical constructs to other similar situations (p. 105).

Making analytic generalizations requires a “carefully constructed argument” which when utilized in case research may reveal patterns and processes which may “apply to many different types of cases” (Yin, 2016, p. 105). As Flyvbjerg (2006) explains, case studies produce “context-dependent knowledge” which is the basis for expert knowledge and true competency” providing a “qualitative leap” in the mastery of a skill or knowledge “central to human learning” (p. 222). Flyvbjerg contrasts the context-dependent knowledge gained in case-study research with rule-based knowledge concluding that while there is a need for analytic rationality based on rules, common to

all experts is that “they operate on the basis of intimate knowledge of several thousand concrete cases in their areas of expertise” (p. 222). Knowledge produced through case study methodology is of a depth to enable a researcher to select cases which can address characteristics of society. As Flyvbjerg (2006) describes, “scholars such as Clifford Geertz and Michel Foucault have often organized their research on specific cultural paradigms” (p. 232). While no specific rules exist for determining a paradigmatic case, it is the interpretation of the research data which establishes how a case is viewed and the conclusions it supports. According to Creswell (2014), the knowledge produced through a sociological qualitative case study largely constitutes a constructivist worldview perspective. As the processes of interactions among people are studied, historical and cultural settings of the participants help the researcher understand how meanings and interpretations are made, allowing patterns to be recognized and theories developed (p. 8). Thomas (2011), in contrast, opines a diversity of epistemological starting points for case studies dependent on the field of study (p. 512). Finally, it must also be mentioned that advocates of case studies revel in a wide variety of data collection choices. Data collection methods for qualitative case studies may include interviewing and conversing, observing, collecting, and recording feelings among others. It is frequently the case itself which suggests which research processes should be employed (Bloor & Wood, 2011). For all of its perceived flaws, the case study remains an important methodological choice for the qualitative researcher. Flyvbjerg, Thomas, Hamel, Robson, and Yin offer both criticisms and praise for the case study. According to Bloor and Wood (2011), the main

disadvantage continues to be the problem of generalization to larger populations, which does not lessen the relevance of case studies in producing sound theoretical conclusions.

According to Thomas (2011) a case or subject for a study should be selected in one of three ways: as a local knowledge case, as a key case, or as an outlier case (p. 514). Danville meets the criteria both for a local knowledge case and a key case. The selection of Danville as a case study for investigating societal conflict surrounding Confederate symbols is based on the city's history within the context of the Civil War, well-documented conflicts in recent decades surrounding the display of Confederate symbols, as well as markers of trauma at the community level. Since the mid-20th century Danville has characterized itself as the "The Last Capital of the Confederacy" in advertisements and tourism campaigns, including city-sponsored videos. Conflicts around Confederate symbols in the United States began in the 1870s following memorialization efforts by largely by Southern women, possibly in response to the trauma surrounding the Southern loss of the Civil War. Societal conflict over Confederate symbols has spiraled nonlinearly over the last 25 years in America. Present conflicts around symbols of the Confederacy echo dynamics of spirals of conflict present largely in former Confederate states over the last century. According to Pew Research surveys made on the 150th anniversary of the Civil War, more than half—56% of all Americans—believed that the Civil War was "still relevant to American politics and political life" (Pew Research Center, 2011, p. 1).

Theoretical Framework

As described in the Theoretical Chapter (Chapter 1), the present case study of the interplay of trauma and violence on current social conflict around historic symbols and

memorials in Danville is situated in social identity theories regarding collective and narrative responses to threat and formations of collective axiology; frameworks of community trauma; theories which characterize and sequence trauma in social group processes and collectives; and trauma narrative theories of silence and erasure. The specific theories include Rothbart and Korostelina's (2006) models of collective axiology and teliomorphic narrative theory; Ross's (2007) purpose-categorizations of psychocultural narratives; Graham's (2017) typologies and sequencing theory of moral injuries; Audergon's (2004) theories of silence and suppression in trauma narratives; and Pinderhughes, Davis, and William's framework of community trauma (2015).

To strengthen the theoretical framework, careful consideration was given to operational definitions and major conceptual units of the research in order to deeply study the "interaction between case and context" (Flyvbjerg, 2011, as cited in Marshall & Rossman, 2016, p. 19). Given that case studies in qualitative research typically focus on society and culture and as recommended by Marshall and Rossman, the unit of analysis for the research was social identity groups within the greater Danville community engaged in conflict surrounding historic interpretations of symbols and memorials of the Confederacy (pp. 17, 19).

Assumptions

According to Hathaway (1995), assumptions in qualitative research underlie a paradigm framework of knowledge which recognizes that people interact within a context which "structures and constrains" their actions, aims, and attitudes (p. 542). Such a paradigm, according to Bernstein (1976), produces unexamined assumptions, attitudes,

and expectations which form a framework where a research "inquiry operates" (as cited in Hathaway, 1995, p. 541). Assumptions ideally consider the "local social context" of interactions, are based on research questions and the literature review, and are open to different explorations and discoveries through interpretation of articulated narratives and themes during data collection (p. 542). Theoretical framework assumptions upon which the present research is based include: (a) social groups construct narratives about conflict based on historic interpretations which are shaped by trauma, including moral injury trauma; (b) collectives use trauma narratives as justification for social conflict and violence; (c) public memory projects including narratives, symbols, and memorials can be representative of unresolved trauma; (d) trauma affects group processes of collective axiology resulting in escalations of conflict; and (e) community wellness/community trauma may be affected by trauma resulting from historical interpretations as well as contemporaneous public memory projects comprising symbols which embody unresolved trauma.

Narrative Inquiry as a Methodology

Rather than positivistic or post-positivistic assumptions, qualitative researchers are interested in deeply understanding and interpreting the "complexity that is involved in real situations…the uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system" (Simons as cited in Thomas, 2011, p. 512). Clandinin (2007), in her edited handbook of narrative inquiry methodology, situates such research broadly within a qualitative paradigm. The use of semistructured interviews for data collection in the present research allowed for narrative responses by the interviewees as they responded to

the researcher's questions. The analysis of these narrative responses is focused on understanding the knowledge of individuals based on the stories they tell. As people relate their experiences, the social, cultural, and institutional contexts in which the stories are told can be analyzed revealing how these experiences are "constituted, shaped, expressed and enacted" (Clandinin & Rosiek, as cited in Clandinin, 2007, p. 42). Theologian Stanley Hauerwas views embodied traditions as founded in truth and as a way of obtaining trustworthy, contextualized knowledge from members of a community. According to Hauerwas, community narratives "provide a rich context in which claims about the world can be evaluated" (as cited in Clandinin, 2007, p. 27). Narratives can help researchers understand the local and the particular by revealing the lived experienced of community members. As Clandinin and Rosiek explain, "People shape their daily lives by stories of who they are others are and as they interpret their past in terms of these stories" (as cited in Clandinin, 2007, p. 37).

Pennegar and Daynes see four movements or turns on the part of the researcher toward those they research: (a) recognition the researcher–researched relationship is both contextualized and socially constructed and requires researcher intentionality to maintain objectivity; (b) recognition of a shift from numerical data to words as data; (c) privileging a "particular experience, in a particular setting, involving particular people"; and (d) acceptance of multiple rather numerical ways of knowing (as cited in Clandinin, 2007, pp. 9-25). The researcher using narrative inquiry becomes privy to the way that people make sense of their experiences through their stories while also acknowledging contextual influences such as historical, cultural, social, and institutional. As Korostelina

explains (2014), the past constitutes an essential part of the stories groups or collectives tell about the origin and formation of their communities (p. 29). As individual stories or narratives incorporate community memories, they locate the individual within a collective story. Collective stories serve the community's present needs while incorporating and reproducing the past. The analysis of narratives resulting from the semistructured interviews from this research is intended to reveal how social identity group affiliation, trauma, public memorialization efforts, and collective axiological effect historic interpretations of Confederate symbols. Based on the work of Ross (2007) and Graham (2017) regarding narrative production, communities affected by moral injury trauma may construct mythological narratives aimed at repelling shame, guilt, and immorality which could be reflected in public memory sites. Such research may help inform the development and implementation of community resilience models, reducing such conflict and increasing social cohesion and networks.

Data and Data Collection

Following the guidance of Marshall and Rossman (2016), four categories of data were collected to strengthen the validity of the research project: (a) historical/case study data aimed at providing both a historical and cultural context for the research including documentation of the major events, crises, and conflicts in the life of the Danville community; (b) opinions regarding interpretation and meaning of Confederate symbols solicited through semistructured interviews; (c) artifacts and observations and photographs taken at the case study site; and (d) analysis of demographic and statistical

data to assess signs of community traumatization with the Danville and the surrounding counties.

Historical analysis. Historical analysis was conducted of primary and secondary source documents regarding Danville beginning in the 18th century through contemporaneous times including personal letters, books, census, court and demographic records, congressional records, and newspaper articles as well as secondary sources including peer-interviewed articles, books, and other documentation. Records, both written and videotaped, and archives of Danville City Council meetings were analyzed.

Observations, artifacts, and photographs. The researcher conducted observations at Confederate memorials in Danville as well as cultural enactments performed by social identity groups in support of and protesting the display of Confederate symbols in Danville. She documented memorials and symbols in the city photographically as well as collected photographic data of various neighborhoods and significant cultural sites. She attended celebrations of historically important figures in Danville, noting reactions of attendees to speeches and social interactions among participants. As Marshall and Rossman (2016) posit, visual representations including videos and photographs are able to document cultural events and can be particularly valuable for analyzing nonverbal behavior and communication patterns (p. 186).

Interviews. Twenty-five participants were interviewed for the research project including individuals directly engaged in social conflict regarding historic interpretations of Confederate symbols and memorials. Two additional respondents agreed to participate but declined to go forward when contacted. One of the 25 respondents participated in the

interview but gave minimal answers which were coded and included in the results. The respondents varied in age from 19 to 88 years old; 68% of participants were White and 32% African American; 68% were male and 32% female. Each respondent participated in or was familiar with the conflict regarding Confederate symbols in Danville. The data analyzed from the interviews is based solely on the words and ideas of the respondents, from which 525 lines of text from the 25 interviews were coded and analyzed. The goal of the interviews was deep descriptions, meanings, and opinions regarding these symbols. Based on the assumptions of the investigation, a purposive sampling design was used employing snowball sampling. Supplementing the snowball sampling was intentionality toward demographic variation in the respondents. Elites and community leaders; newer and lifelong Danville residents; as well as diversity in gender, race, age, occupation, and class were sought in recruiting participants. The occupations and ages of the respondents are listed in Table 1.

Table 1

Occupations and Ages of Interview Respondents

Age	Occupation	Educational Level
35	Musician	BA; Graduate Certificate
62	Telecommunications Executive	BA
69	Retired US Navy; Defense Contractor	BS
36	HVAC Technician	High School Graduate
23	University Student	Senior
30	Community Organizer	Master's Degree
53	Community College Administrator	Master's Degree
65	Retired Military; US Postal Service	BS
68	Journalist; University Researcher	Master's Degree
88	Religious Leader	PhD
31	City Councilor	BS
28	Political Strategist/Student	AA
58	Retired Senior Federal Service Executive	Master's Degree
74	Retired Dan River Mills Manager	BS
55	Retired Musician	High School Graduate
52	House Painter	High School Graduate
70	Accountant	BS
28	HVAC Technician	High School Graduate
40	Business Manager	BS
71	Retired Purchasing Agent	High School Graduate
72	Retired Contracts Manager	Master's Degree
39	Automotive Technician	AA
31	Religious Leader	High School Graduate
70	Real Estate Investor	High School Graduate
69	Retired Business Owner	High School Graduate
34	Military Spouse/Business Owner	BS

Note. HVAC = heating, ventilation, and air conditioning; BA = bachelor of arts; BS = bachelor of science; PhD = doctor of philosophy; AA = associate of arts.

Brinkmann and Kvale's (2015) and Marshall and Rossman's (2016) recommendations for qualitative research interviewing served as models for data collection through interviews within the present research. As Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) describe, the research interview may be conceived of as "a social practice, as a form of human interaction situated in historical, cultural, and material contexts, with an emphasis on the ethical aspects of the interview practice" (p. 1). Research interviews, accordingly, have the purpose of producing knowledge through human interactions. The

interviews conducted in the present research were intended both to reveal how the respondents experienced displays of Confederate symbols in and around the city of Danville, and how they interpreted the meaning of these symbols.

As Marshall and Rossman (2016) note, complexities are inherent in interviewing across differences in social identities (p. 162). While the author did live and work in Danville for three years as a minister from 2011 until 2014, she was not engaged in social conflict surrounding Confederate symbols. Significantly, according to Marshall and Rossman, while she shared social identity affiliation with some of interviewees there were differences both in affiliation and saliency with the majority of respondents (p. 163). These differences varied with each respondent but included race, gender, geography, age, work-orientation (blue versus white collar), and class. While the researcher was born in Sumter, South Carolina, she does not identify as Southern or claim affiliation with social identity groups associated either with the Confederacy or, more broadly, Southern heritage. It must be disclosed, however, that the researcher qualifies for membership in Confederate heritage groups based on her ancestry which includes paternal relatives who both fought in the Civil War and served the Confederate government in key roles. Self-reflection regarding these genealogical affiliations was necessary to identify and resolve potential implicit biases toward Confederate symbol proponents as a result of generational guilt surrounding such ancestral support of Confederate ideology. While ostensibly sharing the social identity groups of race and gender with some interviewees, as Foster (1994) points out, shared identities do not "foster shared understandings" (Foster, 1994, as cited in Marshall & Rossman, 2016, p.

163). The researcher's salient social group affiliations of White, female, professional; politically left-leaning academic and artist; and geographically from the greater Washington, DC, area; distinguish her from interviewees with whom she seems to share obvious commonalities. Before beginning the interviews for the research project, the researcher intentionally adopted a self-reflective and curious stance, thoughtfully attempting to create an environment privileging trust, safety, and acceptance for the sincerity of the opinions shared by all persons participating in the study.

Prior to initiating the interviews, Brinkman and Kvale's (2015) seven stages of research interviewing were conceptualized and subsequently followed: thematizing the interview project, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, verifying, and reporting (p. 23). In stage one the purpose of the interviews was reviewed and clarified. Semistructured interview questions were developed and submitted to the George Mason University (GMU) Institutional Review Board (IRB) for approval. The goal of the semistructured interview questions was to identify the meanings interviewees assigned to Confederate symbols and what factors influenced their historic interpretation of Confederate symbols. These questions focused on revealing the social and historical frameworks of the community as well as the influence of social connections on interviewees including family and social identity groups.

The following seven interview questions approved by the GMU IRB board were used to elicit information:

1. How long have you lived here?
2. What history do Confederate symbols like flags or statues represent here?

3. What do these Confederate symbols mean for you?
4. How do you feel about these symbols of the Confederacy?
5. What stories did your family tell you about the Confederacy?
6. What are opinions about these symbols in your community and how do they affect the life of your community?
7. What could be done to resolve differences about Confederate symbols in your community?

Prior to the interviews, all interviewees signed Informed Consent forms, also approved by the GMU IRB board, which explained the study, procedures, and confidentiality procedures. Data collection of interview responses was planned prior to initiating the interviews. A portable recording device was utilized both for in-person and telephonic interviews. In a minority of interviews environmental circumstances including ambient noise levels prevented recordings from being made. In those cases, the researcher made comprehensive notes which were validated with the interviewees at the time of the interviews. Professional transcripts were produced of the recordings of each interview. Arrangements were made ahead of time for the scheduling of the interviews, and to the extent possible they were done in person.

Demographic and Statistical Data

In order to apply Pinderhughes et al.'s (2015) framework for addressing and preventing community trauma, demographic and statistical data was collected regarding Danville City and surrounding counties. Data collection included income and poverty rates, unemployment rates, violent crime and policing data, and health outcomes. Such

data was obtained from U.S. Census records, Virginia State Police statistics, Virginia Health and Human Services departments, and various governmental agencies within Danville City.

Data Analysis

Appropriate data analysis methodologies were utilized for each of the data types collected for the research project. Beginning with data collected from semistructured interviews and citizen speech from the 2015 City Council meeting video, the following sections describe the data analysis approaches employed for each category of data.

Interview and City Council Meeting Video Data Analysis

The data analysis methodology employed for the semistructured interview data and citizen speech resulting from the present research project loosely follows the grounded theory method developed in the 1960s. This process entails coding interview or narrative data in cycles ultimately leading to the development of an explanatory theory, as Saldana (2016) describes, “grounded or rooted in the original data themselves” (p. 55). According to Saldana (2016), a written data collection and analysis process including a documented coding scheme using a codes-to-theory inductive model increases validity of data analysis in qualitative research. Analysis progresses from initial coding to categorizing or synthesizing data based on consolidated meaning, to the production of themes and, if applicable, theories. In the present research, following Saldana’s guidance, a multitiered thematic analysis was first conducted using data collected from the semistructured interviews. Following the thematic coding three analytical models were applied to the data: Ross’s (2007) group process and narrative feature model, Graham’s

(2017) six characteristics of trauma-informed consciousness, and Pinderhughes et al.'s (2015) framework of the production of community trauma from violence. Rothbart and Korostelina's (2006) model of collective axiology was also considered in analysis of study data.

Thematic analysis. Thematic coding was employed as the initial analytic approach to extracting narrative topics and community concerns from the semistructured interviews. As Saldana (2016) explains, theming data is particularly appropriate for phenomenology and the exploration of a participant's beliefs, constructs, identity development, and experiences (p. 200). Analysis of data for themes and meanings from the interviews was conducted in several steps. First, the transcriptions and researcher notes from each interview were reviewed. Significant statements from the 25 interviews were copied into a software data framework. As the researcher reflected on participant meanings and outcomes, short thematic statements regarding the meanings of the statements were assigned and emergent patterns, concepts, and assertions were noted, enhancing and explaining the thematic definitions. Themes were continually revised as additional interviews were coded and then organized and expanded through a written description. Within the themes, several primary narratives were noted, and which were analyzed and included in model development. Themes and primary narratives were then categorized to produce theoretical constructions. Following Saldana's (2016) suggestions, theoretical models developed attempt to: (a) account for variation with data analysis, (b) offer an explanation, and (c) provide deep insights and guidance for improving social life

(p. 277). Finally, models were produced based on establishing theoretical relationships of identified constructions.

Social group process and narrative features models. Ross's (2007) Social Group Model was used to analyze interview data. The results of this analysis are provided in Chapter 4. This model focuses on the four social group responses typically found within groups engaged in social conflict. According to Ross these social group processes include: (a) attribution of motives by conflicting social identity groups, (b) the construction of social identity group internal frameworks and perceptions, (c) interpretation of events, and (d) group emotional investments in narratives including symptoms of moral injury. These responses are frequently embedded in narratives and beliefs about historic symbols and memorials.

As Ross (2006) suggests, as psycho-cultural interpretations from narrative accounts are extracted and analyzed, they may reveal coherent worldviews "linking discrete events to general understanding" manifesting how such interpretations cause conflict escalation (pp. 306-307). According to Ross (2007) culture performances including celebrations, flags, music, and ceremonies "renew memories across generations, articulate and assert political claims, mobilize supporters and control minorities," evoking meanings "expressing a group's most basic hopes and fears" (p. 21). As the researcher began the process of coding interview responses, she considered the features of Ross's Nine Narratives Model, which are: (a) past events as metaphors and lessons, (b) narratives as collective memories, (c) selectivity, (d) fears and threats to identity, (e) in-group conformity and externalization of responsibility, (f) multiple within-

group narratives, (g) evolution of narratives, (h) enactment of narratives, and (i) ethnocentrism and moral superiority claims. A brief summary of each of these narrative features follows.

Past events and metaphors and lessons. According to Ross (2007) within-group narratives attempt to use a reconstruction of past events to address present community needs. Such narratives can be specific or general, such as a particular shared experience such as a surrender or a battle, or more generally the origin of a particular social identity group. For the groups invoking them, images or metaphors provide timeless truths about how life should be lived relevant to each new generation.

Narratives as collective memories. Narratives serving as collective memories for social identity groups often use mnemonic devices such as physical objects to serve as repositories of group memories (Ross, 2007, p. 35). While groups see collective memories as "unchanging, objective accounts" according to Ross (2007), Halbwachs (1952/1980), and Alexander et al. (2004), group memories change generationally in emphasis and to reflect the addition of new events and actors that confirm group perceptions. Collective memories surrounding events in the distant past also evolve in response to current political climates and response to feelings of insecurity.

Fears and threats to identity. Smith (1991) posits that narratives articulate an ethnic conception of nation, emphasizing commonalities in a group's community of birth and shared culture (as cited in Ross, 2007, p. 37). Fears and threats to identity take several forms in narratives. They can be found in not only physical but symbolic attacks

on group identity including symbols and sites that are perceived as sacred by social groups.

In-group conformity and externalization of responsibility. According to Ross (2007), high conformity pressures exist within communities resulting in acceptance of the dominant elements in group narratives (p. 38). Such in-group pressure for conformity increases in times of conflict as group social processes including solidarity are augmented by fears. Group cohesion through the emphasis of a dominant narrative becomes a tool employed by political or community leaders to mobilize group members and gain power. As Ross (2007) explains, an indicator of such a dynamic is homogeneity in publicly expressed opinions as well as externalization of responsibility for conflict onto out-groups (p. 39). Punishment for disagreement with group narratives can include social isolation.

Multiple within-group narratives. Diversity within group narratives often reveals differing levels of fear and hopes for peaceful coexistence in the future. Collectives experiencing traumatizing events may have radically different approaches to making meaning of such events. Such multiple narratives are dynamic and may change as groups process trauma. Sharing group membership does not correlate to a single narrative with cultural or ethnic division. As Ross (2007) posits, there is not a "one-to-one correspondence between culture and ethnicity" (p. 40).

Evolution of narratives. Narratives regarding past events change and evolve as meanings are contested or evolve to serve present needs. As Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) explain, cultural beliefs and syndromes are revised with environmental changes

(p. 149). Group narratives regarding historical events become predictive of future threats or violence are broadcast in ways that invite participation in revised interpretations. According to Sztompka (as cited in Alexander et al., 2004), collective trauma, as opposed to massive trauma where personal symptoms of traumatization become detectable among significant percentages of the community, results in narratives being taken to the public arena triggering collective mobilization, creation of social groups, associations, and outburst of protests (p. 160).

Enactment of narratives. As Ross (2007) observes, collective memories are stored not only in verbal accounts but in music, drama, art, symbols, and rituals (p. 41). Holidays, ceremonies, memorial sites, and flags reinforce group identity, serving to unify group identity and becoming conflicts between groups. Concepts which form identity are expressed through ceremonies and symbols including flags, anthems, parades, ceremonies of remembrance, and even in styles of architecture, popular heroes, and ways of acting and feeling within communities that share historical culture (Smith, 1991, as cited in Ross, 2007, p. 42).

Ethnocentrism and moral superiority claims. Social identity groups use narratives to establish moral frameworks, both justifying group collective actions and, as Ross (2007) explains, framing the groups as morally superior. Giesen (2004) uses the case of Nazi Germany to illustrate how narratives can elevate leaders, as in the case of Adolf Hitler, to political redeemers thereby erasing previous collective shame or trauma. As Nazi narratives established the moral superiority of the Aryan race, Jewish minorities

could be scapegoated as the catalysts of German financial woes and defeat in World War I (as cited in Alexander et al., 2004, p. 117).

Moral Injury Trauma Characteristics

Moral injury is a collective experience of diminishment which results when groups or communities fail or are prevented from following established moral frameworks. This may occur as they witness or are victims or perpetrators of trauma-producing violence. Data collected from the semistructured interviews was analyzed for evidence of trauma-induced collective moral injuries using three models presented by Graham (2017). First, the data was analyzed for trauma/moral trauma characteristics within social groups using Graham's six characteristics of trauma/moral injury: (a) collective memories affects, (b) degraded community health, (c) ambivalent social connections, (d) moral ambiguities, (e) defective agency, and (f) spatial aversity (pp. 85-87). Using narrative descriptions of environmental conditions in the Danville community collected from interviews, data was analyzed for evidence of the four precipitating exposures identified by Graham (2017) as giving rise to moral injury trauma: (a) traumatic explosive assaults from nature, history, interpersonal, or social living experienced among conflicted social groups; (b) "pythonic habitats" resulting from constricted or dangerous living environments including systemic, trauma-producing systems which create a loss of confidence in governance; (c) wrong moral or behavioral decisions leading to traumatic demise; and finally, (d) grievous loss in identity or damage to a moral framework (pp. 80-82). Finally, the Danville community was assessed for

moral injury healing sequences identified by Graham (2017): (a) naming the injury, (b) framing the moral injury, (c) enacting moral change, and (d) revising moral histories.

Axiology of Difference model. Rothbart and Korostelinan's (2006) Axiological of Difference (AD) model was considered in the analysis of interview and video data to identify patterns of social boundaries, perceptions, and meaning-making systems, as well as cognitive, value-based, and emotional dimensions of beliefs regarding Confederate symbols and memorials. As Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) explain, "AD is a set of constructions that are used to validate, vindicate, rationalize, or legitimize actions, decisions, and policies, serving to solidify ingroup members and assist them in making sense of their hardships and struggles" (p. 46). Using the AD model may reveal "stigmatization, the practice of marking certain individuals or groups is tainted, diminishes the moral worth, political autonomy, or social status of those groups and individuals...stigmatized groups are marginalized, viewed as threatening, and often reassigned to separate social space" (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006). By creating, maintaining, and reinforcing certain social relations as well as discouraging and denigrating other kinds of social relationships AD reinforces group boundaries. Using data from the semistructured interviews regarding two variables, collective generality and degree of axiological balance, AD was assessed for social groups within the Danville community (p. 46).

Collective generality represents how in-group members view other identity groups. A high level of collective generality is indicative of beliefs about out-groups as homogeneous with a fixed framework of beliefs and values with little aptitude for change

or variation (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 47). A low level of collective generality reflects beliefs in out-groups as differentiated and varied in their behavior which is subject to change (p. 47). Levels of collective generality are dynamic and highly influenced by conflict and potentially by the effects of community traumatization. According to Rothbart and Korostelina (2006), collective generality utilizes four criteria: (a) homogeneity of perceptions and behavior of out-group members; (b) long-term stability of their beliefs, attitudes, and actions; (c) resistance to change in their ideas about the Other; and (d) the scope or range of categorization of the Other (p. 47).

The other variable in AD, degree of axiological balance, assesses the beliefs of social groups regarding out-groups virtues and vices. A balanced axiology indicates a relative equilibrium between perceptions regarding an out-group's ability to have good or bad behavior depending on the context. As social groups observe that members outside of their group can have both "goodness" and "badness," a balanced axiology is indicated. Groups having balanced axiological perceptions of others are also able to reflect on and admit their own moral failings. An unbalanced axiology indicates an inflated perspective of a group's moral framework promoting a belief of moral superiority self-righteousness (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 49).

Chapter Three: Case Study

> Due south of White Oak Mountain is the muddy Dan River flowing toward the east. This fertile ground harbors the bones of many African-American ancestors. You can sense them, resting. You can feel their spirits as if they are riding on the gathering winds and clouds. What is the essence of this place? Where are the keys to unlock the dark paths of those days of slavery that still haunt this mountain air? (Clark, n.d., p. 2)

"The heritage that my grandfather passed to me that fought those low-down, invading, murdering, raping, looting, burning, heathens from the north" (White as cited in Ray, 2015, p. 1).

These quotations, the first from Dr. Ed Clarke, an African American PhD and educator from Danville, the other from Herman White, a lifelong Danville resident and supporter of Confederate symbols, exemplify the divided perceptions in this small Virginia city regarding its history. The suffering and trauma from temporally distant violence may affect current generations as cultural symbols and narratives are imbued with memory and meaning. This observation is supported by the case of Danville, Virginia. A dwindling city of approximately 42,000 located on the Dan River a few miles from the North Carolina border, tensions over the display of Confederate symbols permeate Danville. At the epicenter of the Virginia slave-based tobacco industry in the

mid-18th to 19th centuries, Danville was later a highly segregated mill town renowned for violently repelling the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s. Despite recent attempts by the city government to minimize the city's Confederate past, Danville's narrative as the "Last Capital of the Confederacy" continues to dominant its history. This narrative originated from seven tumultuous days in April 1865 when Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America (CSA), retreated to Danville from Richmond, his army on the precipice of defeat. Symbols of the Confederacy, slavery, and segregation proliferate the city which is now 56% African American. Danville has carefully preserved its Confederate heritage. The mid-19th century mansion constructed by tobacco baron William Sutherlin served as a refuge for Jefferson prior to his capture by Union forces and the location of the final meetings of the Confederate cabinet before its demise. In contrast, few representations or commemorations of the abolition of slavery or the Civil Rights movement exist. This chapter traces the history of Danville, providing a historical and cultural context for research into social conflict surrounding historical interpretations of Confederate symbols. It begins with the 18th century and moves forward into events including the aftermath of the 2015 removal of the Confederate National Flag from the Danville City Museum.

Danville's Cultural and Economic Roots

The geographic area surrounding present-day Danville was discovered in the early 18th century by Englishman William Byrd. After completing a survey in 1728 Byrd wrote, "All the land we travelled over is exceedingly rich, there are 30,000 acres at least…as fertile as the lands about Babylon" (Swanson, 2014). Byrd quickly advocated

for the new territory, finding the Dan River “charming” and “perfectly clean” as well as potentially profitable. He speculatively purchased thousands of acres of land for eventual resale (Swanson, 2014). Based on Byrd’s reports and the confluence of nearby rivers, settlers migrated into the Danville region including what is now Halifax and Pittsylvania Counties in Virginia and Casswell County in North Carolina. To encourage settlement of the still sparsely populated lands, the Virginia Assembly waived land taxes from 1738 for 1748 along the Staunton and Dan Rivers (Swanson, 2014). It soon became obvious, however, that Byrd’s initial assessment of the agricultural potential of the land in the Danville area was overstated. Beginning around 1750 the land along the Dan River surrounded by the White Oak, Turkeycock, and Smith Mountains was cultivated almost exclusively for tobacco. In 1776, 1790, and again in 1801 settlers argued either for a new division of county lines or tax abatements due to the inferiority of the soil (Siegel, 1987). One 1801 petition filed in opposition to a new division stated: “This county, we think, contains more land unfit for cultivation than any other we know of” (Siegel, 1987).

The identification of new agricultural lands west and south of the Tidewater area became key historically, economically, and culturally over the next two centuries. Although not the fertile “Eden” that Byrd first described, the geology of the region did soon prove to be highly conducive to tobacco cultivation. As the farmers found that the rich soils in the Shenandoah Valley and in the north were more suitable for subsistence farming, the Piedmont tobacco belt emerged. By the dawn of the American Revolution two of every three residents in coastal Virginia still grew some tobacco. At the conclusion of the War, however, the effects of 150 years of tobacco cultivation in the

James River area had severely depleted the soil. Among the most profitable commodities produced in colonial Virginia, reduced tobacco production threatened the generational wealth of the Virginia planter aristocracy. Heirs of the original settlers of the Virginia colony vacated Jamestown and Williamsburg, seeking to secure their inheritance in land ownership and tobacco cultivation to the west and south. By 1800 tobacco crops in the Tidewater area had effectively been replaced. This transition created a surplus of slave labor and provided a human asset to be sold in the Piedmont region as tobacco cultivation and its massive labor requirements shifted geographically.

The planters and small farmers in the Danville region soon produced thriving cash crops of tobacco and to a lesser extent hogs which fed on “Indian” corn, also sustainable in the poor soil. Hogs, along with corn and fish from the many streams and tributaries in the area including the Dan River, became the main source of nourishment for the settlers. Initially, dark leaf tobacco was produced in the more fertile bottom lands along the many waterways. Later, around 1830, bright tobacco, a highly sought-after pale golden leaf, was grown in the sandy-soiled ridges above the many creeks and tributaries. Tobacco cultivation, processing, and transportation developed Danville into a growing town and increasingly affluent Whites into slave masters. Its proximity to the Dan River provided the ideal location for tobacco planters and smaller farmers to sell and ship their products. A manufacturing base surrounding the production of tobacco products was quickly established. For the next two centuries tobacco, slavery, and Danville were tightly enmeshed in an economic endeavor which flourished only through the intense, coerced labor of Africans. Tobacco crops sustained the households of many small farmers and

made a few large planters wildly prosperous by the time of the Civil War. The middle part of the 18th century saw tobacco cultivation firmly established in the 24 counties comprising the "tobacco belt" inextricably tying the wealth of tobacco cultivators to slavery in the Southern Piedmont.

As tobacco cultivation led to an explosion in the slave population, the nature of slavery changed from what had been experienced in the coastal and Tidewater areas of Virginia. Tobacco-growing slave owners in Southside Virginia increasingly sought to widen the social distinctions and perceived cognitive differences between themselves and their slaves, intent on creating a hierarchy in which the master's will was immutable and readily and legally enforced through violent of measures. Rigid racial boundaries held slaves in their "place." For Africans, the agricultural transition of tobacco to the Piedmont meant a shift inland from the coastal areas of Virginia where they had initially been enslaved. For those who had survived capture and the tortuous Middle Passage voyage, this migration interrupted social networks which they had struggled to develop despite differing African cultures, languages, and religions; the physical boundaries of planation life; and legal barriers which prevented their assembly even for religious services. The strong ties created through the slaves' establishment of family life, despite the avarice of the planters, were severed as parents and children were separated, transported, or sold during the migration. According to Deyle (2005) while White migration was higher than Black, between 1790 and 1820 around 175,000 slaves immigrated with their owners, most before 1810. By 1830 the Piedmont of Virginia became the major tobacco-producing area of early America and was quickly developing

into the largest enslaver of Africans. The planters' success in matching soil types and tobacco varieties resulted in a thriving, labor-intensive agricultural economy. This demand, met by the expanding slave labor force in the region, was not tobacco's only effect.

The culture of tobacco governed labor relations, routines, transportation infrastructure, and politics, ensuring Virginia's pro-slavery position in the increasing sectional rift between North and South. As Swanson (2014) describes, much like cotton districts and sugar lands of the Deep South, the tobacco culture in Virginia shaped the Piedmont. This was particularly true of the area around Danville known as Southside. By the early decades of the 19th century Southside was the center of both the tobacco and slave industries in Virginia. In a little over one hundred years the number of slaves in Southside grew to a majority of the population—never the case in the Tidewater or Valley areas of Virginia. In 1773 roughly 45% of Whites were slave holders; by 1800 in Pittsylvania County, in which Danville is located, more than 4,200 Africans were enslaved. Dependency on free labor and an agricultural economy was firmly established and by 1830 slaves were an integral part of Virginia's economy, society, and wealth. Slave property, primarily located in Pittsylvania and Halifax Counties, was worth more than $25 million. By 1860 the percentage of slaves in the Southside population had grown to 51.6% (Deyle, 2005; Swanson, 2014). The wealth available to White planters through tobacco served as the impetus strengthening and further institutionalizing the economic, social, and legal framework of the master-and-slave dichotomy developed in the preceding century. As tobacco production flourished on the plantations surrounding

Danville the slave population also grew, from 271 slaves in Pittsylvania County to 4,200 in 1800. By 1850 Pittsylvania and Halifax counties adjacent to Danville held the greatest amount of slave "property" in Virginia (Deyle, 2005). Human property was a financial asset for White planters second only to their homes and land.

Formation of social identity groups. The tobacco wealth and unbridled political power of the 18th and 19th century planter class was foundational to modern Danville. Slavery and tobacco production flourished together as the population of planters and farmers grew. With the movement of Virginia tobacco cultivation to the Piedmont the planters in the Danville region rigorously internalized the worldview established by the planter identity group as it had evolved in the Tidewater of Virginia. They were an insulated society who married predominantly within their own circles, held similar religious beliefs, and politically were anti-Federalist and anti-Nationalist. While the planters were revolutionists toward England, they maintained a system of government within Virginia which firmly linked political power to land ownership. As Sydnor (1952) describes, long before the American Revolution Virginia had "a firm attachment to government of the rich, the well-born and the able" (p. 14). The political scene in Virginia beginning in the 18th century was dominated by planters rather than lawyers. The practice of primogeniture was expanded to encompass political realm. It was customary for the sons of planters to fill their fathers' offices as they came of age (p. 14). By 1790, with African Americans the majority males in Virginia, only landholding White males, and later those with land and a dwelling, could vote (p. 36, p. 127). In the presidential election of 1800 about 5.25% of the White population voted (p. 127). Largely

Presbyterian and Anglican, they were staunch defenders of slavery which in turn they conflated with the self-determination of states which prioritized the continued right to own Africans. As the debate regarding slavery grew, 85 of Pittsylvania's leading citizens signed yet another petition, this time directed toward reformers and the Methodists and Baptists who were proselytizing the slave populations in and around Danville. The signers proclaimed the vast horrors that would accompany emancipation. Warnings included financial ruin, suffering of Black children, and the now century-old fear of insurrection: "the horrors of all the Rapes, Murders, Robberies and Outrages which a vast of unprincipled, unpropertied, vindictive and Remorsefull Bandits are capable of perpetuating" (Pittsylvania Petition, November 10, 1785, as cited in Siegel, 1987).

With Whites as the minority, the system of slavery could only be sustained by a continued strengthening of the social and legal hierarchy of White superiority and inferiority and marginalization of Blacks. This occurred through increased rigidity in social boundaries, the diminishment of Blacks legally and socially, and the escalation of violence through the employment of overseers and establishment of militia to enforce the prohibition of assembly and movement of slaves. As the tobacco economy emerged and matured in Southside it brought with it great stratifications economically and socially. Three primary identity groups coexisted as a result of tobacco cultivation: White planters, poor White farmers, and enslaved Blacks. The insecurity and conflict created by slavery in the Southside of Virginia increased in the midst of increasing objections to slavery from the North. Concerns grew among Whites that the expanding Black population would rebel. As the minority increasingly enslaved the majority in the Southside, fears

and anxiety of insurrection grew, exacerbated by the rebellion in 1830 in South Hampton, Virginia led by Nat Turner. Turner's rebellion led to an escalation of violence against Blacks and an increasing paranoia among Whites concerned with preventing similar actions by the thousands of enslaved African in the counties around Danville.

The 18th century Virginia planter identity which evolved in the Jamestown area migrated with the White elites immigrating to the Danville area before and after the American Revolution. Danville's ethos, its way of being, was established around the social, political, and religious beliefs of the planters who formed it. Originally named Wynne's Falls after William Wynne who in 1746 purchased the land upon which the city would be built, the town was renamed Danville by the Virginia General Legislature after its charter. In October of 1793 15 of the prominent residents of Pittsylvania County had petitioned the state legislature for the establishment of a tobacco inspection warehouse to avoid the time-consuming and difficult trip to either Lynchburg or Petersburg. The petition, which mentioned the suitability of the site for a town, was approved in November 1793. The petitioners, who were also the trustees and early land owners of the Danville, were all planters. Ten of them also held some official capacity either in state or local government. Subsequent to its charter and establishment of the tobacco inspection station, a tobacco warehouse was built, the beginning of another tobacco industry which became key to Danville's growth. The governing body of Pittsylvania County, the Board of Overseers, which began as a largely Anglican body, was dominated by the planters who both helped establish Danville and provided local law enforcement as justices of the peace (Siegel, 1987). From the time of the Revolution until the decade before the Civil

War the social and economic planter elite in the Danville area equated antislavery with Toryism. The White planters correlated liberty and anti-Federalism with the right of Whites to accumulate wealth through the ownership and labor of slaves. As the planters in the declining Tidewater and growing wheat agriculture in Northern Virginia manumitted their slaves, the Southside planters made their position clear to the Virginia Legislature and the growing number of abolitionists: Slavery was a property right which would not be taken from them. As the White planter aristocracy grew in wealth and position, their ownership of slaves increased, particularly in contrast to newer immigrants to Pittsylvania County. Industrialization occurring in other parts of Virginia passed by the Danville region. The burgeoning distillery and shoe production industries declined between 1810 and 1820 while tobacco production soared. Increasingly wealth was accumulated in the hands of a few White elite planters and the economic gap increased between the small farmer and the landed, tobacco-producing slave holder.

The growth of the slaves in the Danville region was exponential to the increase of Whites. According to the Census of 1860, more than half of the population in the counties around Danville were enslaved Africans (Swanson, 2014). This imbalance triggered the ongoing fears of the White planters of rebellion, a terror which ceaselessly plagued them. As early as 1781, even decades before the dramatic increase in the slave population in the Southside region, Colonel Harry Wooding of Halifax bemoaned a lack of military equipment in the area:

> some good guns were owned by several of the inhabitants but the owners I am told secrete them and Say they will do it for their own Defence against

> insurrections of Slaves or Tories—Reasons that seem to carry weight (with me at least)….” (Aptheker, 1934, p. 23)

Just prior to the start of the War of 1812, Virginia slaveholder and Congressman John Randolph dwelt “on the danger arising from the black population…I speak from facts when I say that the night bell never tolls for fire in Richmond, that the mother does not hug the infant more closely to her bosom” (Aptheker, 1943, p. 23). In 1814, citizens of Caroline County, Virginia protested against the Governor’s call upon their militia for extra duty, “on the account of apprehension of negro insurrection,” (Aptheker, 1943, p. 26). Likewise, a letter from Virginian Walter Jones to James Monroe that same year commented on the flight of hundreds of slaves

> The disaffection of the black is daily gaining extent & boldness which may produce effects, at the approaching festival of Xmas, that may bring to men minds, the Sicilian vespers of times past…public hope has been highly raised & much rooted on the aid of the Regiment, under Colo. Hamilton…Where is he? (Aptheker, 1943, p. 27)

Seemingly, the fear of the White planter grew in proportion to their affluence from slave ownership. However, as Thomas Jefferson opined, once grasped, it was not an easy matter to let go of the wolf’s ear (Jefferson, 1782/2015).

As Siegel (1987) describes, until 1800 Danville was little more than a tobacco shipment point that grew to have a store and a tavern. It had few permanent residents. Many of the owners of the lots inside the town were large planters who owned more than 1,000 acres in Pittsylvania County. In 1800 a post office was established. A flour

inspection station and an academy for the planters' children quickly followed with the highlight of developments in 1801 being the approval of a toll bridge across the Dan River which was built in 1802 (Siegel, 1987). Danville quickly became a center for tobacco processing as canals were completed in 1816 easing the water transportation of tobacco. By 1820 Danville was more than an inspection station and tobacco warehouse; it had homes, buildings, and, by 1830, a bank. The planter-elite maintained control of the city with the 10 largest Pittsylvania County landholders owning more than 60% of Danville City's property (Pittsylvania Real Property, as cited in Siegel, 1987). As Danville made it through the depression of 1837 with the help of the discovery of bright leaf tobacco, it was soon thriving. According to Siegel (1987), the chartering of the Richmond and Danville Railroad in 1847 was the single most important event in the prosperity of the city following the depression. By 1860 the population in Danville swelled as more than 1,000 tobacco-manufacturing laborers including leased slaves flowed into the city which became the most lucrative tobacco processing center in the state. The planters in surrounding Pittsylvania County continued to control the majority of Danville's real estate. More than 39% of all land in the town was owned by county residents in 1860, around 40% of them planters and their sons (US Census, as cited in Swanson, 2014). In contrast to the "Deep" South's immense cotton plantations, smaller tobacco farmers and larger planters coexisted in the rural areas around Danville with the greatest percentage of landowners possessing more than 400 acres. By 1860 with the burgeoning bright leaf tobacco sales, tobacco cultivation was more important to the Southside region than ever. More than 90%, or 2,651, farms and plantations grew some

amount of tobacco, the majority with slave labor. More than 50% of large tobacco-cultivated planters owned 50 or more slaves. Increasingly, in the decades before the war Danville became a regional tobacco processing center, gaining prominence in this industry only behind the larger Virginia cities of Richmond, Lynchburg, and Farmville. In 1860 Danville was a city of 3,700 and the value of Danville's real estate had grown to over $700,000 (Siegel, 1987).

A fuller understanding of the economic and social hierarchy in which the White planter elites functioned can be gathered by an examination of the lives of three prominent Danville region families: the Sutherlands, the Hairstons, and the Bruces. These families in particular exemplify the wealth and social stratification achievable through tobacco but also show the pervasiveness of the fear the planters had of their human property. It was at the Danville home of William T. Sutherlin and his wife that the President and cabinet of the Confederate States of America were to seek refuge in 1865 after the fall of Richmond to federal forces. One of the largest slaveholding families in America, the Hairstons, resided in the counties around Danville including Pittsylvania, Henry, Halifax, and Casswell County, North Carolina. The Hairstons eventually owned more than 12 plantations and thousands of slaves. The Bruce family, whose empire was founded on the tobacco industry, owned fewer slaves than the Hairstons, but is considered one of the wealthiest Southern plantation families in America. In comparison while only 18% of the White population owned more than 20 slaves in the 3 counties around Danville, elite planters such as the Sutherlands, the Bruces, and the Hairstons developed enormous financial empires that in the case of the Bruces and Hairstons

surpassed even the wealth of the cotton plantation owners of the Deep South (Ellis, 2006; Swanson, 2014).

The son of a planter, William Sutherland's father inherited land on the Dan River just outside of Danville. William's family did well enough financially that William attended first a small country school, then a larger school in Danville, and finally a boarding academy in nearby Franklin County. After working on the family planation, at 21 William had a thorough understanding of tobacco cultivation and opted to move to Danville to attempt to establish a tobacco leaf dealership. A year later in 1844 at the age of 22 he became a Mason, an indication of his acceptance into elite male Danville society alongside politicians and businessmen. Sutherland became an alderman, president of the Board of Alderman and in 1855 at the age of 33 was elected to his first term as Mayor of Danville. Sutherland was intrinsic to the growth and maintenance of Danville and his accomplishments are also too numerous to list. After the Dan River bridge collapse in 1850 he organized a private company to fund its repair; he was instrumental in building the Masonic Temple, a building still functioning in Danville. Among other tenants, this building presently houses the Danville City Public Defender's office. Sutherland also helped build a new and larger Methodist Church; was board member on two of Danville's banks; cofounder of an insurance company; founding director of a milling and manufacturing company; and gained considerable wealth through his expertise in the tobacco business. Based on his knowledge of the region's tobacco cultivation, Sutherlin was one of the first to recognize the significance of the production of the lighter colored bright leaf tobacco which became an economic boon to the Danville region as a sought-

after commodity during the market decline of 1837. Ironically, bright leaf tobacco thrived in the wornout soil which abounded on the overcropped plantations surrounding Danville. Sutherlin was careful to look for bright leaf as it quickly commanded prices two to three times as much as dark tobacco. By 1840 the development of the bright tobacco market sustained the agriculture of the counties of surrounding Danville and made Sutherlin's tobacco manufacturing business quite lucrative. According to Swanson (2014), in the first 10 months of 1854 the company of Sutherlin and Ferrell alone purchased 389,574 pounds of tobacco and sold $52,950.45 worth of manufactured tobacco. According to the Census of 1860, Sutherlin operated his tobacco factory with his own 39 slaves and 26 more who were leased (Swanson, 2014). It was not only male slaves who contributed to the profitability of Sutherlin's factory; young Black children ran errands while older children and women slaves worked at stemming, and male slaves formed plugs and ran the presses, considered skilled work (Swanson, 2014). Epitomizing the White planter class, while favored by his peers as a community-minded entrepreneur, at least one of Sutherlin's leased slaves ran from his tobacco factory back to his owner, complaining of a brutal whipping at the hand of Sutherlin's factory overseer (Swanson, 2014).

James Bruce, a Scot who settled in Halifax County in 1780, built a chain of small stores supplying sundries that could not be grown or manufactured on the farms and plantations. After developing a business as a tobacco reseller, he began investing in land and in the years before the Civil War became the third millionaire in America (Swanson, 2014). Bruce's son, James C. Bruce, built a "mansion house" Berry Hill, which was the focal point of the family empire which eventually included a total of seven plantations in

Virginia and Louisiana as well as stocks and bonds (Ellis, 2006). Based on an inventory of his slaves in 1852, the younger Bruce owned 402 slaves on the 3 plantations. While notes and diaries show the presence of an overseer to supervise the "field" slaves, Bruce's wife Eliza was clearly in charge of the more than 27 slaves who cooked, cleaned, laundered, tended the gardens, made clothes, and provisioned the pantry and smokehouse, creating two distinct households of Black and White with the goal of blocking contact between the races (Ellis, 2006). According to Ellis (2006), Eliza Bruce increasingly was haunted over the prospect of a slave revolt and expressed a lifelong fear for the safety of her family and concerns about being on Berry Hill alone with her children as Bruce traveled. Five years after the Nat Turner rebellion she wrote to her husband: "I frequently feel very uneasy at night about the insurrection…," and in another letter asked her husband to bring back a strong lock for the door after hearing that a neighbor's slave had tried to poison her mistress's coffee (Ellis, 2006). By 1860, Berry Hill was estimated to be worth $4 million, yet the creeping fear over a potential slave rebellion haunted the mistress of the empire.

The Hairston family's wealth was established through founder George Hairston's mercantile business in the late 1700s which developed into massive land holdings by the early 19th century. It is estimated that he owned more than 238,000 acres along the Dan River and by the 1850s his son Samuel, a tobacco planter, had created perhaps the largest individual agricultural empire in the South, with the extended family owning as many as 10,000 slaves by the start of the Civil War (Swanson, 2014). Hairston was celebrated as the richest man in Virginia and his home west of Danville, Oak Hill, was described as a

paradise. A newspaper article in a Richmond paper declared the Oak Hill gardens more pleasing than even those of the public grounds in Washington, DC (Swanson, 2014). Unlike the Hairstons, whose slave "property" was worth millions at roughly $200 per slave, approximately half of all slaveholders in the Southside owned fewer than 15 slaves. Yet, constructions of social superiority of even the poorest Whites over Blacks were utilized to maintain control over the slave population.

By 1830 the institution of slavery was well developed in the tobacco belt and had spread from the "Upper" South throughout Maryland, the District of Columbia, and into the "Deep" South with its cotton plantations, and became itself a part of the larger national development of an American market revolution (Deyle, 2005). Perhaps on par with, or even more important than the labor they provided for cultivation of tobacco, was the regional slave trade. Virginia had a thriving interregional economic system based on the sale and transport of slaves to other parts of the country. By the mid-18th century following the American Revolution, the slave trade in America had become indigenous and developed into an important and common form of American commerce. Producing slave children to be sold to the deep South became the "lifeblood" of the slave system (Deyle, 2005). The invention of the cotton gin in the last decade of the 18th century along with the decrease in tobacco cultivation in the Tidewater area of Virginia led to the transfer of slaves from the Upper South of Virginia to the Deep Southern cotton states. According to Deyle (2005) between 1790 and 1860 more than 1 million American-born slaves were transported from the Upper to the Deep South, with another 2 million sold locally (p. 4). With the federal prohibition of outside slave importation in 1808, in

Virginia slaves became a source of wealth and capital as demand drove prices up, creating a class of entrepreneurs engaged in human trafficking. A great paradox developed regarding the practice of slavery as an integral element of Virginian society and economy while derision grew for slave traders and interregional slave sales on the part of White Virginian elites. Ironically, the vast majority of those engaging in the slave trade were not professional traders but rather slave owners (Deyle, 2005). As prices for slaves in Virginia were driven up based on the demand in the Deep South and Southwest, the interregional slave trade grew. Each decade between 1830 and into the 1850s, one out of every four slaves was forcibly moved in Virginia; in the three decades before the Civil War more slaves were transported from Virginia than had resided in Virginia in 1790, largely to satisfy the labor need for the booming cotton industry in the Deep South (Deyle, 2005). Virginia slave holders emphatically denied that slaves were bred to be sold in Virginia, yet slave narratives confirm that at the first signs of maturation girls as young as 13 and 14 were forced into marriage. Slave owners served as the officiant at the "weddings." These couplings and the offspring which they produced were strongly encouraged if not required. As masters saw young teens spending time together, they were married by "jumping over the broom." While a specific program of breeding may not have been present, it was none the less accomplished. Slave owners successfully litigated the nullification of female slaves who were found to be infertile. The slave holders in and around Danville were determined to protect their slave assets both for the lucrative tobacco industry and the growing business of trafficking slaves born and raised in Virginia to other slave-holding states. The ideology of paternalism evolved both as an

explanation for Abolitionists and Northerners of the benign nature of slavery but also to relieve the internal cognitive dissonance of Southerners faced with the paradox of producing the great liberators of the American Revolution while withholding freedom from a population who by 1860 had grown to almost 4 million people.

The fear of slave insurrection present from the introduction of Africans in the Jamestown colony escalated, pervading the consciousness of the slave masters and their families following several bloody revolts in Virginia. As tensions between Whites and Blacks grew the trauma and violence of slavery became more and more apparent not only in the lives of Blacks, but in lives of Whites as well. Wealth did not protect the slave holder from fears of murder at the hands of their "property," particularly after the 1830 Nat Turner Rebellion resulted in the deaths of more than 70 men, women, and children. In response to the fears of slave rebellion and growing antislavery sentiments of the North, the need for the continuation and strengthening of the justifying narratives for race-based slavery also grew. The result was in an ideology of paternalism which portrayed the slave owner as the benign caretaker of an inferior and childlike race of people who naturally tended toward laziness and were incapable of self-care. As Swanson (2014) explains, a tobacco culture developed in the Southern Piedmont resulting in the unlikely coupling of the poorest White dirt farmers and the elite plantation aristocracy bonded together through the enslavement tens of thousands of Africans. The continuance of this dynamic was necessary for the solidification of both their identities and economy primacy. Deyle (2005) elaborates,

> As residents of the largest state in the South and as some of the most self-deceptive slave owners in the country when it came to their perception of themselves as humane masters…Virginians in particular bristled at the allegation that they mated and sold their slaves. (p. 47)

It was the interregional sale of men, women, and children that was the basis for wealth accumulated by Virginia slaveholders and it was this commerce more than free labor practices that required the development of a justifying narrative for race-based slavery.

The binary to the narrative of paternalism was profit. According to Deyle (2005), the paternalistic narrative of the White slave master caring for the inferior and childlike Black slave dominated Black/White relations in Virginia tobacco country in the decades from 1830 until the start of the Civil War. The paternalism narrative allowed Southerners to portray themselves as caring and concerned about a childlike race of people who, left without the structure of slavery, would fail to thrive; this according to the South was in stark contrast to the capitalistic North. There were, however, proponents of slavery in the North who seized on an inferior differentiation between the races conflated with the paternalistic narrative to advocate for slavery as the most humane condition for a race of people incapable of caring for themselves. As this philosophy became politicized, it was used by pro-slavery supporters to support states' rights in holding slaves as property, Christianizing and civilizing African savages. Contained within in the paternalistic narrative was a definition of the proper role and hierarchy of the slave and master central to the evolution of the Southern social structure.

Rigid boundaries developed between Blacks and Whites in Virginia through the enslavement of Blacks for more than 200 years with the purpose of maintaining control of a growing minority population by White elites. Characterizing Blacks as incapable of literacy, responsibility, and lacking cultural development provided an explanation and justification for their characterization and treatment as property. With a strong sense of their own morality, Virginia slave owners were thoroughly immersed in a self-conception of themselves as benevolent father figures Christianizing and civilizing African slaves who reciprocated with childlike devotion and loyal appreciation of their masters' many kindnesses. In stark contrast to this narrative was the continued Whitening of the African the slave population in Virginia as White masters and their sons raped female slaves, resulting in mixed-race progeny also destined to be human property. Particularly within the tobacco belt, Whites were convinced that Blacks would never be their equal legally, morally, or socially.

A pro-slavery Northerner and former U.S. Secretary of the Navy, J. K. Paulding, published in 1836 a widely disseminated apologetic of the institution of slavery which relied heavily on examples from Virginia. Pivotal to Paulding's perspective was the belief that protections and freedoms under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were meant only for Whites: "The government of the United States, its institutions, and its privileges, belong of right wholly and exclusively to the white men; for they were purchased, not by the blood of the negroes, but by that of our fathers" (Paulding, 1836, p. 42). Letters from two different Virginia slave owners were used by Paulding in his book to promote the "benevolent owner/grateful slave" narrative so popular in the Danville

tobacco-growing country. A letter written in 1836 by a lower Virginia tobacco farmer to Paulding describes the White slave owner's understanding of "the rights and duties of the slave" in the decades before the Civil War:

> In its simplest aspect, as understood and acted on in Virginia, I should say that the slave is entitled to an abundance of good plain food; to coarse but comfortable apparel; to a humble dwelling; to protection when well, and to succor when sick; and, in return that it is his duty to render to his master all the service he can, consistently with perfect health, and to behave submissively and honestly. (Paulding, 1836, p. 186)

The farmer characterizes slave owners as enlightened, humane, and liberal, both to the "soil and the slave who cultivates it," with strong attachments to their "property." Using himself to illustrate the "bond" between master and slave, the farmer sentimentally describes his "faithful" servant who gave up "tender ties" to his wife and family to stay with him, a choice the farmer left entirely to the slave's "discretion" and a situation the farmer takes credit for resolving by purchasing the wife and all but one of the slave's children. The second letter came from a grain farmer in the Shenandoah Valley several counties over from Danville. Owning 160 Blacks, this farmer explained:

> The slaves generally look upon their masters and mistresses as their protectors and friends. They seldom, I am persuaded, think of the injustice or cruelty of being held in bondage, unless they are invited by some Satanic abolitionist. Born slaves, and familiarized with their condition, they have no wish to change it when left to themselves. (Paulding, 1836, p. 205)

Paulding himself made it clear that Blacks were property, not human, with no rights or protections under any founding documents of the United States:

> The slaves of the United States have never been considered as included in any general declaration or constitutional provision, except when expressly designated. They are neither comprehended in the phrase "man," nor "citizen," and constitute exceptions under the general denomination of "all other persons." (Paulding, 1836, p. 44)

In a time when the abolition of slavery had become loudly debated particularly in Virginia, Paulding made it clear that freeing human "property" had no basis in history, religion, or law and should not remotely be considered as a rationale for allowing the Union of the American States to be fractured. He expressed the opinion of slaveholders in every state that supported the institution: No one had the right to interfere in a White citizen's choice to own property—Black slaves.

Economic changes and labor vicissitudes in Virginia from the period of 1830 to the decade before the Civil War created a market for slave owners to hire out slaves to work in smelting, mining, and tobacco-processing plants and railroad building. Depressed tobacco prices encouraged many Whites to leave the Southside area for Southwestern territories. Slaves were hired out to the Richmond and Danville Railroad. The railroad contributed to Danville's rise from a small-sized dusty city to the center of the tobacco trade for farmers and plantation owners in the tobacco belt. With its industrialization Virginia had become the first among Southern states in manufacturing production and labor with even small cities like Danville benefiting from this shift from purely

agricultural to more urban and industrial economy (Morgan, 1992). The disparity between the paternalistic narrative of the slaves as part of the White owner's family and this type of labor leasing arrangement is obvious. Slaves, contrary to popular myths, were not integrated into their owners' families unless this arrangement suited Whites; they were property in which Whites invested and on which they expected and received a return. However, the act by slave owners of labor leasing that separated Black slave families was ultimately a factor in economic well-being for emancipated slaves during the very difficult Reconstruction period. Interviews with former slaves indicate benefits realized both to individual slaves and the larger African American slave community from this type of quasi-paid labor. In many cases, the "subcontracting" of the slave, typically on a yearlong contract that began in January and ended with the Christmas holidays in December, was beneficial economically and socially. In a process labeled "over-work" the leased slave was able to keep some or all of the monies earned working past the number of hours required under the employment contract. Slaves also learned skills that after emancipation helped them immerge from slavery into a capitalist economy.

In the decade before the War, the "tobacco belt" enslaved more than half of Virginia's approximately 500,000 slaves. Virginians owned one third of the total slave population in the United States (Deyle, 2005). One year prior to the start of the Civil War, in Halifax, the county just east of Danville, 54% of Whites owned slaves; some 14,340 slaves lived in Pittsylvania County; and Halifax's slave population of 14,897 was the highest in the state of Virginia (Morgan, 1992; University of Virginia Historical Census Browser, n.d.). Tobacco had become a significant percentage of Virginia's

manufactured goods by 1860, accounting for more than $16 million dollars, a third of the state's manufacturing (Siegel, 1987). As far back as the 1750s Virginia led the opposition to the slave trade to reduce the number of slaves entering the market, contributing to Virginia's lucrative interregional slave trade. As Virginia marketed slaves to the Deep South and West to support labor-intensive cotton agriculture, Virginian politicians fought hard against limits on the expansion of slavery into new territories. Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe expanded slave territory with the purchase of the Florida and Louisiana territories and then worked to ensure that an American-owned slave remained enslaved regardless the territory in which they were located and even if they were shipped there for sale.

The pragmatic response in Danville to the increasing rhetoric regarding secession and war was concern over credit terms given by the agents who marketed Danville's tobacco in the North. As they worked out more favorable terms, tobacco marketing was revived, and Danville was insulated from the financial woes of the 1857 panic. The planters and tobacco manufacturers of Danville and Pittsylvania County strongly supported the South as the aggrieved party in the sectional debate as they stood to lose more than most in Virginia; their assets were largely slaves, and the Northern markets for their tobacco were extremely lucrative. The tobacco belt planters had realized a trifecta with their interstate slave trade: It functioned as successful financial enterprise, it provided a way to deal with recalcitrant Africans by shipping them South, and it kept the population of Blacks within controllable numbers as Whites continued to fear rebellion. As Deyle (2005) explained,

> Virginians successfully promoted the domestic slave trade while maintaining a veneer of self-respect. In large part this was accomplished by their ability to tie the development of the interregional trade to the ideals of the American Revolution. Using both expressions of freedom and a Lockean defense of property, the rhetoric of the Revolution helped to justify their cause. (p. 25)

In a special session of the Virginia General Assembly in 1861, Virginia government officials delineated the requirements for remaining in the Union. Slavery was the preeminent issue. In his message to a special session of the General Assembly in January 1861, Governor Lechter included the protection of the rights of slaveholders, return of fugitive slaves, and protection of slavery in the western territories:

> These guarantees can be given without prejudice to the honor or rights, and without a sacrifice of the interests, of either of the non-slaveholding states. It is the interest of the north and the south to preserve the government from destruction; and they should omit the use of no proper or honorable means to avert so great a calamity. The public safety and welfare demand instant action. (Lechter, 1861, p. 2)

In an 1861 speech to the Virginia Convention Committee of the Whole, James Bruce, the immensely wealthy planter from Halifax County, reiterated that slavery was “distinctly recognized in the Constitution of the United States” and that “it is that the hatred of our Southern institutions and our systems of slavery, a ‘war of opinion,’ leading to a ‘war of the sword’” (Reese & Gaines, 1861, p. 1).

Effects of slavery in the Virginia Piedmont. By the 18th century, as Thomas Jefferson expressed, the moral framework of the planter class in Virginia was shifting to justify the perpetration of violence within the institution of slavery. Interpretation of certain Christian religious beliefs provided a basis for the development of justifying narratives for dehumanizing people of color. The initial targets of this Christianized aggression were the indigenous tribes in the Tidewater and Piedmont areas. In violation of commonly accepted 17th century English value systems, entire families including women and children of these nations were slaughtered by the White planters. The indigenous peoples escaped their genocide, at least temporarily, by continually moving west. Africans, for whom escape was not a viable option, became the new target of this aggression as they provided free labor for tobacco cultivation.

With the violence and brutality initially focused on indigenous people in colonial Virginia redirected toward the slaves, a differentiation occurred between the way Whites perceived Native Americans and Africans. Whites saw Africans as more docile and easily dominated than the Native Americans, misunderstanding the lack of resistance caused by the trauma and shock of enslavement and the exhausting and perilous trip of the Mid-Passage. Blassingame (1972) offers an alternate perspective. He posits Whites in early America either exterminated the war-like hunting tribes or worked the simple food gatherers to death, and when encountering indigenous tribes with agricultural and sedentary experience did enslave them. Regardless of the numbers of indigenous Americans enslaved, they were categorized along with Blacks as subordinate to Whites in accordance with “natural order,” the belief in which originated in Christianity. As a

lawyer for a slaveholder, in 1772 Colonel Bland argued in defense of a suit filed by a group of Indians claiming that they had been unjustly enslaved,

> societies of men could not subsist unless there were a subordination of one to another, and that from the highest to the lowest degree…that in this subordination the department of slaves must be filled by some, or there would be a defect in the scale of order. (Bland as cited in Higginbotham & Kopytoff, 1989)

This summarizes the views of 18th century White Virginians: Indians and Negroes were created inferior and benefited from their enslavement. As Jefferson Davis later explained, "It is a fact which history fully establishes, that through the portal of slavery alone, has the descendant of the graceless son of Noah ever entered the temple of civilization" (Bordewich, 2012, p. 147).

The effects of enslavement on Africans have been well documented. The African American experience was absent of freedom in the presence of unremitting physical violence justified by physical appearance and compounded by the loss of any ancestral or family ties. The 18th and 19th century perceptions regarding the "natural order" of the inferiority and enslavement of people of color encouraged discriminatory treatment and continual diminishment under Virginia law. The processes of social identity formation, categorization, identification, and comparison were in the mechanisms which held together the institution of slavery. Binary categories of White planter master and Black slave identities formed emphasizing Whites as civilized, Christian, and superior and Blacks as inferior, savage, lazy, and incapable of higher levels of reasoning. As the stereotype of Blacks as an out-group was promoted, rigid social boundaries between "us"

and “them” formed the basis for justifying narratives for inhumane treatment. Righteous meanings were applied to morally reprehensible and violent actions including rape, flogging, torture, and child abuse. As Africans were consistently assigned negative, inferior attributions, Whites collectively identified them as an “other,” contrasting “them” and “their” actions against all that was good, pure, positive, and righteous. As social group processes of dehumanization were invoked and Blacks were no longer considered by Whites as human, there were no limits to the depravity to which they could be subjected.

As violence toward people of color was deemed justifiable in the moral framework of the White planters, it impacted both planters and the Africans against whom it was directed. Through the internalization and externalization of the trauma resulting from such violence, the values, cultural, and normative social behaviors of both races underwent reconstruction. Whites appear to have grown increasingly desensitized to the pain they inflicted, and Blacks developed a variety of coping mechanisms, including their own form of religion, kinship, and values which resulted in a strong identity regardless of their inferior treatment. Slaves found solace in the small amount of recreational time they were allowed and enjoyed music, dancing, religion, and family life as a release from the horrors of their everyday existence. While resiliency was apparent in the cultural adaptations of Africans to slavery, self-depreciation and loss of self-worth resulted in incorporation of the value of “Whitening” into their sense of self. As generations of Blacks were subjected to domination by Whites who could legally kill them, some began identifying with the “goodness” of Whites, esteeming whitened skin

colors and features. This resulted in house slaves at times breaking the bonds of loyalty with fellow Africans by reporting acts of rebellion.

Abuse and social isolation were routinely part of the African's enslavement experience. Small children, even babies, were sold from their mothers. African men had no means to protect their mothers, wives, siblings, and children from torture by Whites or sale and transport resulting in lifelong separation. In some cases, there may have been regret on the part of slave owners as they sold children away from their parents, but in all cases enslaved persons were forced to tolerate and accept even the most egregious treatment, internalizing the pain and trauma that resulted. Yet, the slaves were both tenacious and courageous even under the worst of abuse and continued to rebel through whatever means were available, invoking their vision of America: that all people had rights and that freedom would one day come. As Kelly notes in his introduction to the Library of Congress and Smithsonian project *Remembering Slavery*,

> Enslaved Africans and their descendants were and are assigned the impossible role of maintaining stable American race relations. Slaves were instructed on pain of injury not to protest an unhealthy relationship fixed by whites for the benefit of whites. Remarkably, slaves did not obey. They managed to bring on the Civil war; in the process, they destroyed the system of slavery and delivered a more fully realized American democracy. (as cited in Berlin, Favreau, & Miller, 1998, p. vii)

Much information can be gleaned regarding the slave experience through the interviews of former slaves conducted in the late 1930s under President Roosevelt's Work Progress Administrations Federal Writers' Project; from Virginia primary source

documents such as wills, petitions, and court decisions; and in letters and in some instances the autobiographies of freed Africans. Through the Federal Writers' Project more 2,300 slave narratives, interviews of African Americans who had been enslaved, from 17 states were collected and housed at the U.S. Library of Congress. These narratives are also available online. Slavery developed unique characteristics in the agricultural, social, and legal systems of the area in which it was practiced. The Federal Writers' Project narratives along with other primary source documents describing slavery in the Piedmont area illuminate the nature of slavery in Virginia, and where available, in the Danville region. Perceptible differences in the severity of slavery between the Tidewater and Piedmont regions of Virginia appear in the slave narratives of the Federal Writers' Project. As tobacco agriculture moved into the Piedmont and Southside, owners of slaves in the Tidewater area led Virginia in manumitting their slaves. As enslaved people in Virginia evaluated their circumstances, they clearly believed the narrative of their masters regarding the harshness of slavery in the Deep South; the threat of sale to the cotton or sugar plantations was a constant concern to them both out of conviction that they would be worked to death and out of fear of being separated from loved ones.

As is frequently seen in situations of repetitive violence from which there is no escape, many of the slave interviewees idealized their masters while speaking of the horrors endured by others less fortunate. Often speaking of the "good" treatment they received in one sentence, in the next breath they would elaborate on the seemingly insignificant actions that would result in a beating such as being caught praying or with a book or paper. For example, the interview of former slave Elizabeth Sparks begins with

her description of her mistress as a “good” woman, but goes on to qualify this statement: “Course I mean she’d slap an’ beat yer once in a while but she warn’t no woman fur fightin fussin’ an’ beatin’ yer all day” (as cited in *Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 17, Virginia, Berry-Wilson* [*Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project*], 1936-1937, Image 55). Also notable is the consistent statement in the slave interviews that slavery is “too awful to tell.” Most interviews were being conducted by Whites in a timeframe when discriminatory Jim Crow Laws were in effect in Virginia and lynching was commonplace. This likely influenced the way the by-then quite elderly Blacks responded to the interview questions. Even given these potential shortcomings, understanding the nature of slavery as it developed in and around Danville using these source documents can more clearly illuminate how and why society functions as it does there today.

Advertisements for slave sales in Virginia newspapers describe the Africans as “choice,” “healthy,” “fine,” “prime,” “men, women, and children” likely to allay the fears of potential purchasers. Slaves being sold were subject to examination of their bodies in front of a crowd of potential buyers. Minimally clothed, Black women would have their breasts squeezed and men and women both would have their genitals handled and examined while on the auction block. If the purchasing plantations were at great distances from the slave auctions, families were sometimes transported by cart. Frequently slaves were chained together in coffles, traveling days to and from sales.

Plantation life. Once they arrived on the plantation, confused, exhausted, sick, and often depressed, life was rife with deprivation. Particularly for the first slaves for

whom English was unintelligible and had no generational acculturation, plantation life was an endless and inexplicable horror. Slaves typically lived with the minimum of food, clothing, and shelter while forced to labor strenuously in the fields or around the plantation, critically injured by beatings for which they received no medical treatment. Generally, they were provided with two sets of clothes per year, often wearing rags before the next set was supplied. On most plantations slave children did not have shoes and adults wore a homemade variety with wooden soles. Undergarments were made from sacks and bags by the slaves themselves. Furniture was what the slaves could make or scavenge. Former slave Charles Crawley, who emigrated to Petersburg, VA, after Lee surrendered at Appomattox describes the conditions on the Allen plantation:

> For clothin' we wer 'llowed two suits a year—one fer spring, an' one fer winter, was all yo' had. De underclothes wes made at home. Yo' also got two pairs of shoes an' homemade hats an' caps. The white folks or your slave owners would teach dem who could catch on easy an' dey would teach de other slaves, an' dats how dey kept all slaves clothes. Our summer hats were made out of plaited straw, underclothes was made out of sacks an'bags. (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 13)

The slave quarters varied from lean-tos to small cabins or in the case of farms or more modest plantations, additions on the back of the "big house." Slave narratives describe substandard housing, vastly overcrowded and poorly made, seldom keeping their occupants warm or dry in winter winds, rain, or snow. Mrs. Georgina Giwbs recalled the huts her master gave the slaves to live in: "De beds wuz made of long boards dat wuz

nailed to de wall. De mattress wuz stuffed wif straw and pine tags. De only light we had wuz from the de fire-place" (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 19). Slaves worked long days, were frequently beaten into disability, and had little nutrition. Caroline Hunter describes living in one room in the back of the master's house with her parents and three brothers (as cited in Berlin et al., 1998). Former slave Elisabeth Sparks described the working conditions on her plantation in Springdale:

> They work six days fum sun to sun. If they forcin' wheat or other crops, they start to work long 'fo day. Usual work day began when the orn blew n' stop when the horn blow. They git off jes' long 'nuf to eat at noon. Din't have much to eat. They git some suet an' slice a bread fo' breakfast, well, they give the colored people an allowance every week. Fo' dinner they'd eat ash cake baked on blade of a hoe. (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 55)

While the violence of the system of slavery that developed in the Tidewater area of Virginia had significant bearing on the tobacco belt slaves in the late 18th and 19th centuries, the interregional slave trade was arguably the most influential factor in the lives of the slaves in and around Danville.

Joy of kinship. Violence alone was insufficient to control the slaves on the plantations around Danville; it was the fear of being sold South which truly terrified them. It was through the ties of family and community Africans created lives that deflected the horrors of slavery. As Morgan (1975) describes,

> In recent years the study of slavery in the United States has concentrated on the independent culture that men and women from Africa were able to preserve or create in America, despite their forcible dislocation and subjection. Studies have shown their success in a variety of ways: maintain family ties that were subject to dissolution at the whim of their owners; African ways of dancing, singing, and bodily adornment; the creation of new and of hybrid forms of music; the building of a pan-African culture or cultures from the many disparate peoples through together in a strange land. (p. ix)

In the Virginia colony, slaves could be murdered with impunity after a 1699 act decriminalizing their killing by an owner or overseer as a result of "correction" was instituted. Yet slaves continued to be buoyed by the development of relationships and the formation of a unique and strong group identity (Aptheker, 1943). As slave owners fought to keep control of the rising population of Africans, violence increasingly became an integral part of their approach to plantation management.

While beatings and torture were employed regularly by master and overseers, compliance was also gained through the constant threat of slave away from family and friends, a threat that many slaves around Danville saw come to fruition. As Lorenzo Ivy, who lived near Danville during his enslavement explains of his former owner,

> So old Tunstall separated families right an' lef. He tuk two of my auts an'lef dere husbands up heah an' he separated all tergether seven husbands an' wives. One 'oman had twelve chillun. Yessuh separated em all an' tuk 'em south wif him to

Georgy an' Alabamy. (as cited in Virginia Work Progress Administration, Virginia Writer's Project, 1937, System Number: 000506588)

Child slaves. One third of all slaves in the Antibellum period were younger than age 10. Rather than protecting them from sale, their age simply made them more vulnerable to the cruelty and avarice of the system of slavery. According to Deyle (2005) babies as young as two months were taken from their mothers and sold.

Delia Garlic, enslaved for three decades in Virginia, Georgia, and Louisiana, chronicled children and mothers as well as siblings separated by sale, a situation she herself experienced after she ran to avoid a beating, as well as torture she experienced as a child:

> Babies was snatched from dere mother's breas' an' sold to speculators. Chilluns was separated from sister an' brothers an' never saw each other ag'in…. I never seed none of my brothers an' sisters 'cept brother William…. Him an' my mother an' me was brought in a peculator's drove to Richmon' an' put in a warehouse wid a drove of other niggers. Den we was all put on the block an' sol' to the de highes' bidder. I never seed brother Whilliam ag'in. Mammy an' me was sold to…de sheriff of de county. (as cited in Berlin et al., 1998, p. 8-10)

Serving as the nurse for the sheriff's grandchild, the child's mother burned the flesh off of Delia's arm and hand with an iron after hearing the baby cry out while in young Delia's care. She was sold the next day, permanently separated from mother after running from an overseer who was ordered to "beat some sense into her" after she showed signs of fright at the condition of her drunken master.

> I begin to cry an' run in de night; but finally I run back by the de quarters an' heard mammy calling me. I went in, an' right away dey com for me. A horse was standin' in front of de house, an' I was took date very night to Richmon' an' sold to a speculator ag'in. I never seed my mammy any more. (as cited in Berlin et al., 1998, p. 10)

Slave children were both purchased as an investment to be resold in the interregional slave trade and to work on the plantations. As slave prices peaked at various periods in the 19th century even young children could be worth hundreds of dollars. Newspapers regularly advertised small children as young as 4 years old for sale. Louis Hughes, who was born into slavery in Virginia in 1832, was sold the first time at the age of 6 and over the next 6 years 3 more times before being sold in Richmond to a planter in Mississippi at the age of 12. John Parker was first sold at the age of 8 and marched in leg manacles from Norfolk, Virginia, to Richmond for resale. Of Virginia slaves interviewed for Federal Writers Project, many were required to work in a variety of capacities from very early ages and lacked necessities such as access to food, education, or a safe living environment. Often, due to insufficient physical development for the required labor or through severe punishment, slave children were injured. Caroline Hunter, who was born in Suffolk, Virginia, began working at the age of 5 and "a few years after" was put out to the fields to work. Simon Stokes, a former slave who lived and toiled on a tobacco farm in Mathews and later Gloucester County, recalled working as a small boy picking worms off of the tobacco plants. The overseer would give the children the option of eating the worms they missed or being beaten on the back with the lash:

> We sho' didn't like dat job, pickin' worms off de terbaccer plants; fo' our obserseer wuz de meanes old hound you've eber seen, he hed hawk eyes fer seein' de worms on de teraccer, so yo' sho' hed ter git dem all, or you'd habe ter bite all de worms dat you' miss into, ot git three lashes on yo' back wid his old las, and dat was powful bad, wusser den bittin' de worms, fer yo' could bite right smart quick, and dat wua all dat dar wua ter it; but dem lashes done last apow'ful long time. (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 49)

As a slave child in West Point, Virginia, Henrietta King was horribly and permanently disfigured by her mistress when at the age of 8 or 9 she ate a piece of peppermint candy she saw while emptying the "slop" bucket, a daily chore. Unlike other children who had fathers who worked in the fields and could provide extra food, Henrietta had only, as she describes, "little pieces of scrapback throwed at me from de kitchen" for breakfast; one morning she was so hungry that she ate the candy left by her mistress on the washstand. As she twisted to escape being beaten, her head was wedged under a rocking chair to immobilize her while she was whipped. This continued for an hour or so:

> Nex' thing I knew de ole Doctor was dere, an' I was lyin' on my pallet in de hall, an' he was a-pushin' an' diggin' at my face, but he couldn't do nothing' at all wid it. Seem like the dat rocker pressin' on my young bones had crushed 'em all into soft pulp. (as cited in Berlin et al., 1998, p. 20)

For the 86 years since her childhood injury she was unable to chew or take any solid nourishment; the bones were too badly destroyed to grow back. Her injury resulted in lifelong ridicule from others. Georgina Giwbs recounted beginning work in the fields at age 8, using paddles to keep crows from eating the crops (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image19). Charles Grandy began in work as a slave when he was 5 years old on a plantation in Hickory Ground, Virginia. Assigned by his master to pull the grass from the young cotton and other growing crops, he worked from early in the morning until late in the evening. Too tired to walk home, he would fall asleep on the ground and awake in the night, finding it difficult to locate his home. A few years after beginning his slave labor his master ordered him to use a large, sharp knife to cut the tassels off of corn and he was severely cut on his elbow. After the bleeding was stopped, he was sent back out to the fields to pick cotton with his arm in a sling, picking with his teeth and his good hand to avoid a beating or being sold South. Charles's arm became permanently deformed from his injury (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 26).

Black children who remained with their parents were not spared physical abuse and frequently received substandard nutrition and care as their parents worked long hours away from them. Several former slaves recalled nurseries of sorts where, while their parents labored in the fields, small children would be fed mush out of large troughs, eating with their fingers or homemade spoons. Due to concerns of maintaining White control and over fears of insurrection, education was not allowed for slave children, so most were illiterate. Slave narratives from the Federal Writers' Project contain

remembrances of slave children permanently or temporarily blinded by overseers or owners for learning to read. Particularly traumatic for the children was the violence they witnessed against their parents who had no recourse. As the children became aware of the limitations of their parents in protecting them, the vulnerability, lack of control, and chronicity of the violence resulted in sadism.

In his autobiography, Jacob Stroyer, a slave born in 1849 on the plantation of Co. M. R. Singleton, describes an older boy, Gilbert, emulating the whippings he had watched and perhaps received. Gilbert beat smaller slave boys, as frequently as two to three times per week. As horrific as the beatings themselves were, causing the boys' backs to be scarred from the whip lashes, was Gilbert's understanding he would beat them, not because of any transgression, but simply because Gilbert had the power to do so. Before he began the beating, Gilbert told Jacob: "You am a good boy, but I'm gwine wip you to-day, as I wip dem toder boys" (Stroyer, 1889, pp. 9-10).

Slavery in Danville. Slaves in Danville and the surrounding counties of Pittsylvania, Henry, Franklin, and Halifax were devoted 12 months out of the year to tobacco cultivation. As Berlin et al. (1998) describe, plantation hands typically labored in large groups referred to as gangs, supervised by a White overseer and sometimes a slave driver who could be Black. Daily labor requirements and working conditions of slaves working on the farms and plantations around Danville varied depending on the both the master and overseer. While the majority of Africans were "field hands" tending to the tobacco, others were taught skills related to tobacco manufacturing and curing or worked in the warehouses and manufacturing plants in Danville as it began to flourish during the

mid-19th century. While women slaves and children were forced to work in the tobacco fields, they were also domestic workers at the plantation or farm home serving White families and acting as cooks or caretakers to the owner's children. Mrs. Georgina Giwbs recounted the schedule at her plantation: "Work began at sunrise 'nd last 'til sun down. We had a half day off on Sunday, but you won't 'lowed to visit" (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 19).

Gabe Hunt, a slave in the Virginia tobacco belt, recalls one cycle of tobacco cultivation, picking time:

> You see, de fust pickin' come roun' de fust of August. You git de wheat in, den come de tabacco. Ole Marse go roun' plunkin' at de leaves, den one mornin' he say, "Come on boys, git de smoke house in order." …. Spend one day gittin' de bar ready, den de nex' day you go pickin'. Got to pick dem leaves what's jus' startin to brown. Pick 'em too soon day don't cure, an' you pick 'em too late dey bitters. Got to break 'em off clean at de stem an' not twist 'em cause if dy bruised dey spile. Hands git so tuck up I in dat old tobaccy gum it git so yo' fingers stick together. Dat ole gum was de worse mess you ever see. Couldn't brush it off, couldn't wash it off, got to wait to tell it wear off. Spread de leaves on a cyart an' drag it to de barn. Den de women would take each leaf up an' fix de stem 'tween two pices of board, den tie ends together. Den hand 'em all up in dat barn an' let it smoke to days an' two night. Got to keep dat fire burnin' rain or shine, 'cause if it go out it spile de tobaccy. (as cited in Berlin et al., 1998, p. 87)

A small percentage of male slaves in Southside were trained in skilled labor such as blacksmithing, plastering, masonry and leatherwork, or tobacco production, and were leased out in factories in Danville or Lynchburg. Leasing was a common practice in the Piedmont area of Virginia, allowing the master to retain the slave assets while deriving additional income from them. William Johnson, a former slave who was born in Albermarle County in 1840 describes being trained as a butler and subsequently leased to a man in Richmond. His master preferred leasing rather than selling slaves if he had more slaves than he could work; whether the slaves completed the yearlong contract the leasee would still be required to pay the entire contract, a lucrative business proposition for owners (Berlin et al., 1998). William Sutherlin and his partners in their tobacco manufacturing business leased more than half of the slaves they used for tobacco processing.

The slaves' faith. Religion was important in the slaves' lives, providing hope for release from the misery of slavery and belief that in an afterlife Whites would be held accountable for their inhumanity and torture. Religion was also intrinsic to the development of a group identity separate from "slave." Christianity was also used very effectively by Whites as a psychological mechanism for maintaining their power and superiority over the Africans. White preachers overwhelmingly had one sermon for slaves: God willed that they occupy their lowly position and their eternal salvation depended on the patience and forbearance with which they accepted their master's "correction." Particularly among the Episcopal and Presbyterian clergy, the main denominations of the largely Scots-Irish and English slaveholders, sermons invoked Saint

Paul's words in Ephesians regarding the relationship between master and slave to manipulate slaves into submission.

Beverly Jones, a former slave in Virginia, described

> On Sundays they would let us to to church up at Sassafras Stage, near Bethel. Was the fust church for niggers in these parts. Wasn' no white church; niggers built it an' they had a nigger preacher. 'Couse they wouldn't let us have no services lessen a white man was present. Most times the white preacher would preach, then he would set dere listenin' while the colored preacher preached. That was the law at that time. Couldn' no nigger preacher preach lessen a white man was preent, an' they paid the white man what attended the colored services. Niggers had to set an' listen to the white man's sermon, but they didn' want to 'causes they knowed it by heart. Always took his text from Ephesians, the white preacher did, the part what said, "Obey your masters, be good servant." (as cited in Berlin et al., 1998, p. 192)

Rather than accept the planters' religion, which often cast Whites themselves as a deity, slaves imagined a God who cared about their suffering and to whom they could pray for relief and ultimately freedom. Blacks focused on Bible stories, particularly from the Old Testament, of salvation and freedom.

Blassingame (1972) reports that a syncretistic mix of African and Christian religions developed among slaves, incorporating both their experience of enslavement and their African heritage and beliefs into their worship. Caroline Johnson Harris, a slave in Caroline County, Virginia, described her marriage ceremony, conducted by another

slave, Ant Sue, as a mixture of Christian beliefs and superstition. All of the slaves on the plantation were asked to pray for the couple, both that they have numerous children and that none would be sold away. The pronouncement of marriage included both “in de eyes of Jesus” and high steps over a broom stick so that no spell would be cast harmful to the couple (as cited in Berlin et al., 1998, p. 126). Slave religious services were much more emotional than those of the Whites and included clapping, shouting, dancing, and singing to spirituals that plaintively described their suffering and hopes for freedom and provided an emotional release from their daily oppression.

Faith that a supreme being was attuned to their suffering helped slaves conquer hopelessness regarding their circumstances and fear of Whites who could damage and control their bodies, but not their spirits. Hymns validating that in Heaven the families splintered by the sale of members would be reunited were sung as a consolation to both those being sold and the family and loved ones forced to leave. Former slave Jacob Stroyer, who after the Civil War was able to gain an education and became a Black preacher in Massachusetts, recollects such a song being sung at the sale of his sisters: “When we all meet in Heaven, There is no parting there; When we all meet in Heaven, There is no Parting more” (as cited in Blassingame, 1972, p. 69).

While some slaves were able to participate in religious services either with Whites or on their own, freedom of worship was largely curtailed as fears of insurrection grew, particularly following the Turner rebellion in 1830. White citizens formed militia patrol groups, known to slaves as paddy rollers, attempting to identity worship services as they were being conducted. The Whites would severely beat and arrest those caught

worshipping. Mrs. Minnie Fulkes, who was enslaved in Chesterfield County, recalled both worship on her plantation and what her mother had experienced earlier under a previous master:

> In dem back days child, meetings was carried on jes like we do today, somewhatly. Only difference is the slave dat knowed th' most 'bout de Bible would tell and explain what God had told him in a vision (yo' young folks say, "dream") dat dis freedom would come to pass; an' den dey prayed fer dis vision to come to pass. (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 15)

Describing her mother's experiences, she said,

> Slaves would put a great big iron pot at the door, an' you know some times dey would fer git to put ol' pot dar an' the paddy rollrs wold come an' horse whip every las' one of 'iem, jes cause poor souls were praying to God to free 'em from dat awful bondage. (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 15)

Ishrael Massie, a preacher himself, described the clandestine prayer meetings he attended while enslaved in Virginia. The slave leader, Jim Bennett, preached "doctrine" since Whites forbade slaves to see a Bible even if they could read. Preacher Bennett came prepared both with a message and a long knot of lightwood which he would stick close to the fire, drawing the pitch out. If the "paterrolers" knocked at the door, he would run to the fireplace and begin waving the torch until the pitch would fly into the faces of the

“paterrolers,” burning them while the slaves escaped into the night (as cited in Berlin et al., 1998, p. 203).

Rape and sexual assault. Sexual relationships within the context of slavery in Virginia were reflective of White privilege and Black marginalization and powerlessness. White men were not punished for the rape of Black women while Black men, even in cases of consensual sexual relations with a White woman, were frequently condemned to death. From the earliest days of Jamestown rape was punishable by death in colonial Virginia, apparently a widespread problem as sexual crimes made up half of the capital crimes in Jamestown’s first decades. It was not until 1796 that the death penalty was abolished for free persons for all crimes except capital murder (Higginbotham & Kopytoff, 1989). By 1823 the death penalty for rape was reimposed for Black men, free and slave, but only if the victim was White. Even the attempted rape of a White women by a Black man was punishable by death. As Higginbotham and Kopytoff (1989) explain, this change was due to increasing concerns regarding the maintenance of racial boundary lines, the protection of White racial purity and the domination of Whites over Blacks. The bodies of White women were to be protected because of their symbolism of the virtue, values, and purity of Whiteness; their belonging and relationship as cultural currency to White men. As such, the rape of White women became an important component of the fears of Whites over slave insurrections. Even in cases where the accused slaves had Whites attesting to their character, the law demanded the conviction of the slave in cases of Black men accused of raping White women. In an 1808 case a slave name Peter was

convicted of the rape of a White woman, Patsy Hooker, although 62 citizens of Hanover County petitioned the Governor for mercy (Higginbotham & Kopytoff, 1989, p. 152).

By 1825 Virginia General Assembly passed a statute that voluntary sexual relations between free Black or mulatto men and White women when could be treated as rape. Higginbotham and Kopytoff (1989) posit that slaves were excluded from the statute since a White woman choosing to have sex with her slave or another White person's slave was illustrating her dominion over him; legislators did not desire the elimination through the death penalty of valuable slave property because of miscegenation. In contrast to the importance in Virginia of protecting White women from even consensual sexual relationships with Black men, as property Black women had no such protection, even as young girls. Their value was relative to their ability to satisfy the needs of White men, serving in whatever capacity they dictated. Black women and girls were susceptible to rape and sexual abuse by Whites with impunity and severely punished for any resistance. As former slave Henry Bib wrote:

> a poor slave's wife can never be…true to her husband contrary to the will of her master. She can neither be pure nor virtuous, contrary to the will of her master. She dare not refuse to be reduced to a state of adultery at the will of her master…. (as cited in Blassingame, 1972, p. 89)

Former slave Mrs. Fannie Berry described a White man's attempt to rape her as a young girl: "One tried to throw me but he couldn't. We tusseled an'knocked over chairs an' when I got a grip I scratched his face all to pieces; and dar wuz no more bothering Fannie from him" (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-

1937, Image 5). Most such attempts had a very different outcome. Mrs. Minnie Fulkes describes her mother's torture at the hands of an overseer on a plantation in Chesterfield County, Virginia, whose demands for sex she resisted:

> Dar was an' overseer who used to tie mother up in the barn with a rope aroun' her arms up over her head, while she stood on a block. Soon as dey got her tied, dis block was moved an' her feet dangle, yo' know – couldn't tech de flo'. Dis old man, now, would start beatin' her nokkid 'til the blood run down her back to her heels. I took an' seed th' whelp an' scars for my own self wid dese here two eyes. It was a whip like dey use to use on horses, it wus a piece of leather 'bout as wide as my han' from little finger to thumb. After dey had beat my mama all dey wanted another overseer. Lord, Lord, I hate white people and de flood waters gwine drown some mo. Well honey dis man would bather her in salt and water. Don't you kno' dem places was a hurtin. An' mama say, if he didn't treat her dis way a dozen times, it wasn't nary one. (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 14)

While the sexual abuse of Black women of Whites was clearly deleterious, the inability of the Black man to protect his wife or daughters from the Whites had emasculating effects. As Blassingame (1972) explains, "The most serious impediment to the man's acquisition of status in his family was his inability to protect his wife from the sexual advances of whites and the physical abuse of his master" (p. 88). Former slave Austin Steward describes slave husbands as having to "submit without a murmur" when their wives were flogged (as cited in Blassingame, 1972, p. 88).

As Aptheker (1943) describes, carefully selected slaves assigned to particular members of the master's family throughout their lives developed strong attachments that were exploited by owners to control the general population of slaves. These slaves, who provided domestic rather than field work, often received preferential treatment and began to identity with their captors, reporting back plans of insurrection or descent. Fredrick Douglass recalls this process, "Slaveholders are known to have sent spies among their slaves to ascertain if possible their views and feelings in regard to their condition" (as cited in Aptheker, 1943, p. 61). Aptheker (1943) also quotes a letter from Mrs. Martha Nelson of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, to Governor Henry Wise, asking for a pardon for her domestic slave, Coleman, whom she describes as being "devoted" to her and "would inform on the negroes, as soon as any white person would, if he knew or suspected anything wrong was planning among them…such a servant ought not to be sent away particularly in these perilous times of insurrection" (p. 63). Concerns about slave children repeating conversations overheard in the slave quarters frequently necessitated in harsh punishment as such retelling could result in the death of parents at the hands of overseers or owners fixated on signs of impelling rebellion.

Frequently, enslaved Blacks longed for and frequently sought their freedom either by running from their White captors or through violent rebellion. According to Blassingame (1972), runaways were most frequently "extremely resourceful…young, robust men" (p. 112-113). A review of 134 runaway slave notices from 18th century newspapers revealed that 76% of runaways were under the age of 35 and 89% of them were men (Blassingame, 1972, p. 113). Slaves appreciated the great risks associated with

running; former slaves described how the brutality of their treatment made the risk an acceptable option. Some remained in the woods for years, gathering and hunting rather than submit to the inhumane punishment of their masters and overseers. Communities were formed by runaway slaves, lasting in some cases for years before being detected by Whites. As former slave Charles Crawley described:

> When slaves ran away they were brought back to their Master and Mistress; when dey coun't catch 'em they didn't bother, but let 'em go. Sometimes de slaves would goan' take up an' live at tother places; some of 'em lived in de woods off of takin' things, sech as hogs, corn, an' vegetables from other folks' farm. Well, if dese slaves was caught, dey were sold by their new masters to go down South. (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 11)

Runaways who were captured were beaten, imprisoned in stocks, unable to travel to see their wives or families, and at times were fitted with metal helmets protruding from which were prongs that held small bells. Despite the physical pain of the beatings, the carrying out of the threat to be sold to the Deep South was the punishment runaways feared most. While statistics bear out that the majority of runaways were men, women too ran from especially cruel overseers or masters. Elisabeth Sparks, interviewed at Mathews Court House, Virginia, January 13, 1937, told of women being beaten so severely on the plantation where she was enslaved that they escaped into the woods:

> Beat women jes' lak men. Beat women naked an' wash 'em down in brine, some time they beat 'em so bad, they jes couldn't stand it an' they run away to the woods. If yer git in the woods, they couldn't git yer. Yer could hide an' people

slip yer somepin' to eat. Then he call yer every day…. Foreman git yer to come back an' then he beat yer to death again. (as cited in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 55)

While few slaves learned to read and write, those who did frequently used it to their own and others' advantage in facilitating escape. One such individual was Joe Sutherland, a coachman in Goochland, Virginia, who had become literate while making frequent trips to the courthouse with his master. Using his skills to help others, he also developed a "big" business as slaves paid for him to forge passes with the county seal, allowing them to escape to free states. After he was caught Joe was kept in shackles until he was sold South to Mississippi (Berlin et al., 1998).

Rebellions and revolts. Herbert Aptheker's (1943) volume, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, was dedicated to the documentation of Black slave revolts as a response to the institution of slavery. In large part Aptheker desired to prove that while many American historians in the mid-20th century emphasized the passivity of Blacks regarding their enslavement and frequently characterized this response as an inherent "racial" quality, there was significant evidence to the contrary. Aptheker's scholarship indicates that slaves were far from docile and, particularly in Virginia, Whites' fears of insurrection were well founded. Slaves were willing to risk their lives for freedom. As the weariness of the Africans regarding their inhumane treatment grew, the frequency and seriousness of rebellions in Virginia increased, resulting in the escalation of cruelty and the use of legal and social mechanisms, as well as the employment of Virginia and federal military forces to control the slave population.

As former slave Charles Crawley explained: “Slaves who were beat an’ treated bad; some of dem had started gittin’ together an’killin’ de white folks when dey carried dem out to the field to work” (as cited in *Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 13). While more than 60 Whites were killed in the Nat Turner Rebellion of 1831, seldom were insurrections of that order of magnitude. Yet the effect of even a few murders was tremendous; planters and their families began to believe that massive insurrection was imminent, creating trauma and paranoia for Whites. Former slave Fannie Berry recalled her Mistress, Miss Sara Ann, years before the Civil War, “comin’ to de window an’ hollerin’ ‘De niggers is arisin’! De niggers is arisin’! De niggers is killin’ all de white folks, killin’ all de babies in de cradle!’” (as cited in *Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937, Image 4). Attacks against slaveholders regularly occurred in Virginia. Enslaved Blacks devoted considerable time and effort to discussing and planning open revolts against the institution of slavery through well-planned attacks on their White owners.

As opposed to the particular and perhaps harsher development of slavery in and around Danville, some historians have argued that the system of slavery in late 18th century Tidewater Virginia was more open than the Southside region. Several of the most well-known Virginia slave insurrections did take place in the Tidewater area including Gabriel’s rebellion in Henrico County in 1800 which involved some one thousand slaves armed with swords, bayonets, and 500 bullets according to a letter sent from Virginia Governor Monroe to Thomas Jefferson (Aptheker, 1943) and Nat Turner’s Rebellion in South Hampton in 1831. However, there is ample documentation of revolts, resistance,

and destruction of property in the Piedmont tobacco belt including direct attacks on Whites such as poisoning and arson. Even the continual violent and often deadly response on the part of Whites to such slave resistance did not stem the tide of rebellion in Virginia, terrorizing the Whites who sought to maintain their supremacy and wealth. By 1840 Virginia was operating under a type of martial law, with state and federal militia engaged in controlling slaves while individual White men grouped together as "patrollers" in a neighborhood watch type effort to arrest and punish Blacks who violated laws against assembly or travel.

During a 150-year period in Virginia beginning in the mid-17th century there was a nonlinear but spiraling escalation of physical violence between enslaved Africans and their White captors. In 1663 the first conspiracy involving Africans occurred in Virginia as White indentured servants and Blacks joined together in Gloucester County to overthrow their masters. A White informer was rewarded five thousand pounds of tobacco for betraying the plots which resulted in those involved being decapitated and their heads displayed on local chimneys (Aptheker, 1943). Nine years later fugitive slaves formed small armed groups in various locations of the colony, engaging in "many mischiefs of very dangerous consequences," forming bases at various plantations. The Virginia House of Burgesses urged their capture by force, with no punishment if the outlaws were killed (Aptheker, 1943). According to Aptheker (1943), a large-scale insurrection took place in the Northern Neck of Virginia in 1687, the organizers of which were intersected and executed before they implemented their plan to exterminate Whites. Four years after the Northern Neck insurrection a slave named Mingoe with a group of

followers ravaged plantations in Rappahannock County, appropriating both livestock and firearms. Governor Andros of Virginia issued a proclamation in 1695 condemning the lack of enforcement of acts designed to prevent rebellion, demanding both strict enforcement and for his proclamation to be read in all large public gatherings of Whites. A plot uncovered in Surry, James City, and Isle of Wight involved both Indian and Black slaves who, according to a special investigation conducted by the Governor, formed a "Dangerous Conspiracy" (Aptheker, 1943). One of slaves, Peter, eluded capture for a year, as in 1710 a reward of 10 pounds was offered for his capture, dead or alive. Almost simultaneous to the 1709 revolt, another occurred in Surry and James City on Easter Day 1710. This revolt involved only Blacks, two of whom were executed in June of that year. In October of 1710 Governor Spotswood called for a stronger militia likely as a result of the "disturbances among the slaves in three of the counties" (Aptheker, 1943, p. 171).

A rebellion involving two or three counties was discovered and put down in 1722, according to a report made by Virginia Governor Drysdale back to London. The leaders were found guilty of unlawful assembly and "contriving and conspiring to kill and destroy very many" and were sentenced to either three years of incarceration or sale and transport out of the colony. Governor Drysdale went on to explain in his letter that "I can forsee no other consequence of this conspiracy than the stirring up the next Assembly to make more severe laws for the keeping of their slaves in greater subjection" (Drysdale, 1722, as cited in Aptheker, 1943, p. 176). After a 1723 plot by slaves of Middlesex and Gloucester Counties, the House of Burgesses adopted a measure to sell and send them out of the colony and Governor Drysdale put into effect the plan he had described in his 1722

letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations. In his message to the General Assembly he remarked,

> Your laws seem very deficient in the due punishing any intended Insurrection of your Slaves.... I am persuaded you are too well acquainted with the Cruel dispositions of those Creatures, when they have it in their power to destroy or destress, to let Slipp this faire opportunity of making more proper Laws against them. (Drysdale, 1723, as cited in Aptheker, 1943, p. 177)

According to Aptheker (1943) the legislature agreed and passed additional regulations including the death penalty for conspiracy and forbidding all but licensed meetings of both slaves and free Blacks, which 12 years later justified to the Commission the necessity of taking away liberties from free Blacks who, according to then-Governor Gooch, “ever will adhere to and favour the slaves” (as cited in Aptheker, 1943, p. 179).

Lieutenant Governor Gooch called for greater training of the militia following the insurrection of slaves in 1729 in the Blue Ridge Mountains. An indeterminate number fled their plantations, taking with them both agricultural implements, guns, and ammunition, resulting in an armed battle before being subdued. The next year more conspiracies were put down as a rumor spread through the Virginia slave population that Colonel Spotswood had arrived in Virginia with authority from the King to free all slaves who had been baptized. Leaders of this rebellions were arrested and severely beaten, but just six weeks later in violation of the assembly laws, 200 slaves assembled to implement an insurrection while Whites were at church. Four of the leaders of this plot were executed, with the hope that the slaves would now “rest contented with their condition”

(Aptheker, 1943, p. 179). The fears of Whites following these rebellions were at such a level that colonists were ordered to more strictly enforce laws prohibiting assembly of Blacks and carry firearms with them to church (Aptheker, 1943). Rebellions moved to Northern Virginia and in 1767 slaves in Alexandria poisoned several overseers resulting in the execution of the accused and display of their heads on the chimneys of the courthouse (Aptheker, 1943).

Following a widespread rebellion in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822 led by freedman Denmark Vesey, escaped Blacks in Norfolk County, Virginia, killed some Whites and terrified others, prompting an article in the Norfolk *Herald* which read in part:

> No individual after this can consider his life safe from the murdering aim of these monsters in human shape. Every one who has haply rendered himself obnoxious to their vengenance, must, indeed, calculate on sooner or later falling a victim. (Aptheker, 1943, p. 276)

In response to discussions by the Western part of Virginia for improved participation in the governance of state, a constitutional convention was held 1829-1830 at which emancipation was earnestly discussed. This seemed to have given Blacks more hope of freedom, which fueled their determination to resist their captivity. While debates regarding slavery now included discussions of the morality and legality along with presentations from the Virginia Colonization Society, the majority of White planters were far from ready to concede the end to the institution of slavery.

In the decades before the Civil War, the increasing number of slave insurrections gave birth to a hopefulness on the part of Blacks that the words of the Bill of Rights and the ideals of freedom and liberty espoused during the American Revolution would apply also to them. As the slave Gabriel invoked at his trial in Richmond:

> I have nothing more to offer than what General Washington would have had to offer, had he been taken by the British and put to trial by them. I have adventured my life endeavouring to obtain the liberty of my countrymen, and am a willing sacrifice to their cause: and I beg, as a favour, that I may be immediately led to execution. (Aptheker, 1943, p. 224)

The seriousness and frequency of slave rebellions in Virginia, which Governor Giles described in a "preamble and advice to the Council of Virginia" as having "spread widely and disquieted the minds of many of the good Citizens of the Commonwealth" resulted in a push toward the militarization of the Virginia to combat "the spirit of insubordination" (Aptheker, 1943, p. 285).

To combat the growing rebelliousness of Blacks, volunteer companies were armed in a total of 59 counties and the cities of Lynchburg, Richmond, Petersburg, and Norfolk, all of which had significant African populations, to prevent insurrection. Soon, not even state militia were sufficient to calm the fears of Whites. By 1830, the year before the Turner rebellion, the garrison at Fort Monroe, Virginia, was augmented by five federal companies drawn from the northern seaboard due to fears of insurrection in the state. These resources and more were brought to bear by Whites to squelch the rebellion.

Internalization of inferiority. The institutionalization of race-based slavery began an intergenerational indoctrination of Africans into a social construction of inferiority. The goal of White planters, explains Aptheker (1943), "was to make slavery appear as an inseparable constituent of the whole way of life; to make slavery so acceptable that it would go unquestioned" (p. 55). As former slave Thomas Jones explains, "I was born a slave…I was made to feel, in my boyhood's first experience, that I was inferior and degraded, and that I must pass through life in a dependent and suffering condition" (as cited in Blassingame, 1972, p. 97). Similarly, freed slave Lunsford Lane's painful description is,

> When I began to work, I discovered the difference between myself and my master's white children. They began to order me about, and were told to do so by my master and mistress…. Indeed all things now made me feel, what I had before known only in words, that I was a slave. Deep was this feeling, and it preyed upon my heart like a never dying worm. I saw no prospect that my condition would ever be changed. (as cited in Blassingame, 1972, p. 97)

Delia Garlic characterized slavery as the ownership by Whites of Blacks:

> It's bad to belong to folks that own you soul an' body; dat can tie you up to a tree, wid yo' face to de tree an' yo' arms fastened tight aroun' it; who take a long curlin' whip an' cut de blood ever'lick. Folks a mile away could hear dem awful whippings. Dey was a turrible part of livin'. (as cited in Berlin et al., 1998, pp. 8-9)

As the start of the Civil War grew nearer, the planters of Pittsylvania and Halifax Counties had never sold more tobacco for a greater price; those like William Sutherlin who both cultivated and processed tobacco had never been wealthier. Manufactured tobacco accounted for a third of the value of all the state's manufacturing in 1860 (Siegel, 1987). Planters in the counties surrounding Danville had every reason to maintain the institution of slavery, creating a mythology of heroic ancestors who fought for American democracy. Damaged by the perpetration of violence against an enslaved people, the planters relied on a shared cultural understanding that involved a schema—a perceiving, imaging, remembering, thinking, and reasoning—of Blacks as morally and cognitively inferior. As members of the White planter social group, they acquired a social framework that justified, sanctified, and even valorized their enslavement and violence against people of color.

Danville in the Civil War and Reconstruction

As the Civil War drew near, the planter identity of the Danville elite with its rigid beliefs regarding White superiority, slavery, and devotion to tobacco cultivation took a pragmatic entrepreneurial turn. While Danville's citizens shared the perspectives of their southern neighbors regarding the priority of maintaining the institution of slavery, men like William Sutherlin saw the impending threat to the Union as equally threating to their growing financial empire. Northern markets provided access to European markets for the bright leaf tobacco which was now the region's specialty and greatest wealth producer. Secession from the Union, which would close this lucrative sales opportunity, was not in the best interest of the Southside planters. Representatives from Danville and Pittsylvania

County voted to remain in the Union as the first vote of the Convention of Southern Rights was cast in Richmond on April 4, 1861. Regardless of their emotional connection to the Southern cause, the planters had much the same issue with the Confederate States of America as with the Union: property rights. As the war progressed and manpower shortages grew critical, Pittsylvania County planters simply refused to allow their slaves to be impressed by the Confederate government. While the farmers of the outlying counties went to war, many of the region's elite sons worked desperately to avoid military service. Much as they had with Blacks, Whites in Southside demonized Northerners, characterizing their views on abolition as "hate" for Southern institutions, while simultaneously terrorized by the potential of losing the social, legal, and economic structure of their life. As Jefferson Davis retreated from Virginia following Lee's surrender at Appomattox and emancipation occurred, planters and Danvillians were both in shock and denial. Not only was there immediately criticism of Jefferson Davis, but leaders in Danville quickly acquiesced to Northern rule as a federal military government took control. Emancipation, however, while legally ending slavery in the Danville region, practically changed little. Many planters held back the news of their freedom from slaves and others immediately worked with corrupt individuals within the Freedmen's Bureau to find a way of continuing to enslave and violently subdue Blacks outside of the structure of slavery. Reconstruction was a great hardship on the ex-slaves, many of whom lived in the same or greater poverty after emancipation than when they were legally property. With almost 40,000 slaves freed in the 3 counties surrounding Danville, a new system of tobacco cultivation acceptable to Whites and Blacks alike would have to evolve while

racial relations developed a new equilibrium. While substantial gains were made for Blacks by the end of the first two decades after the war, by the 1880 Whites in Danville simply refused to acknowledge Blacks as their social equals and a backlash began which escalated into violence and toward again legalizing discriminatory practices against them.

War approaches. By 1860 Sutherlin was Danville's 39-year-old mayor, president of the local bank, and owner of an agricultural empire that by 1875 included 12 farms and more than 7,000 acres in Virginia and Georgia plus numerous lots and buildings in Danville ("Maj. William T. Sutherlin," 1875). His tobacco business had now been functioning for close to 20 years, and he was "among the most wealthy and influential men of the State" ("Maj. William T. Sutherlin," 1875, p. 596). He and wife Jane had just finished building a large, ornate Italian villa on four acres on Main Street in the center of Danville, the town residence they shared with their 9-year-old daughter Janie. On the eve of the war, Sutherlin was a man whom the town looked up to. In the years following the war Sutherlin was considered "one of the most enterprising and successful farmers in Virginia…an enterprising, practical business man" ("Maj. William T. Sutherlin," 1875, p. 597). A world away from the suffering and deprivation of the slaves on their nearby plantations, in 1860 Danville was a bustling, well-to-do city of 6,000 people, many of whom, like the Sutherlins, owned both country and city homes. The city's station, close to the Dan River, had welcomed its first train in 1856. Danville in 1860 had a lovely Main Street with some of the finest Victorian and Edwardian homes in Virginia and a plentiful selection of churches for the spiritual enlightenment of its pious citizenry including the Church of the Epiphany Episcopal, First Baptist, and First

Methodist Church. High-quality bright leaf tobacco was regularly being auctioned in the city's warehouse district. Schooling was available for the education of young planter class men and women. The first school for young women, the Danville Female Institute, had opened in 1854 and was replaced by the Baptist Female Seminary in 1858, which in 1860 became the Union Female College. In 1864, embarrassed by the "Union" in the name, the school was renamed Roanoke Female College. Young men, like Sutherlin himself, attended the Danville Male Academy.

With the election of Abraham Lincoln, Danville's citizens turned toward protecting the prosperous way of life which they had constructed based on slave cultivation of tobacco. Increasingly, discussions regarding secession from the Union and military preparation occupied the wealthier classes in Danville. A new militia company, the Danville Blues, had so quickly filled up that a second Danville Company, the Greys, had been created on November 9, 1859. Still largely a social organization in the pre-war years, the Greys sponsored a ball on July 4, 1860, at the Masonic Building that William Sutherlin had helped finance during the city's growth spurt in the 1840s. July 4th in Danville was no longer being celebrated as Independence Day from British rule, but had a new connotation recognizing the birth of the Confederate States of America. Most of Danville's young men were serving either in the 18th Virginia Infantry or Cabell's Danville Battery (Robertson, 1961). Symbolic of Danville's support of the war efforts, by 1861 the bell of the Episcopal Church of the Epiphany on Main Street was silent on Sunday mornings; it had been donated to the Confederate government and melted down to make armaments. A small arms foundry had opened beside the Dan River and tobacco

warehouses had been converted into supply depots and a convalescent hospital with a hospital for smallpox cases established in the Black section of Danville known as "Poor House Hill" (Robertson, 1961).

With the majority of counties in the tobacco belt eager to join South Carolina's secession, a Convention of Southern Rights was convened in Richmond. Eastern regions of the state opposed secession, demanding that the convention adjourn or vote to keep Virginia in the Union. On April 4, 1860, the first vote regarding secession failed to pass. Danville and Pittsylvania County were represented by William Sutherlin and William Tredway, both of whom voted no on April 4th, contrary to the yes position of virtually every other county in the tobacco belt. After much debate and following an impassioned speech by former governor and slave owner Henry A. Wise, a large horse pistol prominently displayed on his desk in the Chamber of the House of Delegates for effect, the vote was retaken on April 17. The vote to secede from the Union passed and this time with both Sutherlin and Tredway voting for secession. Wealthy Halifax planter James C. Bruce was among the 92 delegates to the Convention who signed the Ordinance of Secession.

Bruce also made an impassioned speech at the Virginia State Convention in 1861 stressing the intertwining of the races in Virginia that, if severed, would result in political death. Bruce goes on to declare that the North's opinions regarding slavery would never change and would be continually be a source of conflict that would inevitably end in "a war of the sword." According to Bruce, "this subject of slavery is not a question of dollars and cents" but that the slaves are

> now so inter-twined with our social habits and interest, and laws, that to sever the connection must be political death even if done with the tenderest hand…it is that the hatred of our Southern institutions and our system of slavery, is deeply, irradacably ingrafted into the minds of the Northern people. (as cited in Reese & Gaines, 1861, p. 241)

The Ordinance of Secession was ratified by a referendum passed by voters on May 23, 1861. The referendum repealed Virginia's 1788 ratification of the Constitution of the United States and repealed the General Assembly's votes to ratify amendments to the Constitution. Unbeknownst to Virginia Governor Letcher, Virginia at this point was on the verge of a military coup. Henry Wise had personally ordered the Virginia militia to seize the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry and the navy yard at Portsmouth should the ordinance fail to pass (Feinberg, 2007).

While thousands of people in many parts of Virginia suffered greatly during the Civil War, such was not the case in the Danville. The exception was federal prisoners. who died in droves of exposure and starvation in filthy, unsanitary, conditions. Unlike much of northern Virginia, Danville was relatively untouched by combat. While Siegel (1987) indicates that Danville was thriving with its tobacco trade during the war, Robertson (1961) characterizes a food shortage, at least by 1864, with prices greatly inflated. Bacon had risen to four dollars per pound, biscuits four dollars per dozen and five dollars per dozen for eggs (Robertson, 1961). In Pittsylvania and Halifax Counties shortages were apparently more immediately felt; as early as fall 1862 prices rose and availability dropped leading to increasing hunger and discontentment among area troops

concerned about their families (McClurken, as cited in Swanson, 2014). Confederate greenbacks became so devalued that food became unaffordable for many, while warehouses in Danville were stockpiled with food rations designated for the Confederate soldiers.

Federal army prisons. Offering the benefit of the Richmond and Danville (R&D) railroad line, the Confederate government selected Danville as a supply center and holding site for federal Army prisoners who were transported to the city in box cars. Sutherlin was appointed commandant of the military post at Danville making him responsible for the prisons, as well as chief quartermaster. Upon the wounding of his friend Colonel Robert E. Wither at a battle near Richmond, Wither replaced him as Commandant and the six prisons were put under the Wither's command. Colonel Wither was a 46-year-old physician who after the war served as lieutenant governor of Virginia and as a United States Senator. Although the expense of food may explain a plainness of diet, particularly given the continued flourishing of tobaccos markets in Danville, cost of food alone is not sufficient to explain the inhumanity of the treatment of the federal prisoners.

A month after the first prisoners arrived, a smallpox epidemic swept through the city. Petitions signed by local shopkeepers, the local Board of Health, and the mayor and City Council implored the Confederate Government to move the prisons based on concerns for the city populace from the unsanitary conditions and odor emanating from the hospitals (Robertson, 1961). No answer was forthcoming. Barely able to stand or walk as they were weakened from chronic diarrhea, scurvy, and starvation, many

succumbed to the smallpox. Guards began to routinely fire rifles at prisoners standing in front of the prison windows gasping for air in the stench of the human waste and death. Skeletal, filthy, and diseased, the federal soldiers were largely ignored by Danville's citizens. Several soldiers after the war remembered the kindness of Dr. Levi Holbrook; Reverend Hall, pastor of the Methodist Church; and in particular George Dame, rector of the Episcopal Church. The good deeds of these citizens to the prisoners became renowned throughout the federal armies (Robertson, 1961). Confederate officers put in charge of the six prisons varied in the enormity of the cruelty with which they treated the prisoners, but routinely the prisoners suffered from neglect, massive overcrowding, and inhumanity. Food was dumped on the floors covered with dried feces rather than served on plates or trays. Lice, fleas, overcrowding, and frigid temperatures with no blankets and rags for clothes made conditions unbearable. During the winter of 1864-1865 atypical cold coupled with disease and starvation resulted in the death of 500 men in a three-month period from November to January. In keeping with the racial caste system in Danville, Black prisoners were segregated from Whites and confined to one floor of a single prison. They were forced to labor next to impressed slaves digging trenches around the city to increase the city's fortifications (Swanson, 2014). At least one Black prisoner claimed that Black troops faced the additional threat of local planters claiming they were runaway slaves and using them to supplement their slave labor force in the tobacco fields (Swanson, 2014).

In January of 1865, Lieutenant Colonel A. S. Cunningham of the Confederate Army made an official inspection of the prisons in Danville. His findings included the following observations:

> The prisons at this post are in a very bad condition, dirty, filled with vermin, little or no ventilation, and there is an insufficiency of fireplaces for the proper warmth of the Federal prisoners therein confined. This could be easily remedied by a proper attention on the part of the officers in charge and dictated by a sense of common humanity…. This state of things is truly horrible, and demands the immediate attention of higher authorities. (Robertson, 1961)

As in their treatment of Blacks, through the processes of social identity formation, categorization, identification, and comparison Danville residents were able to contradict the humanity of the federals. As the Northern prisoners were dehumanized by the guards and officers, they no longer were deserving of humane treatment. The thousands of "Yankees" in the factories, as Robertson (1961) explains, were simply viewed as representatives of armies sent to conquer their land and subjugate them. Contradicting both the diary descriptions of the prisoners of rotting, maggot- and weevil-infested food, and the official inspection report in 1865, Pittsylvania County resident William Sours wrote to his family in the North of the prisoner's complaints, "so far as rations was concerned they got the same the soldiers got but corn bread and beef did not suit those who never lived on corn" (Sours, as cited in Swanson, 2014, p. 139). In 15 months in Danville the number of federal prisoners had dwindled from 7,000 to 3,000 at their release in March of 1865.

Danville flourishes. According to Siegel (1987), while there were food shortages in Pittsylvania County, Danville experienced wartime growth. There the most serious impact of the war for the city was the disturbance of its northern and foreign tobacco markets. Also inconvenient was the loss of warehouse space as tobacco warehouses were sacrificed to "the cause." In the county, however, farms and smaller plantations were impacted by the high enlistment percentage of the White male population and the need to replace the profits of tobacco cultivation with the production of foodstuffs. Grain and corn became necessary crops both to sustain local populations and also for sale to the Confederate government for troop supplies. Unlike manufacturing in Lynchburg and Richmond, Danville's tobacco industry thrived during the war and according to Siegel (1987) became a beneficiary of growth as Richmond's largest tobacco manufacturer moved his operation there and through tobacco sales to the Confederate Army. In 1862 the Confederate government had employed thousands of slaves to extend the Richmond and Danville railroad line to Greensboro, ensuring that Danville's tobacco products could be easily transported at least to the Upper South. Some tobacco factories were converted to arms production and, according to Siegel (1987), Danville became a major Confederate supply base. William Sutherlin was critical in converting Danville from a tobacco trading and manufacturing center to its wartime economy while also serving as commandant and chief quartermaster for Danville (Siegel, 1987). He organized the expansion of existing local production of wool, shoes, grain, and corn and facilitated the introduction of new products including coal and fertilizer, moving companies of which he was a director including the Danville Manufacturing Company into the production of

harvesting tools necessary for grain and corn production (Siegel, 1987). Although economically stable, the Danville and larger Piedmont region were demoralized by the hopelessness of the Southern cause in the later years of the war. According to Sutherlin's friend, Colonel Robert Withers, who served as commandant of the six war prisons, the majority of secessionists in Danville searched out and found loopholes to avoid military service.

Planters in Pittsylvania County regularly failed to meet the quota imposed by the Confederate government in providing slaves for military construction work, fearing for their tobacco harvest. Even pleas for relatively safe wartime jobs for slaves such as nursing in the military hospitals in Danville which would pay owners $20 per month were refused. An open debate ensued as suggestions were made to impress slaves participating in tobacco cultivation to meet demands of the hospital but also to serve as armed combatants in the war. The irony of planters who would secede from the Union over property rights now facing impressment of their slave "property" from the Confederate government cannot be lost. According to Siegel (1987), important factions in Danville wanted to supplement the Confederate army with armed slaves, a proposition which was introduced in to the Virginia House in March 1865, a month before the surrender. Two bills, one recommending slave owner consent and compensation and the other introduced by Representative A. S. Buford of Danville recommending that slaves who volunteered for service be freed with or without consent, were both rejected. Buford, owner of the *Danville Register* newspaper, used family connections with local planters and entrepreneurs to garner support for his position. Siegel (1987) posits that Buford's

proposal indicates that in Danville "questions of slavery and racial control were no longer linked" (p. 158), arguing that by 1865 slavery there had been "transformed" by the large numbers of hired out slaves. Perhaps this is a constructive insight; however, looking forward to the attitude and actions of Danvillians towards Blacks during Reconstruction it appears that in many ways, slavery continued in the Danville region long after emancipation. As Swanson (2014) describes, the Confederacy may have ended with the loss of the war, but tobacco endured. During the war farmers cut down on the production of the less-profitable dark leaf tobacco and planted more grain and corn, but by the spring of 1865 they planted a tobacco crop which included bright leaf. Believing in the future of tobacco regardless of its outcome, planters had prepared their plant beds during the last winter of the war. According to Robertson (1967), before Richmond's fall the R&D had remained open during Grant's siege on Richmond and Petersburg, becoming "the most vital road in the South" (p. 335). Although the outcome of the war seemed forgone to the citizens of Danville by its late years, thanks to the R&D tobacco was still selling in any location the Danville region planters could ship to by rail, including the Carolinas and the Eastern Georgia Piedmont.

Traumatized "Last Capital of the Confederacy." For White citizens in Danville, the fear of a Northern invasion proved to be more traumatic than the first weeks of transition back to federal rule. President Jefferson Davis and his cabinet fled Richmond by train on April 2, 1865, seeking refuge at the Danville mansion of the Sutherlins. Foodstuffs including wheat and corn intended to feed Lee's army had accumulated as federal raids damaged the R&D tracks in the final weeks of the war,

making it of great strategic importance to federal forces. As the federal chief of staff made plans for Danville's seizure, plans were also being made by the Confederate government to relocate from Richmond to Danville. According to the "Last Capital" narrative which evolved in Danville, the Confederate government continued to function at the Sutherlin home, redefining it as the "executive mansion" of the CSA. As Davis convened cabinet meetings in the mansion's parlor, rather than contemplate surrender he planned a reconfiguration of the Confederate Army given the specter of General Lee's defeat. Meanwhile, Danville swelled with thousands of Confederate diaspora who, like Davis, sought safety there (Maddox, personal communication, April 15, 2016). It was from the Sutherlin Mansion that Davis acknowledged Lee's surrender at Appomattox Courthouse before fleeing to Greensboro, North Carolina, as a fugitive from the Union Army. According to Swanson (2014) Davis ordered the main bridge across the Dan River burned, along with the rations and supplies stored in the warehouses, an order which Colonel Withers refused, in part due to requests from his friend William Sutherlin.

With the departure of the Davis and his cabinet, Danville fell into a state of anarchy and terror, traumatized by the prospect of life under "Yankee" rule and the demise of the Southern social structure. The crowded city erupted into riots as refugees, citizens, and paroled Confederate soldiers looted warehouses and shops—believing the city, which had served as the supply center for the Confederate army, to be filled with food and necessities. The Confederate arsenal in Danville was ignited, causing a massive explosion that killed at least 14 people; still the looting continued, fueled by local newspaper narratives that warned of the invasion of Danville by Northern Forces

(Robertson, 1967). Encouraged by rhetoric such as *Danville Register* editor Abner Anderson predictions that under the subjugation of the Yankees Danville's citizens would become virtually enslaved, locals planned to burn the one bridge into Danville in advance of federal forces (as cited in Robertson, 1967, p. 338). Danville was brought back into order only by the work of Mayor Walker and Colonel Wither who imposed martial law. As Danville resident Benjamin Simpson described,

> The whole social structure of the Town was thrown into a state of almost helpless disorganization…. Unreasoning terror and dismay had taken full possession of the community and discipline had given place to utter and aimless confusion. Recognized authority there was none, and all attempts at preserving any semblance of methodical government were disregarded. (as cited in Robertson, 1967, p. 332)

Governor William Smith, who had moved his capital from Lynchburg to Danville, became so concerned about the possibility of attack by federal forces that on April 20, he directed vigilante forces be assembled for "local defense" (Robertson, 1967). On April 27 the official surrender of Danville to federal authorities occurred as the Federal VI Corps began making their way across the Dan River Bridge and into lower Main Street. The troops marched up the hill to the Sutherlin Mansion and set up camp on a ridge that overlooked the town, now the location of a city park and sewage plant. General Wright, commander of VI Corps, made his headquarters directly across from the Sutherlin Mansion. As Northern soldiers continued to arrive, they soon outnumbered Danville citizens by a ratio of two to one. All Confederate soldiers were order arrested

and held and limited martial law was imposed with a ring of pickets encircling Danville, now guarded by federal troops. Federal occupation continued for seven weeks. According to Roberson (1967), General Wright became acquainted with the Sutherlins, offering them food delicacies, and along with his aids became a frequent diner with the Sutherlin family.

Danville's citizens in the immediate aftermath of the war and occupation denounced Jeff Davis as "the author of all their troubles" (as cited in Robertson, 1967, p. 341). For the people of Danville, the war seemed more about the need for the racial social structure to stay in place and less about separation from the Union, a vote for which many counties in the tobacco belt had made reluctantly. They fully expected a backlash against the maltreatment of federal prisoners of war, many of whom remained in Danville buried in the Lee Street Cemetery. With the help of Rev. George Dame, the local Episcopal rector who had shown such kindness to the federal prisoners, federal soldiers were able to identity each of their dead. On April 28 as Confederate General Johnson surrendered to Sherman, the Civil War was declared over. On April 29 General Wright issued General Orders No. 5, which according to Robertson (1967) stated: "It is enjoined upon all good citizens to become reconciled to the old Government, to heal past grievances…religious services may be held, public and private schools be continued, business carried on…" (p. 342). Federal and former Confederate surgeons worked together to tend to the wounded as trainloads of medical supplies arrived and the band of the 3rd Brigade played nightly on Mayor Walker's lawn.

The chaos of freedom. For Blacks the jubilance of their long-desired freedom was soon dampened by chaos. As they poured into Danville, they left enslavement for an uncertain future. Immediately after the war, Danville city was flooded with former slave mothers who had children but no way to house or feed them. The lives of many Blacks worsened after emancipation as few had marketable skills outside of the tobacco industry. As farmer Sours wrote to his Northern family,

> we think the nigger song of hard times come again no more will in cours of a year or two will be realized. Expecting the freed Nigger if they are not colonized will remain a lasting monument of "root Hog or die." Their condition today is a thousand times worse off than when they were servants and thousands of them already say so. (Sours, as cited in Swanson, 2014, p. 145).

The exceptions were those Blacks who had been leased out in the larger cities of Richmond or Lynchburg and had technical competency in some trade. Planters tried to keep former slaves on their plantations by offering small weekly wages. Large-scale agribusiness planters like William Sutherlin came through the war with their wealth intact minus their slave assets. Many planters, small and large, believed that tobacco cultivation could not occur without Black labor. In an 1866 address to the Virginia State Agricultural Society, Mayor Sutherlin expressed the need for such labor, slave or free. Favoring wage labor over sharecropping, he nevertheless operated his farms to keep workers bound to his plantations by advancing them food and goods against their wages (Swanson, 2014).

De facto slavery and post-conflict trauma. As in other locations throughout Virginia, change came to Danville and the surrounding counties as the war ended. While

the city itself was intact, livestock was diminished through disease and smaller plantations suffered while their owners were away in the war. Many working-age men were either disabled or dead. According to Swanson (2014), an unusually high percentage of the Danville region's soldiers had been wounded or killed in the war, in some Pittsylvania County regiments 40%. Slaves, often the most valuable asset other than land, were gone or now required either wage or sharecropping contracts. Danville and the surrounding counties were behind the battle lines during the war. In comparison to many locations in Virginia such as the Shenandoah Valley, Danville maintained a functioning infrastructure, quickly affecting necessary repairs to the Richmond and Danville train lines. The demand for tobacco, particularly bright leaf tobacco, remained high. Prices in the first years of Reconstruction were equal or better to those during the Antebellum period and planters were determined to get back to the business of tobacco. Labor remained a contentious and divisive issue for planters and former slaves alike. While newly freed Blacks knew that land ownership was imperative to improving their economic and social condition, Whites were determined to prevent them from obtaining land and the Freedmen's Bureau seemed to have little appreciation of its importance in the region. The situation became dire as winter approached. As Whites attempted to keep labor costs down and land acquisition was unavailable to them, Blacks' economic options centered around tobacco cultivation. Although Whites needed the labor of Blacks, they rejected the notion of equality in its entirety. As Swanson (2014) quotes a Pittsylvania planter declaring to a Union officer: "I certainly do love a nigger as a nigger, but when they set up for white folks, I've no use for them at all" (p. 153).

The social, legal, and economic components of slavery continued in Danville following the surrender at Appomattox despite the fact of emancipation. The frequently corrupt Freedmen's Bureau as well as unfair labor practices by Whites, including contract violations, kept the freed Blacks in submission and poverty even without their legal status as "property." Whites, to the best of their abilities, used various mechanisms to coerce former slaves' labor for tobacco cultivation. A horrendous example of such coercion is found in the child apprenticeship system which developed in Danville and the three counties of Pittsylvania, Halifax, and Caswell, North Carolina, immediately following the war. According to Swanson (2014), from September of 1865 into the summer of 1866 agents of the Danville Office of the Freedmen's Bureau bound more than 200 Black children to White masters through "apprenticeships" which were essentially slavery (p. 167). Under these "contracts" Whites were to feed, clothe, and "give instruction in a useful trade" to the destitute and orphan children, in return obtaining the labor of the children, often as young as 6 or 7, until the age of 21 (Swanson, 2014, p. 166). Under the systems as it was practiced in these three counties, rather than being taught a "useful trade" the children were typically used instead for farming or housekeeping, serving under a system very similar to White indentured servants in colonial Virginia. Many of the children were forcibly removed from parents who declared their ability to care for them. For each child who was indentured, the local Bureau representative was awarded a fee of $5.00. When Captain Wilcox took over as the Danville officer of the Freedmen's Bureau, desperate parents pleaded with him for their children to be returned. He reported his concerns to his supervisor, R. S. Lacy in Lynchburg, naming 12 children who were

“bound up” in suspicious circumstances. There is no evidence of the children being returned (Swanson, 2014). Unlike true apprenticeship programs but very much like slavery, neither the parents not the indentured children had any powers to negotiate the terms or end the contracts.

Violence against freed Blacks in the Danville area by White planters included shootings, beatings, and in some cases killings. Swanson (2014) also details cases of federal troops under the command of the Danville Freedmen’s Bureau agent whipping and hanging former slaves up by their thumbs for “idleness” at the behest of their employers (p. 170). Whites, outraged when Blacks refused a request or disagreed with a labor contract provision, quickly resorted to deadly measures. While records are incomplete from Halifax and Pittsylvania Counties for that year, in 1868 alone more than 320 complaints were filed with the Freedmen’s Bureau Courts; close to 200 of these included allegations of violence. According to Swanson (2014), racial violence in and around Danville escalated during contract signing, harvest, and at the time of payment in the “delayed-wage” labor system that emerged to take the place of slavery in and around Danville. Complaints by workers clogged the Freedmen’s Bureau courts in the Danville and Halifax offices in 1868 with more than 92% involving freedpeople accusing Whites of violating labor contracts (Swanson, 2014, p. 163). The changing relationships between the races crossed long-established social boundaries of White superiority and power, creating a new parity that Whites rejected. While free by federal law, the institution of slave continued as former masters went largely unpunished by courts or law enforcement agencies for their attacks on Blacks.

The poverty of freedom. Former slaves in the early years after the war suffered from poverty but were anxious to receive an education, believing it to be a vital factor in improving their lives. Virginia had prohibited education of Blacks both free and enslaved, and until the close of the Civil War the only opportunity freedmen had to educate their children was through private instruction. Immediately following the war, in 1865 Quakers from Philadelphia moved into Virginia, making Danville the headquarters for their regional Friends' Freedmen's Association's relief activity. According to retired Danville educator Dr. Lawrence Clark (n.d.), by the spring of 1866 Quaker George Dixon had arrived from England, assuming the superintendent position for the relief work in Danville and the surrounding area. The first school for Black children in Danville was opened by two Quaker women and by 1866 had 400 pupils (Clark, n.d.). With the help of Black carpenters, the Quakers converted a small building that had served as a hospital during the war into a school (Clark, n.d.).

Eunice Congdon, one of the Quaker teachers, described the condition of the former slaves and their children:

> You have no idea of the amount of misery and suffering; of the great destitution among the colored people…. Many colored persons are now coming into the city driven from their former homes by their masters, who having got all the work for the fall done…send them away without anything to help themselves, without homes and work, just as winter is coming on. In some cases, the Bureau drives them back and they are obliged to stay under the old slavery conditions. Very many refuse to go back; rather stay here and suffer. (Clarke, n.d., pp. 11-12)

The Quaker night school was averaging 130, mostly adults who after working all day walked between five and six miles to school. By 1870 Virginia had 326 schools for African American children and by 1877 Danville was described by African American newspaper the *Freedman's Friend* as "a flourishing place, carrying on a larger tobacco trade than any other town in Virginia" (Clark, n.d., p. 17). According to Clark, Black men earned an average of $5.50 per week in the tobacco fields while women secured around $10 per month doing domestic labor. With this income Black families were able to turn shanties and ex-horse stables into homes, paying White landlords around $3.00 per month in rent, some families taking in homeless women and children (Clark, n.d.). By the 1870s an eight-room public schoolhouse, later renamed Westmoreland School, was built on Holbrook Street in what would become the Black professional area of Danville.

Reconstruction. Within the next 15 years or so, it appeared that progress away from White supremacy and Black subordination was being realized. Danville benefited from dominance of the biracial Readjuster Party in Virginia politics. Greater participation and visibility were available to African Americans in Danville who rapidly developed a political voice. Political parties became polarized racially with progressive Whites and Blacks voting Republican while Confederate legacy Whites were staunchly Democratic. Whites themselves became the targets of violence if they refused to support White supremacist Democratic views. Led by former Confederate General William H. Mahone, the "Readjusters" gained majority in the Virginia General Assembly and made many changes to the social, legal, and economic systems in Virginia. Former slaves began to enter into democratic society as they struggled for a political voice and economic

participation (Levin, 2005). Poll taxes were eliminated as a requirement for voting, a public school system was established for African Americans, and whipping posts were abolished (Levin, 2005). In 1881 William Yancey became the first Black school principal in Danville. In 1889 a Danville native, Dr. William Grasty, a graduate of the early Danville Quaker school, was able to attend Hampton Institute and obtain a teacher's license (Clark, n.d.).

By 1882 Danville had been divided into three wards, two of which had a Black majority (Dailey, 1997). The election in the summer of 1882 resulted in African Americans controlling 4 of 12 seats on the City Council and the appointment of 2 Blacks for the 9 policing positions available in Danville. These changes shook the foundations of White identity. Shifts occurred in the imposition of justice, social nuisances, and everyday interactions between the races which elicited fear, anxiety, and anger in Whites. Crime levels decreased in Danville under Readjuster rule with the majority of arrests made for selling liquor without a license, gambling, and carrying a concealed weapon (Dailey, 1997). The City Council began to address concerns in the Black community rather than focus on only White issues. According to Dailey (1997), a house was built for the sexton of the Black cemetery, streets were paved, sidewalks installed in Black neighborhoods, and investments were made in schools—narrowing the gap between facilities available for White and Black students. Whites in Danville were threatened by African American education, involvement in the American political process, and perhaps mostly importantly, the refusal of Blacks to maintain deferential and submissive attitudes towards Whites which had been imposed on them during slavery. Tensions escalated and

racial violence spiraled as a prominent White tobacco merchant and factory owner, the Confederate Officer who had brought word to Jefferson Davis of Lee's surrender, assaulted a Black tobacco worker. William P. Graves struck a Black employee who had bumped into him while carrying a basket of tobacco leaves in Graves' factory (Dailey, 1997). After the worker complained to authorities, Graves was arrested and fined; proof of a new paradigm was realized after centuries of ethnic and political violence against which Blacks had no recourse. Blacks in Danville were encouraged that the rule of law was now protecting them while Whites were outraged at Graves' treatment as they saw the legal and social structure through which they had maintain their power over Blacks crumbling. Violence against Blacks in the private sphere, previously controlled only by the whim of the slave master, was rejected in Danville as Graves was disciplined for physically assaulting "his" Black employee in "his" private factory. As the elections of 1883 approached, arrests of men for violating the concealed carry law grew. Public spaces in Danville increasingly became points of racial tension as Blacks, now a 58.4% majority in Danville, occupied marketplaces, sidewalks, and streets (Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, as cited in Dailey, 1997). Accepting their emerging equality, Blacks became more confident in their new social and legal standing, refusing to give way to Whites on sidewalks and referring to their former masters and mistresses as men and women, and to themselves as gentlemen and ladies. Rather than defer to Whites, Blacks advocated for themselves when confronted, occupying a new space in Danville physically and socially. Their freedom was a constant reminder to Whites of failure both of White supremacy and the Confederacy. In the

vernacular they were “losers” in a war not only over how they would be governed but for the very essence of their identity, unable to maintain the “natural” order of White supremacy inherent in the Southern social hierarchy.

The Danville Circular and spiraling violence. In the months before the 1883 election, “lost cause” advocates led by Judge A. M. Aiken mounted a furious attack against the changes occurring in Danville. Judge Aiken drafted a letter referred to as the “Danville Circular” signed by White Danville community and business leaders, a letter replete with hyperbolic accusations regarding the newly elected Blacks to the citizens of Southwest and Valley of Virginia. Published in 1882 in the *Staunton Vindicator* as a Supplement entitled *Coalition Rule in Danville*, it asked for the Whites in these locations to “help us throttle this vipor of Negroism that is stinging us to madness and to death.” In the letter, Whites complain that they, “the merchants and manufacturers and mechanics of the town of Danville” are subjected to “injustice and humiliation” by the “domination and misrule” of the newly elected city government who seek to “irritate and wound the pride” of Whites “wherever it is possible” (Broadside 1882, .S89 FF, Special Collections, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA, p. 3). Chief among their complaints are the “negro policemen” arresting White men for the “most frivolous acts” and being referred to as “men and woman” by Blacks rather than “gentlemen and ladies,” and Negro women forcing “white ladies” from the pavement, reminding them that they will “learn to step aside the next time.” The irony in the expression of Southern racial dynamics in the closing to the letter cannot not be missed: “It is the injustice of the frozen serpent, which

after being warmed into life by its benefactor, stings him death" (Broadside 1882, .S89 FF, Special Collections, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA , p. 4).

As emotions and resolve escalated, the Saturday afternoon before the 1883 election Whites gathered at the hilltop Opera House off of Main Street. Their goal was for every White Democrat in Danville to sign their agreement to the Danville Circular. During the meeting at the Opera House, yet another confrontation over sidewalk space occurred. White clerk Charles Noel stumbled over the foot of one of two young Black men, Hense Lawson and Davis Lewellyn, going the opposite direction on the Main Street. Turning to Lawson, a waiter, Noel demanded to know why "he did that." According to Noel, Lawson, in a "very insolent manner" explained that he was trying to get out of the way of "a lady, and a white lady at that" (Dailey, 1997, p. 576). At this remark Lewellyn, a tobacco worker who was accompanying Lawson, replied that it "didn't matter if Noel thought it was 'all right' Lawson was in no need of Noel's pardon"; a fist fight ensued with Noel punching Lewellyn and Lewellyn fighting back, twice knocking Noel off the sidewalk into the gutter (Dailey, 1997). The night before, the Readjuster Party had gathered to denounce the Danville Circular. William Sim, chairman of the Readjuster Party in Pittsylvania County—in front of an audience described by Readjusters as "polite and controlled" and by White Democrats as "a vast crowd of African who were yelling and whooping"—criticized both the creators and the signers of the Circular as "liars, scoundrels and cowards!" (Dailey, 1997, p. 576). As Noel left the site of the altercation and stopped by the Opera House, he told two White friends about the sidewalk incident and the three Whites went looking for Lawson and Lewellyn.

Finding them on Main Street, one of Noel's friends, Lea, pulled a gun to ensure "fair play." While Lea held Lewellyn and a third Black man, James Love, at gunpoint to avoid their interference, Noel beat the much smaller Lawson, leaving him bleeding profusely. Black police officer Robert Adams arrived, separated the men, sending them to wash off the blood, when a second scuffle broke out as another Black man tackled Lea, Noel's armed White friend, attempting to disarm him. Failing, Adams ran from the armed White Lea, with Lea shooting at the fleeing Black man. Black men, women, and children as well as White Democrats exiting the Opera House meeting quickly formed into a huge crowd. With two Black and one White police officers trying to disperse the crowd, Joel Oliver, captain of the local Democratic militia and another White, E. M. Oliver, ordered Black officer Adams to disperse the crowd, Oliver adding, "Damn it, make these niggers get off the street" (Senate Report, as cited in Dailey, 1997, p. 578). Blacks demanded the White Lea be arrested for violation of the city concealed carry law. They refused to move as another young White Democrat, Walter Holland, walked through the crowd toward a police officer. Whites opened fire on the crowd and Holland fell dead, struck in the back of the head with the first of between 75 and 200 shots fired in the span of minutes by Whites violating the conceded carry law. Although the total number who succumbed to gun violence that afternoon remains in dispute, at least three Black men plus Holland were killed, and possibly another White. As the gunfire subsided, tobacco manufacturer William Graves, who had been arrested and fined for striking the Black employee, approached Black officer Robert Adams and point blank shot a pistol at his head. Adams's life was spared only by his quick reaction in throwing up his arm, which was

broken by the bullet Graves intended for his skull (Dailey, 1997). Simultaneous to the attack on the Black police officer, Adams, the White crowd attacked and beat a Black Readjuster leader, preparing to shoot him, when a Democratic congressman intervened, saving him (Dailey, 1997). According to Ely (1974), 10 additional civilians were wounding in the riot. That evening, the White Democratic Militia took over Danville despite pleas from Danville's legally elected White mayor, J. H. Johnston. The Militia continued to patrol Danville intimidating Blacks until the following Tuesday, election day. Overwhelmingly in the Virginia election of 1883, the Readjuster Party lost power and the White supremacist Democrats took control, marking a pivotal turning point for the state away from Black enfranchisement and back to White rule.

The following spring local elections were again held in Danville with William Graves, the tobacco industrialist who had shot and wounded Black police officer Robert Adams at point blank range in the head, elected mayor by an overwhelming majority. A *New York Times* article from May 23, 1884 described that the election in Danville "passed without disturbance…the Democratic or White Party nominees were elected. Capt. W. P. Graves beats J. H. Johnston, the present incumbent, for Mayor by 402 votes" ("Virginia Town Elections," 1884). According to the article, Virginia Governor Cameron spent election day in Danville, remarking he had "received a carpet-bag full of letters about sending troops, and had come to see for himself, and was pleased with the quiet and order prevailing here" (p. 2). The article goes on to describe the "citizens" hanging May Johnston in effigy across Main Street, and parading in torchlight procession "Virginia Town Elections, 1884). No convictions resulted from the riot. The Senate of the

48th Congress produced a 1,300-page report in May 27, 1884, investigating the riot and the *Committee of 40*, forty White citizens were tasked to conduct a local investigation. Ultimately there were no indictments for the murders. The Senate Majority Report, adopted by a 5-4 vote, attributed the disorders to the efforts of the Democratic Party to excite the race issue (Ely, 1974). The *Report of the Committee of 40* blamed the riot on Negroes and the Readjuster city administration, describing Blacks as rude, insolent, and intolerant to the White citizens of the town (Ely, 1974).

Determined to remain in power after their success in 1883, Whites in Virginia and specifically in Danville continued to use violence and intimidation in conjunction with the passage of various segregation laws to reverse the gains in equality by Blacks. Economic difficulties were absent from the equation even as tension over Black labor issues continued. Danville's economy continued to thrive under the change back to White rule. In 1885 bright leaf sales exceeded 41 million pounds of loose leaf which was housed and sold in 10 warehouses. There were also at least 30 tobacco factories along the Dan River manufacturing products with the tobacco sold in Danville and in 1882 a group of successful businessmen had formed Riverside Cotton Mills. Despite Danville's economic boom, however, former slaves continued to be mired in poverty as they shifted from slavery to the near-slavery conditions of the sharecropper into Jim Crow desegregation. Despite Blacks' impoverishment, Whites became increasingly fanatical in their efforts to regain their hegemony. Civil War officer "Captain" Harry Wooding was elected mayor of Danville in 1892, and astonishingly remained so for 44 years. A staunch segregationist, he was instrumental in attacking the civil rights of Blacks in Danville following the

reversal of the Readjuster Party progress and the Danville Riot. In 1892, just days after the presidential and congressional elections and less than 10 years after the Danville Riot, the polarization again erupted in murderous violence. This time the crime was White on White as a Danville attorney and Democratic Party operative, J. T. Clark, shot and killed Baptist minister Rev. John Moffett, a Republican-leaning prohibitionist crusader, on his way to the annual Virginia Baptist convention at the First Baptist Church on Main Street. As Hamm (1993) explains, the Democratic Party had become White supremacist in response to the Readjuster control of the commonwealth and after regaining control in the 1883 elections were determined to keep it through any means including election fraud. Following Clark's attack on Moffett White Democrats were overheard by the Reverend's family as commenting that Clark had shot a "dog," a damned "black-hearted Republican" (p. 390); after an exhausting trial, the jury found Clark innocent. According to Hamm (1993), the acquittal gives some illumination to politics in Danville at the turn of the century: Violence was a regular part of the approach of Danville Democrats and prohibition became a divisive issue for Whites, convincing them of the need to end suffrage for Black voters to maintain White control.

Disenfranchisement and Ku Klux Klan (KKK) terror. By 1894 Democrats in Virginia had conceived of the Walton Act which mandated a publicly printed ballot containing neither party name or symbols and requiring voters to draw a line through the names of the candidates they did not support. This law was upheld in 1896 as being constitutional by the Supreme Court. The Ku Klux Klan became active in Virginia, maintaining segregation informally by means of terror and violence. By 1897 Black men

had virtually ceased to vote. The United States Supreme Court's 1899 decision allowed Southern school boards to opt out of secondary education for African Americans. In 1900 Virginia enacted its first statewide segregation law as Governor J. Hoge Tyler signed legislation requiring railroads to furnish separate cars or partitioned cars; four years later segregation was tightened, preventing the admittance of any colored person to dining, Pullman, parlor, chair, or compartment cars (Wynes, 1967). According to Wynes (1967) for the first 30 years after the Civil War Whites and Blacks with increasing frequency rode the same street and railcars in Virginia. In a brief resurgence of self-advocacy, when the Virginia law segregating street cars was passed in 1906, Danville was the scene of an unsuccessful Negro boycott against the introduction of segregated streetcars (Ely, 1974).

White men in Virginia, who were intent on reducing the number of African American men who voted and held public office, obtained the approval of the General Assembly in 1901 to authorize a convention to draft a new constitution. A new Virginia constitution was adopted in 1902 which passed restrictions on suffrage eliminating the Black vote. The 1902 constitution restricted the vote to White men but without violating the terms of the 15th Amendment by applying literacy, poll tax, and property requirements for enfranchisement. According to the Library of Virginia (Feinberg, 2007), the constitution prevented about 90% of the Black men and nearly half of the White men from voting. The number of eligible African American voters fell from about 147,000 in 1901 to about 10,000 by 1905. Residential segregation was enforced by law in 1912, which empowered citizens to designate districts as "white" or "colored" on the basis of whether 50% of inhabitants were Black or White (Wynes, 1967). The United States

Supreme Court declared residential segregation laws unconstitutional in 1918, as did the Virginia Supreme Court in 1928 and again in 1930; in the face of these rulings Virginia refused to remove them from the Code of Virginia until 1950 (Wynes, 1967). Virginia prisons were segregated in 1918 and for emphasis in 1920 the Board of Directors of the Penitentiary ordered races to be separated "as far as practicable" (p. 418), including for meals, concerned that previous orders were not being implemented (Wynes, 1967). As the civil rights of Blacks were legally diminished, by 1915 African American children comprised 0% of enrollment in secondary schools (Clark, n.d.). A 1915 article in the Black newspaper the *Chicago Defender* describes the escalating climate of violence in Danville over public space as complaints regarding Black children "trying to take the entire sidewalk when going and coming from school" resulted in an order by Mayor Wooding to "arrest and bring to court any Negro child who obstructed the sidewalks where white children were passing" ("Afro-Americans Must Keep On One Side of Sidewalk," 1915). Apparently, the complaint, made to the police department by two White girls, was directed toward the wrong Negro boy. According to the article, "this is the first time in the history of Danville that such harsh measures have been resorted to. The colored citizens are becoming alarmed, as such gross injustice and are taking steps to safeguard their rights in the premises" ("Afro-Americans Must Keep On One Side of Sidewalk," 1915). The Virginia General Assembly passed the Act to Preserve Racial Integrity in March of 1924, reconfirming the state's longstanding prohibition on interracial marriage and redefining Black by giving a new definition to White as only a person who had no tract whatsoever of blood other than Caucasian (Newbeck & Wolfe,

2015). By 1926 with urging from the “Anglo-Saxon Clubs,” founded in Richmond in 1922 to deal with the “Negro problem” the “Massenberg Bill” was passed calling for separation of the races in all public places of assembly (Wynes, 1967).

Danville and the Jim Crow Era

Following the Civil War and until the first decade of the 20th century the Danville region had evidenced patterns of positive social change in the dynamics of race and power. By 1900, however, a protracted regression regarding civil rights for African Americans continued until the 1960s, with additional segregation laws implemented as late as 1944 (Wynes, 1967). Reconciliation between Whites in the north and south after the Civil War was achieved at the expense of Blacks by Whites developing amnesia regarding Blacks’ sufferings through the slave trade and enslavement, creating fertile ground for the abuses and brutality of Jim Crow in the 20th century. As Deyle (2005) explains,

> In the effort to reunite the country after the Civil War, white Americans chose to forget the earlier abolitionist critiques of the Old South and allowed former slaveholding southerners to define what life had been like under their peculiar institution. In books and in plays, popular culture romanticized the Old South, and tales of the auction block and slave coffles disappeared from public memory. Controversial subjects like the real cause of the war (i.e., the South’s need to maintain slavery and expand it into the West) were ignored and the attention was focused on the bravery and sacrifices of the fighting men on each side.

> During the postwar period, there was simply no place for the grim reminders of what life had really been like in the Old South when white Americans seemed so determined to accept the fantasized version as portrayed by the former slaveholder. (p. 243)

Some 52 years after the riot, well into the Jim Crow era, the Danville *Business and Industrial Survey Edition* lauded the "Danville Circular" written by Judge Aiken as having "dethroned negro domination" in Danville, crediting the circular with "the election of a legislature on November 6, 1883, that restored white supremacy in Virginia" (WPA of Virginia, Historical Inventory, 1937, p. 1). Land ownership, equated with prosperity in Southside and valued by former slaves in the early days of Reconstruction as the way out of poverty, was largely unavailable to African Americans. In 1900 Blacks made up roughly half of the population in Pittsylvania and Halifax Counties but owned only 2% of the land in Pittsylvania and 4% in Halifax (Swanson, 2014). Black farmers who did get access to land, mostly through sharecropping or tenant arrangements, continued to grow the only crop with which they had experience, bright leaf tobacco. There was little money to be made in the failing tobacco market with racial prejudice disadvantaging relationships with landlords, creditors, and fertilizer companies.

Government-supported price floors funded through taxes on tobacco manufacturers were instituted in 1933 along with a quota system which limited tobacco growth based on lands already being cultivated for tobacco, making it even more difficult for Blacks to purchase farms. Landowners were extremely reluctant to give Blacks access to what they perceived to be the key to financial independence—land. Tobacco growers

in the Danville Region continued to be disproportionately White landowners (Swanson, 2014). The sons and grandsons of the White elite men who had become wealthy through slave-cultivated tobacco were now the attorneys and politicians who controlled the city of Danville, still deeply mourning the "lost cause." By the beginning of the Civil Rights movement in 1960 in Danville, Dan River Mills, founded in 1882 as Riverside Cotton Mills, was the largest employer in Danville. Tobacco had given way to textile manufacturing, yet another industry in which Blacks were allowed only marginal and menial participation. As Northern/Southern exclusive identities evolved and aggression developed during the Civil War, discrimination worsened.

Confederate Symbols and Memorialization of the Lost Cause

The Confederacy was finished after the Appomattox surrender but the sanctification of its purposes and values had only begun. As progress toward integration of Blacks into the political and economic systems in Danville occurred following the war, Whites countered this process by escalating memorialization of the Southern dead intermingled with efforts to resurrect the Lost Cause. These efforts were begun and championed by Confederate women. While as in many other parts of Virginia, cemeteries were the focus of memorialization efforts, the restoration of the last "executive mansion" of the Confederacy, the Sutherlin home on Main Street, is the most important of these efforts in Danville. In the years following the Civil War the Sutherlin family had continued to live in affluence in their large mansion on Main Street in Danville, deriving ample income from 12 "substantial" plantations on some of the "best bright leaf land along the Dan River" (Swanson, 2014, p. 183). As 1890 grew near, both revisionist

history and memorialization efforts of the Southern cult were well underway in Danville and throughout the South. In 1889 the *Richmond Dispatch* interviewed Jane Sutherlin following the death of Jefferson Davis. The article described the days spent by Davis at the Sutherlin home, highlighting relics of Davis' activities in administering the Confederacy including a writing table at which Davis authored the final proclamation of the failed Confederacy.

Stretching Victorian gender roles, women formed organizations such as Memorial Associations and chapters of the Daughters of the Confederacy. With women leading efforts at reestablishing the pride of the Southern heritage through various activities and ceremonies at Civil War cemeteries, the White elite in Danville were able to circumvent bans against displays of loyalty to the Confederacy and incorporate the demoralized Southern men into their efforts by using them for business transactions and the manual labor of relocating Confederate soldier remains.

The Ladies' Memorial Association of Danville, a forerunner of the Danville Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy, in 1878 raised $2,000 to erect the Confederate Soldier's Monument in Green Hill Cemetery. A towering granite obelisk decorated with bronze bas-relief images of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, it is emblazoned with words chosen by the Ladies' Memorial Association: "Patriots!" "Know that these fell in the effort to establish just government and perpetuate constitutional liberty. Who thus die will live in lofty example" (Furgurson, 2011, p. 1). After Jane Sutherlin's death in 1912 (William Sutherlin had predeceased her in 1893), the Sutherlin Mansion was left in disrepair and awaiting demolition. In the midst of the

memorialization efforts in Richmond and other Virginia cities, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) Danville Chapter interceded, raising $20,000, half of the funds required to save and restore the mansion. The City of Danville matched the UDC funds and in appreciation of their donation deeded to the UDC two upstairs rooms which the Danville chapter continued in 2016 to use as a meeting place. As the home was restored and became city property, the "Last Capital" narrative fully evolved and began to be publicized, glorifying the "lost cause." Women in Virginia and throughout the South initiated efforts to indoctrinate children and youth into the planter values and principles, the most important belief of which was the rigid social hierarchy in which White supremacy reigned. As the Danville City historical marker in front of the mansion declares, "The establishment of the Confederate government ended (here) when the news of Lee's surrender arrived on April 10, 1865." Memorializing the "grand" days of being served by slaves on the large plantations in and around Danville, Whites struggled to recognize equality with Blacks socially or legally. Such recognition appeared in opposition to the tenants of the planter identity, or the "truth" of the Southern cause for which so many had given their lives.

Denying the inhumanity and brutality of slavery, Whites in Danville and throughout the South replaced the traumatic nature of slavery with a mythological history. As troupes of the Black mammy whom they cherished and the devoted "uncle" who attended to their needs solidified, memories of the violence perpetrated against African slaves was minimized and repressed. The construction and adoption of the mythology of the benevolent, paternalistic slaveowner laid the foundation for a proud

Southern heritage and the glorification of the lost cause. Often Whites and Blacks memorialized historical events surrounding the war in ways that exacerbated their trauma, worsening the wounds of each. For Blacks the April 3 anniversary of the fall of Richmond became a day of celebration equal to Emancipation. As Blair (2004) explains, Whites saw such celebrations of Richmond's fall as a deliberate attempt to cause them pain; they associated the date not with liberation but with crushing defeat.

In Danville, as with Confederate symbols across America, flags and statuary incorporate a violent typology along with other intended meanings. As with other flags, the Confederate flag originally embodied symbolic meanings of the nation and the troops it represented to "reinforce the army's morale and fighting spirit," a visual reminder of bravery and "the will to prolong a bloody conflict" (Coski, 2005, p. 35-39). Beginning with the marking and memorialization of the graves of Southern soldiers killed during the Civil War, symbols of the Confederacy have represented not only the death of a soldier but a way of life which included slavery. Mourning the deaths of loved ones in the Civil War was complicated by the sheer numbers of dead and by the lack of systematic procedures for recording deaths and notifying next kin. As less-affluent Southern families were unable to recover the bodies of their dead, the deaths, burials, and memorialization of prominent Confederate soldiers like Stonewall Jackson became symbolic representations of the collective deaths and burials of the Confederate soldiers and a way of honoring the Southern cause. Elaborate funerals, processions, and memorials were a public acknowledgement of God's favor for the Confederate nation, justifying the massive casualties and keeping sectionalist identity strong (Faust, 2008, p. 238).

As ladies' memorial associations organized, dates were established in different locations across the South to commemorate the deaths of beloved war heroes. As Faust (2008) describes, "The Civil War Dead became both powerful and immortal, no longer individual men but instead a force that would shape American public life for at least a century to come" (p. 249). While their gender allowed them political neutrality in paying honor to and reburying the Confederate dead, by the 1890s Confederate women proceeded to revitalize the Confederacy through memorialization activities including statuary which proclaimed their "continuing devotion" to its causes (p. 247). In Danville, such memorialization included both the restoration of the Sutherland mansion in 1912 and the installation of the flag on the front lawn in the 1950s and later on in a memorial in the front yard of the mansion in 1994.

As the Southern Poverty Law Center (2016) explains, most of the existing 700 Confederate monuments and statues on public property in the United States were installed prior to 1950. Approximately another 45 were dedicated or rededicated following the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1954 and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968 (p. 10). In 1890, coinciding with the passage of Jim Crow segregation laws in Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida, these states adopted some variation of the Confederate battle flag into their state flags. In 1938, roughly in the timeframe the KKK adopted the Confederate flag, the South Carolina House of Representatives began to fly the flag over the state house. At the behest of segregationalist, state Senator, and son of a local KKK leader, John D. Long, the flag was represented in both chambers of the house. By 1932, the KKK began using the

Confederate flag as a symbol of White supremacy and racial hate replacing its initial use of the United States flag, according to John Coski (2004), historian and library director at the Museum of the Confederacy. With America firmly in the grip of racial segregation, by the mid-20th century the flag had become widely popular, dramatically outperforming the United States flag in annual sales. In 1948 it became the symbol of the segregationalist Dixicrats. During the Truman administration in the late 1940s and early 1950s the flag was used to oppose desegregation efforts. By the early 1950s the Confederate flag gained such popularity that flag manufacturers Annin & Co. were producing 100,000 a week; they sold more than 1.6 million Confederate flags during 1951 (Coski, 2005, p. 113). Despite its use by the KKK, as the U.S. military began to integrate after World War II, the Department of Defense allowed United States military personnel to display the flag Confederate flag "for decorative or historical purposes" on military equipment and bases around the world (p. 114).

The Civil Rights Movement Comes to Danville

The identity boundaries between African Americans and Whites remained rigid in Danville through strictly enforced segregationist policy. Schools, stores, places of entertainment, transportation, churches, streets, and restaurants remained racially divided. As World War II ended, Danville's Black veterans returned from subduing fascism in Europe and the Pacific to a hometown that banned them from the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), forced them to sit in the balcony at the local Capitol theatre, directed them to "colored only" fountains and restrooms in public spaces, and refused them service at local restaurants like the Charcoal House and the Howard Johnson's. Yet,

they served their country “with pride, honor and distinction,” many of them reentering segregated Langston High School to complete their education (Clark, n.d.).

In 1945, Charles Kenneth Coleman, a native of Washington, DC, and graduate of Dunbar High School and Howard University class of 1931, served as head of the Danville National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Danville Voter’s League. Coleman made the first but unsuccessful bid of an African American to run for City Council in Danville since Reconstruction (Edmunds, 2016). Blacks in Danville, like many places in Virginia and the Deep South, were finding the oppressive Jim Crow laws unacceptable. Small changes regarding racial equality in Virginia were occurring as the federal government and Black advocacy organizations began to slowly chip away at state segregation laws. The NAACP was strong in Virginia. A network of Black attorneys, the Old Dominion Bar Association, had also organized in 1942, holding regular meetings throughout the state in response to the Virginia Supreme Court’s attempts to restrict activities of the 54 Black attorneys practicing in the Commonwealth. While initially unsuccessful, the NAACP worked with the Negro Virginia State Teachers Association on a salary equalization filing suit in 1939 on behalf of Black teachers in Virginia (Clark, n.d.). Later under the leadership of Thurgood Marshall and Charles Houston, the NAACP continued to work to achieve salary parity for Black teachers.

In 1944 a major blow for Civil Rights in Virginia was struck as Mrs. Irene Morgan boarded a Greyhound bus in Gloucester bound for Baltimore (“Uncelebrated Grandmother of the Modern Civil Rights Movement,” 2001, p. 50). Having just suffered

a miscarriage, Mrs. Morgan was on her way to see her physician and had taken a seat four rows from the back of the bus. At that time the White section went back as far as necessary to accommodate all White passengers. As a White couple boarded the bus there were no seats in front of Mrs. Morgan and she was ordered to give up her seat and move to the back of the bus. Mrs. Morgan said no. After stopping the bus at the nearest sheriff's office a deputy attempted to serve Mrs. Morgan a warrant for her arrest, which she tore into pieces and flung out the bus window. When the deputy grabbed her arm she kicked him in the groin. A second deputy dragged her off the bus and put her in jail. She subsequently pled guilty to resisting arrest but maintained her innocence on the charge of violating Virginia's segregation statutes. After her conviction Thurgood Marshall, working for the Legal Defense Fund, took Mrs. Morgan's case and appealed all the way to the Supreme Court. In a nearly unanimous decision in *Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia* the court sided with Mrs. Morgan. Greyhound immediately stopped segregation on its interstate routes. The same year a similar ruling was applied to interstate rail travel in Virginia. Encouraged by these decisions in 1950 a small number of White moderate Virginia political leaders introduced bills to repeal segregation statues on common carriers and to establish a state race relations commission. Both proposals fell flat. Virginia enforced only loose compliance of *Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia* and despite the Supreme Court decision it took another 14 years before segregation was outlawed in bus station waiting rooms, restrooms, and restaurants.

By the 1950s the Harry Byrd political organization had taken control of Virginia and Danville, thoroughly reimposing Southern White supremacy hierarchy in government

(Thomas, 2004). With the poll tax reinstated only 8-10% of voters cast ballots, keeping Byrd in power. Using the courts and the legislature Byrd led White Virginians in "massive resistance" against desegregation efforts on the part of the federal government and the NAACP. In response to the Topeka, Kansas, case of *Brown Versus the Board of Education* and the 1954 Supreme Court decision desegregating public schools, on February 1, 1956 an *Interposition Resolution* was adopted by the Virginia legislature under Byrd's leadership (Virginia General Assembly, 1957). Byrd believed *Brown* was "illegal and a usurpation of power," stating that the opinion "has disturbed me more than anything that has occurred in my political career" (Ely, 1974, p. 930). With the articulated purpose of "arresting the progress of evil" the resolution resurrected Civil War era states' rights issues and declared that the 14th amendment of the Constitution clearly authorized racially segregated school systems (Thomas, 2004). Racist "scientific" rationale confirming the inferiority of the Black race was expressed as support for opposing the Brown decision and maintaining segregated schools within Virginia. The *Interposition Resolution* explained, "Palpable difference between white and Negro children in intellectual aptitudes have been demonstrated repeatedly by careful examinations conducted by responsible educational authorities" (General Assembly of Virginia, 1956, p. 23).

As Martin Luther King, Jr., addressed seven thousand people on January 1, 1957, at a NAACP Emancipation Day rally in Atlanta, he declared Black Americans were living in

> an age in which a new world order is being born. We stand today between two worlds: the dying old and emerging new…an old world is passing away…the old order of colonialism is passing away, and the new order of freedom and equality is coming into being. (as cited in Garrow, 2007, p. 1)

Yet, despite King's optimism, the birthplace of slavery remained staunchly rooted in the old order. Later that year, calling it "nefarious," Virginia congressman Howard W. Smith opposed President Dwight Eisenhower's 1957 Civil Rights Act, saying, "The Southern people have never accepted the colored race as a race of people who had equal intelligence and education and social attainments as the white people of the South" (Breitzer, 2012, p. 2). J. Lindsay Almond took office as Virginia governor in January 1958 with the declaration that "integration anywhere means destruction everywhere" (as cited in Thomas, 2004)). Virginia maintained its resolve against *Brown* with massive resistance, closing schools in three locations in the fall of 1958 until the Supreme Court of Appeals declared such an approach unconstitutional. In Farmville, Virginia, another small tobacco town less than 100 miles from Danville, public schools remained closed for more than five years rather than integrate.

Although Danville was thoroughly in the grasp of the Byrd machine, even the vehemence of the segregationist Byrd organization was insufficient for local politicians there. In a 1958 letter from Delegate C. Stuart Wheatley of Danville to Governor Almond, Wheatley declared, "What some of the people do not realize and will never realize until it has been too late is that an integrated school is worse than a closed school" (as cited in Ely, 1974, p. 930). True to Wheatley's words, Danville public schools, other

than a token numbers of students, remained segregated for two decades following the *Brown* decision. In the early 1960s local Danville attorney John W. Carter formed a third White supremacist political party to combat John F. Kennedy's movement toward Civil Rights legislation.

From the time of the Riot in 1883 until well after the passage of the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Blacks in Danville lived under the rigid, racial boundaries of legalized segregation. If Whites could not keep Blacks in "their place" through the daily and violence subjugation of slavery, they would avoid contact with them to every extent possible. The power structures of Danville, the realm of White identity, were occupied by descendants of the Confederate planters, who after rebelling against the abolitionist Union, rebounded back into authority following the brief years of Black advancement during the Readjuster period. From the first decade of the 20th century until well into the 1970s African Americans in Danville did not realize the promises of the post-Civil War Reconstruction. Education in particular suffered following the Supreme Court's decision in 1899 that Southern school boards were not required to offer public secondary education for Blacks (Clark, n.d.).

While Danville did maintain a secondary school for African American children, it was largely underfunded, and neighboring Pittsylvania County did not. Whites saw Blacks' desire for education as an attack on the plantation order which had established White supremacy in Virginia some 300 years earlier, in part through making literacy and education illegal. Despite the hardships of segregation, however, Blacks in Danville did make progress. Strong Black communities developed in Danville offering support and

encouragement to families working to educate their children and establish a positive sense of self and group identity following centuries of diminishment in Virginia.

Dr. Lawrence Clark, Professor Emeritus and former Associate Provost at North Carolina State University, was raised in Danville and describes segregated schools like Langston High School becoming “a mecca for the community in its role as a center for education, political, and social activity” (Clark, n.d.). Dr. Clark, himself a 1952 graduate of Langston, describes a high rate of participation in school-sponsored clubs and activities including athletics, with students at Langston having options of pursuing either academic, commercial, or vocational tracks (Clark, n.d.).

A Black Middle Class Evolves

The Holbrook-Ross neighborhood in Danville evolved into the central residential area for Black professionals and business people who successfully transitioned from slavery to some degree of economic security. According to Edmunds (2016), the African American newspaper the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* published by the Black moderate P. B. Young recommended Danville for the opportunities it afforded Black entrepreneurs. Black teachers at segregated schools in Danville, including Westmoreland Elementary and John M. Langston High School, lived in the Holbrook neighborhood, the location of an eight-room school for African American children in the 1870s. A number of Black businesses including at least two funeral homes flourished there, along with the taxi business of Wendell Scott, the first African American to drive on the NASCAR circuit. The ministers, business owners, doctors, attorneys, and teachers of Holbrook were the start of a fledgling Black middle class in Danville.

With many public and private spaces unavailable to them due to segregation, Black identity developed outside of the public sphere available to Whites, primarily around religious and educational institutions. Black churches in Danville, many of which were established in the years following emancipation, became central to the lives of African Americans. Providing a source of encouragement both spiritually and economically, these churches in Danville, and throughout the south, gave opportunities for fellowship, entertainment, cultural development, and acceptance. The ministers of Black churches were also leaders of the Civil Rights movement in Danville. Rev. Doyle Thomas, pastor of the Loyal Baptist Church, was president of the NAACP in Danville in the 1950s and ’60s (Edmunds, 2004). In 1960, many of the Black ministers and activists, impatient with the progress of Civil Rights under the leadership of the NAACP, came together to form the Danville Christian Progressive Association (DCPA) (Edmunds, 2004). African American schools, like Black churches, were both integral to Black identity in Danville and were the source of many of the young men and women who participated in the Civil Rights movement in Danville during the period of 1960 to 1963.

In public spaces Blacks literally and figuratively were relegated to the “colored” section, the marginalized back seat, balcony, and neighborhood—the places, bits, and pieces of life undesirable to Whites. According to Edmunds (n.d.), the 1960 median income of all families in Danville was $4,883 while for non-Whites it was $2,578. Although wealthier Blacks lived in the Holbrook area, poorer families lived in neighborhoods of small houses in North Danville. While Blacks were receiving a public school education, in 1930 Black teachers in Danville were being paid only 47% of the

salaries of White teachers (Clark, n.d., p. 24). By the 1960s, despite attempts by Blacks at salary equalization with Whites, teachers such as Avicia Hooper-Thorpe, whose mother was able to complete only the 3rd grade but insured that all 10 of her children graduated high school, taught at the Westmoreland School and Langston High School, making wages far less than Whites (Clark, n.d.).

The once-flourishing tobacco industry had begun to decline in Danville and the largest employer, Dan River Mills, employed only 886 Black employees out of a workforce of 6,035, reserving the menial jobs for non-Whites (Edmunds, 2016). Policies of segregation in Danville were strictly maintained through a legal and judicial system molded by White supremacist litigators, many of whom were highly motivated University of Virginia Law graduates from elite families in Danville. Despite the Supreme Court decisions including *Brown* and *Morgan*, hotels, motels, theatres, hospitals, public schools, courthouses, and even the City Farm, Danville's adult detention center, were segregated. According to Ely (1974), all agencies of the Danville municipal government and the entire 70-man police were White. Black petitioners to the City Council seeking redress on matters of segregation were simply ignored and African American citizens attempted to instill civic values into the next generations despite the hardships of restaurants that would not serve them, water fountains they could not drink from, and even the lack of access to restroom facilities. Dr. Clark, reminiscing about growing up in North Danville, describes having White friends up to the age of puberty. He explains while some latitude may have existed for relationships between males, "no black males and white females played together at the sign of any sense of maturity…we

got the word very, very, clearly in a whole lot of different ways from our parents and from the community" that this was unacceptable (Clark, 1998, in Edmunds, n.d., "Lawrence M. Clark, Ed.D.").

Whites in Danville gave absolutely no support for school integration, with many local politicians speaking out against it. In a 2013 interview Avon Keen, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in Virginia, recalled the challenges of growing up in a White Danville neighborhood as a Black child. "They didn't want us walking on the sidewalk," Keen recalled (as cited in Crane, 2013, p. 1). Keen remembers the ice cream vendor serving the children at the White window, looking past him at the front of the Black line (as cited in Crane, 2013, p. 2). At the Woolworth, Keen remembered, Blacks had to enter through a side door rather than the front door which was reserved for Whites. Bishop Lawrence Campbell, one of the leaders of the Civil Rights movement in Danville, recalled attending the all-Black Langston High School and being issued used textbooks and sports equipment while the White George Washington High School students had new books and materials. Segregated department stores hired Whites only and the streets and sidewalks in Black neighborhoods remained unpaved (as cited in Crane, 2013, p. 2).

The African American Experience of Segregated Danville

Journalist and independent researcher Emma Edmunds extensively documented the Civil Rights struggle in Danville in an online exhibit which is part of the Virginia Center for Digital History. As the principal researcher of *Mapping Local Knowledge, Danville, Va., 1945-75*, Edmunds, working under a grant from the Elizabeth Stuart James

Grant Trust of Danville and the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, interviewed 10 Danville residents regarding their experiences during these years. As a primary source these interviews give insight into the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of African Americans affected by the policies of segregation in Danville. Similar to the slave narratives, Ms. Edmund's oral interviews illuminate segregated life in Danville during the Civil Rights era. The interviews were conducted in the years from 1998 to 2005 with the assistance of Ms. Gladys Hairston, a 2004 University of Virginia graduate. Through these interviews the voices of people of color in Danville who lived through segregation, the turmoil of the Civil Rights struggle, and the decade following the Civil Rights Act of 1964 can be heard.

For many of those who participated in Edmund's oral history project, memories of life in Danville centered on the importance of Black civil society groups, churches, and schools, spaces in which young African Americans' identity was nurtured and affirmed in a counter-narrative to the more than 60 years of prejudice and defamation inherent in legalized segregation in Danville. Music was a theme in many of the interviews, affording a means of self-expression and accomplishment, and freedom in a time when few such avenues were available. Some individuals interviewed, such as James Hughes whose family owned a funeral home, one of numerous businesses in the Holbrook neighborhood, would not speak of the time of segregation in Danville. This reluctance appeared reminiscent of the interviews of former slaves conducted by the Federal Writers' Project in the 1930s.

Charles T. Oliver, music director at Loyal Baptist Church from 1998 to 2007, and a lifelong resident, was born Danville in 1934. He remembers Loyal Baptist Church, founded by former slaves in 1865, as the site for school graduations and plays, community events, and mass meetings during the years of segregation. While serving as the music director at Loyal, he continued his membership at Trinity Baptist where at the age of 5 he learned to play the piano and served as accompanist to the children's choir at age 10. Charlie Nelson, a teacher and band leader, who attended Loyal Baptist Church from childhood, remembers social connections and moral instruction there which prepared him for life as part of a community; his "Earliest memories of attending Loyal Baptist were the picnics" (Nelson, 2005, in Edmunds, n.d., "Charlie E. Nelson"). Nelson began playing the bugle at the age of 10 with the American Legion Post 29 Drum and Bugle Corps. He did not participate in the Civil Rights protests the summer of 1963 as he was preparing to take a teaching job in Hampton, but remembers it as a confusing and conflicted time as integration began to create a new dynamic between the races: "it was mixed up for the black race and for the white race because we were moving into something different," he said. "One group was trying to get something they believed they deserved. Another group was trying to stop them. There was really a conflict…" (Nelson, 2005, in Edmunds, n.d., "Charlie E. Nelson").

Many aspects of segregation invalidated the humanity of Blacks and stripped them of their self-respect and dignity, but also gave them the impetus to fight for change. Mrs. Dorothy Harris shared an incident that occurred as she and other teachers at Langston High School were traveling with students to Roanoke for a basketball

tournament. Traveling on Route 40 in Penhook, a rural area in Franklin County about 50 minutes from Danville, a male teacher on bus needed to use the restroom. He went as far as he could and told the bus driver he had to stop. The White proprietor of the store where the bus driver stopped would not allow the Black teacher to use the restroom, causing him to soil his clothing. Too embarrassed to come back to the busload of high school students and fellow teachers, Mrs. Harris and the other teachers found their colleague standing under the store building. The teachers did not want the children to know so they tried to use the phone to arrange for someone to pick him up and take him back to Danville. The White man would not let them use the phone. The school bus had to travel a mile or so up the road in order to use a phone and make arrangements for the teacher. Mrs. Harris describes the meaning of this humiliation of her coworker:

> This is what segregation would do for you. You couldn't even find a bathroom to use when you were traveling. These were the things that really came close to your heart when you say, "Now I don't want my children to go through this. I've been through this, but I don't want them to have to go through this." So, people became committed to the movement to bring about change. (Harris, 2003, in Edmunds, n.d., "Dorothy O. Harris")

Danville's Civil Rights movement begins. In 1960, buoyed by the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical (A&T) university student sit-ins at the Woolworth Department store Whites-only lunch counter in nearby Greensboro, 16 Black high school students, members of the Youth Division of the NAACP, developed a plan to challenge segregation in two public spaces in Danville: Whites only Ballou Park and the segregated

Confederate Memorial library. The organizer of the student protests, 17-year-old Robert A. Williams, was the son of Jerry Williams, a local NAACP attorney and also the subject of one of Edmunds oral history interviews. Robert, today an attorney in nearby Martinsville, in consultation with his father and other NAACP members, strategically focused on public facilities rather than private ones for student protests. Even before the demonstrations, he knew that the NAACP was committed to backing the efforts through litigation. As he explained to Edmunds,

> I was able to convince the other students…and our advisor that the first attack we should have against the public parks and the public library…there was precedent that if you had institutions that were publicly funded, that we'd have a greater change of integrating those than lunch counters, which were owned by private corporations or individuals. (Williams, 2000, in Edmunds, n.d., "Robert A. Williams")

Ballou Park is located off of West Main Street and bounded by Park Ave., a neighborhood of small mill houses perched on an elevation overlooking the Dan River a mile or two from the Black Holbrook neighborhood.

Danville's two-library system which had been in place for decades comprised the extensive White Confederate Memorial Library housed on Main Street at the Sutherlin Mansion and the modestly equipped Black William E. Grasty library housed in a small masonry block building on Holbrook Street in a Black neighborhood. On Saturday, April 2, 1960, 95 years to the day from Richmond's fall and Davis' flight to Danville, the students staged the first Civil Rights demonstration in Danville. They first gathered at

Loyal Baptist and walked together to Ballou Park. According to Williams, the police came and closed the park but arrested no one (Williams, 2000, in Edmunds, n.d., "Robert A. Williams"). After closing Ballou Park the students walked back down West Main to Main Street and the Sutherlin Mansion. After being refused service, they sat for 20 minutes at tables doing homework until the head librarian closed the library (Global Nonviolent Action Database, 2011/2014, n.d.). "We felt on that day, very, very, triumphant—that we had accomplished what we wanted—that was that if we could not use the park and the library, then they would be closed to all" (Williams, 2000, in Edmunds, n.d., "Robert A. Williams").

Two days later, the City Council reopened the library but limited access to the "present holders" of library cards who were exclusively White. The students returned to the library the next week, requested library privileges, and were directed to the Black library on Holbrook Street. According to Edmunds (2016) the students then staged a meeting at Loyal Baptist Church which was attended by more than 350 people and the local NAACP chapter voted to seek a federal court order integrating the library and an injunction prohibiting the segregation of public facilities. On April 13, 1960, NAACP attorneys Ruth Harvey, Andrew Muse, and Jerry Williams, Robert's father, filed suit in federal district court.

In May, Judge Roby C. Thompson directed Danville to cease practicing racial discrimination in the operation of its libraries and to permit all persons with library cards to use the main library (Ely, 1974). Responding to the federal district court ruling, the White City Council voted unanimously to close the libraries on May 20, just prior to the

effective date of Judge Thompson's order, and scheduled a city referendum in June to determine the final disposition of the libraries. Despite strong campaigning by Blacks, balloting in June supported the closure of the libraries; Whites in Danville preferred to have no access than to share the public library with Black citizens. To prevent integration the library remained closed until September when a second City Council vote resulted in approval of a plan for reopening; all tables and chairs removed, "vertical compliance" that prohibited the Black students from studying there (Edmunds, 2016; Maddox, personal communication, 2016). Thereafter, patrons were charged $2.50 for an annual library card in an attempt to prevent the issuance of cards to Black students.

Following the success of the NAACP youth in Danville, throughout 1962 Black leaders from Danville were stonewalled by the City Council as they repeatedly requested representation on various government boards, the appointment of a Black police officer, and the end to segregation. African American ministers Rev. Lawrence Campbell, Rev. Alexander Dunlap, Rev. Lendall Chase, president of the Danville SCLC and pastor of the High Street Baptist Church, along with Julius E. Adams and Arthur Pinchback, led the burgeoning Civil Rights movement.

In the fall of 1962, 17-year-old Hazel Ruth Adams of Cascade, a small Black community on the outskirts of outside of Danville, successfully sued in federal court to become the first African American to be admitted to the newly opened Patrick Henry branch campus of the University of Virginia in nearby Henry County. The daughter of an African American businessman and clergy, Rev. Clarence Adams and his wife Rebecca, Ms. Adams' application for admission was strongly opposed by the Patrick Henry Branch

Advisory Committee of the University who railed against the University of Virginia's failure to oppose it in court in compliance with the "clearly declared policy of our State government to defend such suits wherever and whenever possible." In failing to do so, stated the committee "not only has our advice been disregarded, but the…college has been denied its legal and moral right to be heard in Court on the merits of this case" ("17-Year-Old Hazel Adams First to Be Integrated Into Formerly All-White College," 1962). Following the filing of the court case, Ms. Adams' younger sister, Mrs. Charlotte Adams Keen, remembers a cross was burned in the front yard of the family's home (Keen, personal communication, 2018). Ms. Adams attended the school for one day before returning to the historically Black Virginia State College in Petersburg.

Mobilization of Civil Rights by Black clergy. High Street Baptist Church was founded by former slaves following emancipation in 1865 and became the rallying point for the Civil Rights movement in Danville city. Leaders and leaders including Dr. Martin Luther King met there to organize and strategize. In 1962 Campbell, Dunlap, and Chase, along with Julius Adams, filed a Danville Omnibus Integration Suit in federal court. The suit requested the integration of Danville's hospitals, schools, cemeteries, public buildings, public housing projects, teaching assignments, and city employment opportunities (1963 Danville (Va.) Civil Rights Case Files, 1963-1973, 1999). Early in January 1963 the four men plus Arthur Pinchback, accompanied by Robert Zellner of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), became the first to be arrested in the Danville Civil Rights movement for refusing to leave the parking lot of a segregated

Howard Johnson restaurant on Route 29 after it locked its doors to prevent their entry and service. Other protests followed at Whites-only restaurants and stores in Danville.

While many of the demonstrators were men, women also demonstrated, and many were arrested. For teachers, who were well respected in the Black community, participating in the Civil Rights demonstrations could mean a loss of one of few well-paying jobs available to Blacks. Mrs. Avicia H. Thorpe, a teacher in the segregated school system in Danville from 1933 to 1966, like fellow teacher Mrs. Harris, was fearful of losing her position by marching in the Civil Rights demonstrations but found other methods of helping the effort for equality:

> It was risky at that time. A teacher would take the chance of losing his or her job. But we helped in other ways. When the people met at High Street Baptist Church, we would send food down there for them. People were arrested and had these bills and all to pay. Some of us contributed that way to help take on financing. I remember when the NAACP life membership plaques were presented, I had purchased one of them. That night I stated that I could not get out into the streets and demonstrate as some of them were doing. But I did what little I could to help financially by buying a life membership. I remember one of the teachers saying, "Oh, I would have been afraid." So that's just how things were at that time. (Thorpe, 2005, in Edmunds, n.d., "Avicia H. Thorpe")

Mrs. Dorothy Harris, also a teacher in the segregated school system, watched out the window of the school board office in Danville in June of 1963 as demonstrators were pushed down the street with cannons of water aimed by policemen holding powerful fire

hoses. She turned to the White secretary in the office who was watching her reaction, "You know where I will be spending the rest of my summer? As a part of this movement. This is not right" (Harris, 2003, in Edmunds, n.d., "Dorothy O. Harris").

White Democratic segregationists in Danville's political and judicial system quickly coalesced to prevent the demonstrations from gaining momentum and minimized their media coverage, creating a total block on reporting on the events for a least a week in June 1963. Reports in local newspapers characterized the demonstrations as "communist-inspired" (Holt, 1965, p. 100). The media coverage that did occur was adamantly against the Civil Rights efforts, linking the demonstrations with crime and communism, creating fear and outrage on the part of White citizens who gathered on sidewalks and streets to jeer demonstrators (Ely, 1974). Local city officials attacked the demonstrations as being criminal and communist and then the demonstrators themselves as "hoodlums," accusing them of bottle throwing and other violence against local police. Segregationists entrenched in the city government opposed the Civil Rights activists at every juncture.

John W. Carter, an attorney and town council member served as a strategist and spokesperson in combating the Civil Rights movement in Danville. Carter had gained notoriety in Virginia for forming a White supremacist third political party, the Virginia Conservative Party, in response to the Democratic Party's support of John F. Kennedy. Danville Corporation Judge A. M. Aiken, son of Judge Archibald Aiken, who had authored the 1883 Danville Circular coalescing White supremacist Democrats in Virginia to regain political control following Reconstruction, was the chief opponent to the Civil

Rights movement. Aiken was also an avowed segregationist. In a bizarre turn, Judge Aiken applied antebellum law statutes against slave insurrections to the Civil Rights demonstrations. White Mayor Julian Stinson, Police Chief Eugene McCain, and local Congressman Bill Tuck, all strong segregationists, worked with Carter and Aiken, employing arcane legal statutes, physical violence, mass incarceration, and misinformation to derail the peaceful efforts at Black equality in Danville. Targeting the movement's leaders, largely ministers, they set prohibitive bonds, charging and jailing more than 350 demonstrators by the summer's end. Under Carter's leadership the Danville City Council voted to adopt two ordinances to prevent the demonstrations: one limited size, place, and time, and the other required a permit to parade.

Judge Aiken, according to defense attorneys, tried cases wearing a gun and refused attorneys the opportunity of obtaining witnesses (Holt, 1965). According to a SNCC publication published in August 1963 the one City Council member who "spoke up for an official bi-racial committee was publicly reprimanded" (Miller, 1963). Virginia Governor Albertis S. Harrison kept a low profile on the situation, attempting to draw as little attention as possible to the unfolding events to facilitate the Danville local government to have a free hand in dealing with the demonstrations (Ely, 1974). He drafted a television speech which he later decided not to deliver in which he pledged to demonstrators that "Virginia will see to it that your free speech and peaceable assembly are protected to the fullest extent of the law" (p. 942). Rather than give the televised speech which could have resulted in some easing of tensions, Harrison sent the state police to Danville (Harrison Executive Papers, as cited in Ely, 1974).

On May 31, following a meeting of the SCLC at which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke, Danville Civil Rights demonstrations began and ended peacefully. Protestors, mostly comprising youth led by Thurman Echols and Ezell Barksdale, were not arrested. On June 5 more demonstrations were held and a protest march to City hall was led by Rev. Lawrence Campbell and Rev. A.I. Dunlap. Several students who tried to see Mayor Julian Stinson, according to SNCC, sat down on the City Hall floor after being told the mayor was unavailable (Miller, 1963). Police attacked the student demonstrators in the City Hall building, pushing Rev. Dunlap down the stairs and choking one of the female students, who had not yet been trained in nonviolent response. After the student being attacked swung at the police officer with her purse, she and the two ministers were jailed. Police called Judge Aiken to the scene who commanded the demonstrators to disperse. They refused, jeering Aiken, who the next day issued a temporary injunction against the demonstrators for resisting assembling in an unlawful manner, interfering with traffic and business, obstructing entrances to businesses and public buildings, participating and inciting mob violence, and using loud language that disrupts the peace (Ely, 1974, p. 933). In addition, Aiken convened a special grand jury, indicting demonstration leaders on June 7 under a 1859 slavery-era law designed to prevent slave rebellions enacted after John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. This section of the Virginia Code, Section 18.1-422, made "inciting the colored population to acts of violence or war against the white population" illegal (Holt, 1965, p. 82). Revs. Dunlap and Campbell were both charged under the John Brown Statute of "inciting riot" and also for encouraging a minor to commit a misdemeanor and their bond was set at $5,500 each.

On June 6, Danville Civil Rights leaders requested help from the SNCC who began arriving on June 8. Field secretaries of the SNCC and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), along with Civil Rights attorneys from the National Lawyers Guild and the NAACP, arrived to represent jailed or indicted demonstrators. According to High Street Baptist Church historians and SNCC documents, in "one of the most outrageous skirmishes in the battle between the Negro community and the Danville city fathers," Danville police under the command of Police Chief McCain broke into the historic Black church founded by emancipated slaves in 1865, first kicking in the exterior doors and after gaining entrance breaking down the door to the pastor's office in an attempt to locate and arrest the out of town Civil Rights workers ("High Street Baptist Church," 2013).

Bloody Monday: Violence Erupts

On Monday, June 10, 1963, after months of nonviolent integration attempts in Danville, and following both the prohibitive size, place, and time City Council ordinance and Judge Aiken's injunction limiting protests, the city erupted in violence. That afternoon, according to SNCC, 38 people including two SNCC Field Supervisors marched to City Hall where they arrested after being beaten with clubs and knocked down with fire hoses (Miller, 1963). That same evening, a second group of demonstrators, more than 65 men, women, and children, held a prayer vigil on behalf of protesters arrested earlier in the day. They sang hymns, walking together as they circled the jail. As they began a second trip around the jail, police stopped them and Police Chief McCain grabbed SNCC operative Robert Zellner's camera, smashing it on the ground,

and had Zellner taken to jail; Rev. McGhee began a loud prayer asking for forgiveness for the police "who know not what they do" (Miller, 1963). Police and a group of deputized White garbage workers attacked the demonstrators with fire hoses and nightsticks after trapping them in an alley.

NAACP Attorney Ruth Harvey Charity described the next events, "As he stood up, the order was given to 'let them have it'" (as cited in Calos, 2013, p. 3). According to Charity, Virginia state troopers sent by the Governor,

> lined up to block the rear of the alley while firetrucks and hoses were pulled up to the entrance, thus trapping the persons who were there for the prayer service…[they] moved in against the demonstrators, beating them and turning on the hoses, washing the people down the street like so much trash. Gloria Campbell [wife of Rev. Lawrence Campbell] received such a high-intensity stream of water, it tore her dress off. (as cited Calos, 2013, p. 3)

Forty-seven people were injured, some of them seriously, and almost all required medical attention. Lists of injuries made at the local Black hospital included broken bones; photographs of victims taken that same night and the next day of show terrible wounds, particularly to the skulls of demonstrators from nightsticks and pistol butts. At his trial of one of the Bloody Monday participants, 46-year-old Paul Price, testified that he was beaten with a nightstick as he was walking away from the demonstration. Danville city attorney James A. H. Ferguson responded to Price's testimony saying that his wounds "may have been caused when he struck a light pole as he ran from police" (Lorch, 2003). The violence drew national attention once it was picked up by the

Associated Press and prompted Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and others to focus on Danville as a prime site for future direct action as part of the SCLC's national campaign.

Despite the injuries and police brutality, demonstrations continued and the next day Rev. L.W. Chase, pastor of High Street, led a group of 200 Blacks back to City Hall to protest the violence the night before. The protestors included many of the 50 people who had been wounded the night before. They walked slowly to and fro in front of city hall, their heads and arms bandaged, demanding to see Mayor Stinson, who refused to meet with them. Three days later, Rev. Chase again led a group of demonstrators, this time around 250 Blacks to City Hall, to find the doors locked. The group occupied the steps in front of City Hall until around 11 pm that evening when Chief McCain ordered police to block off an area for four blocks around City Hall, surrounding the demonstrators with armed police and firetrucks. As they prepared to again attack the demonstrators with the pressurized hoses, many just feet away from the nozzles, Rev. Chase and supporters from the SCLC and SNCC confronted McCain, giving time for the demonstrators to retreat before police attacked them. Police followed them back to Bible Way, Rev. Campbell's church, where a mass meeting was being assembled. A riot-tank mounted with machine guns accompanied by four patrol cars set up a road block near the church, stopping and searching cars (Holt, 1965).

On June 21, 1963, Judge Aiken's special grand jury indicted 10 more protest leaders of the Danville Civil Rights demonstrations under the 1859 John Brown statute. The defense team began to file federal motions for relief including one with the United States District Court Judge for the Western District of Virginia, Thomas J. Michie of

Charlottesville, a Kennedy appointee. Like Judge Aiken, Michie was a Democratic Party member and University of Virginia graduate, but with the reputation of a moderate on racial integration issues (Ely, 1974). Michie had prevented the closing of schools in Charlottesville, opposing massive resistance. If there was a federal judge in Virginia who would help the Danville demonstrators cause, as Ely (1974) posits, "one could reasonably expect that he would" (p. 945). Yet, Michie, in a blow to the Danville Civil Rights movement, refused to lift the injunction placed by Aiken on the demonstrations and on July 2 added his own federal injunction against the protests that mirrored Aiken's, "on the grounds that the disorders denied others in Danville federally protected rights" (Ely, 1974, p. 946).

To resolve the complication of two injunctions in place against the demonstrations, NAACP attorneys asked Michie to dissolve his order, which he refused to do until attorney Kunstler took the matter before the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals and Judge Simone E. Sobeloff. Judge Sobeloff, a Baltimorean of Jewish faith, had presented the government's arguments on the implementation of *Brown* during his tenure as Solicitor General in 1954. After President Eisenhower nominated Judge Sobeloff in 1955 to the Court of Appeals, his confirmation was delayed for over a year by Southern Senators concerned over his opinions on school desegregation (Merrill, 1974). After a private telephone conversation between Judge Sobeloff and Judge Michie, Michie dissolved his injunction on July 10. While this was helpful, he sent virtually every other relief sought by the demonstrators back to Judge Aiken. Along with two other judges,

Michie refused to insert federal jurisdiction over Aiken's use of the antiquated John Brown statute which they characterized as a Virginia matter.

Rev. King comes to Danville. Although protests were waning as bond costs mounted and demonstrators were jailed, the city of Danville continued its plan of deterrence. On July 10 the town council led by Carter enacted a second ordinance, this one requiring that demonstrators apply for and receive a parade permit (1963 Danville (Va.) Civil Rights Case Files, 1963-1973, 1999) before marching, providing yet another justification for arrests. Martin Luther King, Jr., came to Danville the next day and spoke but refused to lead a planned march as only 80 participants showed up. In a speech recorded by a Roanoke television station on July 11 and archived at the University of Virginia, King said,

> I have seen some brutal things on the part of policemen all across the South in our struggle, but very seldom, if ever, have I heard of a police force being as brutal and vicious as the police force here in Danville. Injustice in Danville is a threat to justice everywhere. And as long as this community has problems, as long as the negro is not free in Danville, Virginia, the Negro is not free anywhere in the United States of America. (as cited in Calos, 2013, p. 3)

An SCLC mass jail-in on July 28 resulted in only 77 incarcerations. Exhausted, Danville Civil Rights leaders, who had already been required to post $5,000 bonds for the grand jury indictments under the 1859 "John Brown" statute, were now faced with waning support as the total bail bonds climbed to more than $300,000 and they had no progress to show for their efforts. To speed up trials Judge Aiken moved some hearings

to locations up to 200 miles away, a great difficulty for poor Blacks already stretched to their economics limits, with virtually no intercession by the federal government. In August more than 300 people arrested in the demonstrations were awaiting trial (1963 Danville (Va.) Civil Rights Case Files, 1963-1973, 1999). The fall of 1963, as the SCLC held its annual conference in Richmond, Martin Luther King mentioned Danville as a possible location for a massive campaign. Later that fall, SCLC sent representatives, who achieved a modicum of progress by negotiating the hiring of Danville's first Black policeman since the Danville Riot of 1883.

With little intervention from state or federal courts, Judge Aiken continued to try demonstrators, sometimes in groups of up to 29, routinely finding defendants guilty regardless of their personal knowledge of his injunction or lack of being named in the injunction against the demonstrations or its denial of free speech and assembly (Ely, 1974). For economic reasons, many defendants had difficulty making an appearance and Judge Aiken revoked the bonds for these individuals, often made through donations or loans taken on equity on property in the Black community, sometimes as many as 11 $500 bonds in one day. According to Ely (1974), Rev. Lawrence Campbell received the strongest punishment of all demonstrators, 250 days of incarceration and a fine of $2,500. According to Edmunds (2016), some sentences for demonstration leaders imposed by Judge Aiken were not suspended by courts until 2005. Early in 1967 the Supreme Court of Virginia began adjudicating appeals from the 1963 convictions. While they ruled Aiken's injunction constitutional, they found the timeframe requirement in the parade regulation too harsh. In 1970 the Court ruled that the state cannot arrest a party for

violating an injunction of which they were not named without proving they had prior knowledge. By 1973 the Court had overturned the convictions of almost 270 people. The Supreme Court judge who heard the cases sent back to the Danville Court those cases excluded from the Supreme Court rulings and suspended jail sentences against the prosecutor's objections. Demonstrators, however, were ordered to pay the fines, more than $5,000.

City officials crossed the lines of humanness and legality frequently in the summer of 1963. Police Chief McCain not only ordered the brutal assault of demonstrators, more than half of whom were high school students, but evidence shows that he supervised a break-in at High Street Baptist Church, broke a SNCC operative's camera to avoid the Bloody Monday march from being filmed, and ordered three NBC newsmen picked up and detained for questioning as they attempted to film a demonstration (Thomas, 2016). The parents of demonstrators who were under the age of 18 were arrested for contributing to the delinquency of their children. Judge Aiken was the subject of much controversy both during and after the Danville Civil Rights demonstrations for his questionable behavior. He continued to try cases after an injunction was granted temporarily terminating his jurisdiction in the matter. On June 17 the U.S. Justice Department issued a brief on the Danville situation, strongly criticizing Judge Aiken's courtroom procedures, the only act of support for demonstrators by the John F. Kennedy administration. A Justice Department official described numerous irregularities by Judge Aiken, including his refusal to allow out-of-state attorneys to practice in his court unless they produced their certificates of admission to the bar,

excluding the public from the courtroom, and having witnesses and attorneys frisked for firearms while all city employees were permitted to wear them. Judge Aiken himself was seen wearing a pistol while presiding on the bench (Ely, 1974). At times Aiken had up to 30 armed police officers inside the courtroom, and refused defense attorneys time to identity witnesses. In December of 1966 he found NAACP attorney Ruth Harvey guilty of contempt, a decision unanimously reversed by the Supreme Court of Appeals. Subsequent to the trials of the Civil Rights demonstrators, Judge Aiken jailed W. Leigh Taylor, the executive of Danville textile manufacturer Dan River Mills, for 10 days in 1966. Taylor's incarceration was ordered after he wrote a letter to criticizing Aiken's imposition of jail sentence on the demonstrators as "inane." In 1969, Judge Aiken sentenced a 20-year-old to 25 years in prison for possession of a small amount of marijuana (1963 Danville (Va.) Civil Rights Case Files, 1963-1973, 1999). Following Justice Department complaints regarding Judge Aiken, the Danville Bar Association commended him for his practices of fairness to persons of all races and, following his death in 1971, the city named a bridge for him.

Virginia's heritage of White supremacy stands. Following the demonstrations Congressman Bill Tuck, another of the Byrd White supremacist operatives, introduced a bill in Congress that would have made it a crime for any person to cross a state line "where the purpose of such travel was to incite a riot or engage in any violation of the law," a bill which the *Richmond News Leader* characterized as a measure "to abate Racial Strife" (Thomas, 2016). The failure of the Civil Rights demonstrations in Danville in the summer of 1963 was a failure of Virginia, showing the entrenchment of segregation and

the state's deep racial divide. Lack of progress toward Black citizens' receipt of equal treatment under the law had significant meaning on a national, local, and regional level.

Demonstrators appeared to have been abandoned by the federal government which refused to take action to stop the systematic steamrolling of their rights to free speech and assembly through Judge Aiken's application of clearly discriminatory antebellum era law. They were failed again by Judge Michie of the U.S. District Court, who despite his previous support of *Brown* and actions against massive resistance, refused to remove Judge Aiken's injunction against the demonstrations or provide any relief over Aiken's use of the antebellum insurrection law, perhaps choosing "White" over "right" in support of fellow UVA Law alumni Judge Aiken. Nine years after the *Brown* decision in Topeka, not only had integration had not come to Danville City schools, Danville's White citizens, seemingly intent on maintaining the racial status quo, employed a violence and determination unseen in Civil Rights demonstrations in other Virginia cities. As the *New York Time*s noted the August following the 1963 Civil Rights Demonstrations in Danville, the city "had developed a defense strategy that is among the most unyielding, ingenious, legalistic and effective of any city in the South" (as cited in Ely, 1974, p. 943).

In many ways the Danville Civil Rights movement in 1963 bears a remarkable resemblance to the Danville Riot of 1883. Just as in the Riot of 1883 the sons and daughters of the Confederacy took to the streets battling for the White privilege and the "lost cause," Whites led by Judge Aiken and his cronies successfully resisted Black equality the summer of 1963 just as his father Judge Aiken had some 80 years prior. As

Dorothy Miller so aptly noted in the SNCC pamphlet describing the Danville Civil Rights efforts,

> The hardest of all is the road on which the city administration has embarked, for the bitterness always latent in this tight mill community is now deeply embedded. Too many beatings, too many indignities have already been suffered by the Negroes of Danville, Virginia for them to forget. (Miller, 1963, p. 5)

As with memories and experiences from years of slavery and Jim Crow, many people who either witnessed or participated in the Civil Rights demonstrations in Danville find it difficult to articulate the deep pain associated with these years. This phenomenon is clear in Emma Edmund's *Mapping Local Knowledge* interviews. Some individuals like James Hughes simply avoid such conversations. Others, like African American Mrs. Ruby Archie, the first female mayor of Danville from 1998 to 2000, who passed away in 2010, did not believe that a historical marker should be erected to commemorate the demonstrations, believing it to be "too pronounced" (Archie, 2004, Edmunds, n.d., "Ruby B. Archie"). Although she rejected the efficacy of a tangible acknowledgement like historical markers, she expressed the need for continued discourse:

> We have to continue to talk about it…that was a painful experience and you had to be here to watch it be a part of it to know how painful it was…. I don't think we need a marker to remind us of those painful events. (Archie, 2004, in Edmunds, n.d., "Ruby B. Archie")

Danville desegregates. Following the Civil Rights movement in the summer of 1963, with prompting by the federal government and persistence by the NAACP, the SCLC, and Black leaders, the legal and social system empowering Whites and marginalizing African Americans in Danville since the city's formation in the early 19th century began to diminish. With the passage of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 the first African American took political office in Danville since Reconstruction. Mr. Charles Harris, a teller who rose through the ranks at the African American-owned First State Bank to become a vice president and trust officer was elected in 1968 as the first Black since 1882 to serve on the Danville City Council. During the summer of 1963 he had helped organize bonds for participants in the Civil Rights demonstrations who were arrested. Harris went on to be elected as mayor of Danville in 1980 and after his term ended in 1984 continued to serve on the City Council until his death in 1988. His moderate rather than militant approach to Civil Rights was acceptable to Whites still adjusting to the new social order in Danville, allowing them to look past his Blackness. His wife, Mrs. Dorothy Harris, remembered his term as mayor in an interview for the *Mapping Local Knowledge* oral history project:

> Whites and blacks together supported him…he was not saying, "we're going to do this as blacks" or like that. He was negotiating behind the scene and that's when many opportunities came to us…. The community recognized his ability and forgot that he was black for awhile. You know, they recognized what he was able to do. (Harris, 2003, in Edmunds, n.d., "Dorothy O. Harris")

Changes in Danville reflected the dramatic social and legal upheavals occurring elsewhere in Virginia and across the United States in the late 1960s. Just a year prior to Harris's election to the Danville City Council, in 1967, the U.S. Supreme Court had overturned Virginia's prohibition against interracial marriage. Laws preventing racial mixing, at the heart of much segregationist opposition of integration of schools in Virginia and an issue since colonial times, were declared unconstitutional in the case of *Loving v. Virginia*. Women, too, began to experience some flexibility in their social roles and rights to equality in employment through the passage of the federal Civil Rights Act. Howard Smith, the segregationist U.S. Representative from Virginia who vehemently opposed the Civil Rights Act, had added "sex" as grounds for illegal discrimination, believing he had fated the bill to die without passage (Breitzer, 2012). Elderly but still an adamant regarding his White supremacist beliefs in 1964, he counted on his colleagues to share his discriminatory opinions toward women even if they believed in equality for African Americans. With Smith's amendment the bill passed the House and despite efforts at a Southern filibuster, was approved by the Senate, returned to the House for approval, and signed into law by Lyndon Johnson on July 1, 1964. Smith quite unintentionally added equal rights for women to the landmark bill intended to create equality for African Americans (Breitzer, 2012).

School integration slowly begins. During the 1966-1967 school year a diminutive, dynamic, 26-year-old African American science teacher newly arrived from South Carolina, Mrs. Johnnie M. Fullerwinder, integrated the faculty at Danville's White

George Washington High School. This momentous event was kept quiet by the school board and only briefly noted by the local newspaper.

Two years prior to Mrs. Fullerwinder being offered her position, in 1964, six Black students from Langston High School had been allowed to enroll at George Washington. All of the 150 faculty members at the school remained White, however. Initially asked by the school board if she would take a position as a librarian, a tactic frequently used in the South to integrate White schools, she emphatically declined. After two interviews including one with Mr. Bonner, the Danville school superintendent, the school system offered her a position as a science teacher, never telling her she would be the sole African American faculty at the White school—although she noted, during the interview he did ask her how she would feel about teaching White students. She recalls replying, “In a classroom I see students, not color” (Fullerwinder, 2009).

As chronicled in her 2009 book, it was not until her second day of employment that Mrs. Fullerwinder discovered that she was the only African American teacher for the 1966-1967 school year (Fullwinder, 2009). She was quickly ostracized and challenged by students, faculty, and parents. At the first school faculty meeting she remembers feeling like she had been struck by a lightning bolt, shocked that no one had mentioned to her that she would be the only Black staff member. Increasingly apprehensive and fighting a growing sense of fear as not a single person welcomed her following the staff meeting, in a daze she began looking for the “colored” restroom to compose herself. She quickly found there was no “colored” restroom. Determined not to be intimidated, she entered the bathroom marked “Women,” her first experience in a “White” restroom. In a pattern that

emerged during her first year at the school, Mrs. Fullerwinder was met by a wall of silence as she spoke to the White teachers in the restroom, who quickly washed their hands and exited rather than answer. She decided at that moment that regardless of their silence, she would continue to speak; by the end of her first day one male science teacher asked how her day went (Fullerwinder, 2009).

Students' reactions to her race were much the same as the adults. On the first regular day of school as they entered Mrs. Fullerwinder's classroom, the children were shocked to find an African American teacher. "One girl pinched her nose and turned her head to the side as she entered the classroom, ignoring me as though I didn't exist. Tension was so thick you could cut it with a knife," explained Mrs. Fullerwinder (personal communication, 2016). She remembers telling the students, "'You are aware that I'm black, but if you allow me to teach you I can do an excellent job and make you a better science student.' I held my shoulders and my head up high." Mrs. Fullerwinder was completely unaware until later that day that the school's head football coach had been sent by the administration to guard her classroom door, precluding violence. The cafeteria presented another major dilemma for her. Habituated to the rules of segregation she had thoughts of locating the "back window" from which to order her lunch as she was forced do in restaurants in Danville. Instead, after shocking the Black cafeteria staff who had not realized there was now an African American teacher at the school, she followed behind another staff member to the special room for the teachers, eating her lunch in silence after greeting her coworkers. Determined to win the students over to science if not to her personally, Mrs. Fullerwinder employed creative experiential learning techniques

using the plethora of laboratory equipment available to the science department, a stark contrast to the aging, scarce supplies at the Black high school at which she had taught in South Carolina. Some 50 years later Mrs. Fullerwinder still recalls her reaction to the quantity and quality of supplies at the school that first semester,

> I was in awe when I went into the book room. I had only seen books with the backs missing and stapled, and here there were all of these new books! When I looked at the equipment, I had enough equipment to put students in my classes in twos instead of one microscope for every 30 students. (personal communication, 2016)

While Mrs. Fullerwinder remembers the students being slow to relate to her, avoiding eye contact, and refusing to speak to her, but the majority did participate. Following one remedial science class of mostly older boys, she found the word “n-----“ etched into some of the desks, but as she optimistically explained, “No one tried to hit me!” Parents of one student who was unable to continue to participate in sports because of his poor grades attempted to intimidate her into changing his science grade, but she refused and was supported in this decision by the school’s principal. She offered to meet the student regularly for tutoring instead.

Refusing to tolerate disrespect, Mrs. Fullerwinder developed a reputation for strictness, but by the second semester students began to shift their schedules to get into her classes because of her innovative teaching and her concentration on academics. By the end of the school year some teachers and staff developed friendships with her, the majority showing a level of acceptance. Encouraged by an administrator at George

Washington, Mrs. Fullerwinder earned her master's degree in Administration, was designated the head biology teacher at the school, and after 18 years in the Danville school system, became the first female administrator at a city middle school. In 1984 she returned to George Washington as an assistant principal. In 1992 she was awarded the outstanding Secondary School System Assistant Principal of the Year by the National Association of Secondary School Principals. She proudly recalls the changed attitudes of her homeroom students who spent two periods a day with her over their four years at George Washington. As they graduated, they presented her with an engraved silver tray with the wording "GWHS Homeroom 1966-1970," just as proudly she describes lifelong friendships and significant progress in racial equity achieved through her determination and excellence.

City council integrates. The composition of the 1968 Danville City Council, like the 1968 Virginia General Assembly, was indicative of movement toward equality for African Americans. The shifts that Martin Luther King had predicted in his 1957 speech regarding the passing of the old order of colonialism and the advent of the new order of freedom and equality were beginning to come to fruition in Virginia, even in Danville (Garrow, 2007, p. 1). The remaining vestige of massive resistance in Virginia, the tuition grant program, was struck down by a federal court in 1969 and the blatantly racist and segregationist Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government (CCG) was abolished (Sweeney, 2013). As Sweeney (2013) describes, however, even as the CCG became an embarrassment to most in Virginia, it had editorial defenders at the *Danville Register*.

Allowing that the commission might have been "guilty of leaning to the right," the *Danville Register* stated that

> it has served a useful purpose by providing some reliable source material on development of fundamental practices and policies to help offset the avalanche of ultra-liberal effusions intended to spark social activists into movements to make over Virginia and America in the image of the socialist states in Europe and elsewhere. (as cited in Sweeney, 2013, p. 74)

Despite the Supreme Court ruling in *Brown*, Danville schools remained segregated; it was not until 1969-1970, the year after Charles Harris took his City Council seat and three years after Mrs. Fullerwinder integrated the faculty at the White high school that the Danville school board approved a comprehensive integration plan. Reflective of the federal government's push for total rather than token school integration as massive resistance ended in Virginia, during the 1970-1971 school year Danville's White high school, George Washington, was integrated under court order. Some violence broke out in September of that year between White and Black students and the school was closed for a day (Edmunds, n.d.). Mrs. Fullerwinder recalled two White police officers being permanently assigned to the school in response to racial discord.

According to Mrs. Ruby Archie, English department head at Langston and George Washington, and later City Councilor and mayor of Danville,

> for the first two years of integration, it was tough, and when I say tough, that's describing it mildly, because the youngsters didn't want to be together…they would fight each other—the whites and the blacks—and it just went on for about

> two years and it was so frustrating. (Archie, 2004, in Edmunds, n.d. "Ruby B. Archie")

Mrs. Fullerwinder, the first African American at the school, recalled the merger of the two schools at the end of her fourth year of teaching. While the school system held seminars to prepare, and teachers and the student councils from each school met to select a mascot and new school colors, she felt that more student evolvement could have eased the transition.

> Central corridors of the school were segregated and was the cafeteria, with Blacks and Whites staying with their own race with the exception of athletics. Tensions between students ran high and for about 18 months, there were problems including fist fights…. One thing that was depressing for the Black students was that Langston had to give up their school. White students felt their rights were violated because they had to give up traditions that couldn't be accommodated with the larger, merged student population. It would have been better to have a new building together. Something had to change because of the size. It wasn't a merger, it was the Blacks becoming part of the White school. (personal communication, 2016)

Mrs. Archie and Mrs. Fullerwinder both recall the first integrated proms at George Washington, clearly reflecting sensitivity at that time to long-held White concerns in Virginia about interracial coupling. The Supreme Court decision in *Loving v. Virginia* which had made interracial marriage legal under was less than three years old at the time of the 1971 prom.

> You had almost as many chaperones at the prom as you had students…. It was understood before they went there that we didn't want any mixed couples. So blacks danced with the blacks. The whites danced with the whites. But nobody had to say, "Don't you dance with this one," or "Don't you dance with that one." I think it was just a given thing that they understood. (Archie, 2004, in Edmunds, n.d., "Ruby B. Archie")

Mrs. Fullerwinder remembers the faculty advisors for proms after integration making a rule that no single students would be admitted. Students had to come as a couple.

> The discussion among the faculty and guidance counselors, never mentioned color, but they did not want mixed couples. If there were no single White girls there they wouldn't be dancing with Black boys. That lasted three or four years, but people didn't realize the motive. (personal communication, 2016)

In contrast to the violence during the integration of public schools in Danville the process at Averett College was peaceful, aided by local Black clergy who volunteered their time to ease racial tensions. While public schools were integrated by mandate in Danville, Averett, the private Baptist college, was integrated by choice, albeit largely due to financial hardships. The college, now Averett University, opened in 1859 as a school for young elite White women. Located in an affluent White neighborhood, the Averett campus is surrounded by large, well-maintained Victorian homes and shady tree-lined avenues. Much like Mayor Archie's description of the integrated prom at George Washington High School, Black students' perceptions of Averett College as a "White school" needed no explanation. No Black students had applied there prior to 1967

(Duemer, 2007). The White Board of Trustees, desperate for a new funding source with declining support from Baptist General Association of Virginia and decreased enrollment, agreed in 1967 to sign the "Assurance of Compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964" which would allow the school access to federal funding in exchange for school integration (Duemer, 2007). The decision for integration, planned for the 1968-1969 school year, was unanimously supported by the Board. With the memories of the Bloody Monday attack on demonstrators and the vehement opposition of segregationists still fresh, Averett administrators made two pivotal decisions regarding integration of the school: first to maintain secrecy regarding the decision to integrate, and second to enlist the support of the Black religious leaders in Danville, the same ministers who led Civil Rights initiatives, in the integration process.

As part of Texas Tech Professor Lee Duemer's research into the role of clergy in the integration of Averett University, in 1999 he interviewed 17 individuals representing administration, faculty, and students, both Black and White, present in the 1968-1969 timeframe. The feelings of Whites and Blacks toward integration were largely positive. Many expressed the belief "that integration was a favorable option in 1968 due to changes in the community which were the result of advances made by the civil rights movement" (Duemer, 2007, p. 370). A White administrator saw a blurring of boundaries between racial identity groups in Danville: "Maybe in 1963 it was all right for most people to oppose it, but by the late 1960s that changed. I saw a lot of people who called themselves confirmed segregationists in 1963 change in just a few short years" (Duemer, 2007, p. 370). The Black clergy who were enlisted in a completely volunteer role to ease

tensions created by the integration of Averett were perceived by faculty, staff, and both Black and White students as having a "stabilizing and moral influence" (Duemer, 2007, p. 370). This was a significant change from the characterization by local government officials and media of the Civil Rights activists as "hoodlums" during the protest in the summer of 1963. One White student self-described as "very apprehensive" about the idea of integration described a common childhood experience in Danville: "I grew up in a very segregated community and was exposed to prejudice in the home as far back as I can remember" (Duemer, 2007, p. 371). By 1968, however, according to Duemer, social hierarchies had begun to shift. The respect that was afforded in Danville to religious leaders was greater than the negative connotation regarding their race. Black students were concerned about the "rebels," students who were opposed to integration, and found that the influence of the ministers encouraged these White students to their "best behavior" (Duemer, 2007, p. 371).

Appearance of moderation rather than militancy was important to Whites' acceptance of Black leadership and moral authority in the changing dynamic of Black/White relationships in Danville. Echoing Mrs. Harris' description of her husband, Mr. Charles Harris, Danville's first black mayor, Whites "recognized his ability and forgot that he was black for awhile" (Harris, 2003, in Edmunds, n.d., "Dorothy O. Harris"). As a Black Averett student explained of the clergy: "They were all very active in civil rights in the city, but they were not what you would call militant…they commanded a lot of respect" (Duemer, 2007, p. 371). Primary to the clergy's function in the integration of Averett was conflict resolution, advising administrators who "were

accustomed to segregation" and working with staff toward "maintaining campus harmony" avoiding "any possibility of conflict on campus that might escalate into a physical confrontation" (Duemer, 2007, p. 372). As Duemer (2007) explains, "Memories of violence and intolerance played a strong role in shaping the manner in which integration was carried out" (p. 373).

As integration occurred in Danville schools and city government, the processes of social identity began to coalesce Danvillians away from rigid racial identity groups. The salience of identities other than Black or White occurred as roles of mayor, councilor, and clergy supplanted racial distinctions. Whites were able to see "ability" and in the case of the Black clergy at Averett, "respect" and "moral authority" in Black leaders. Community ties began to minimize racial in-groups and out-groups, allowing even those older Whites who were used to segregation to rethink their prejudices. Churches in Danville remained segregated, however African Americans were routinely elected to serve on the City Council and as mayor, including Mrs. Archie who served for 16 years on the City Council including two terms as mayor. While progress toward racial unity was occurring, the movement was not linear and did not encompass a significant segment of the White population. As the controversial Sutherlin Mansion faded into the background of Danville race relations in 1971, the City Council voted to name a local bridge after Judge Aiken, the White segregationist who had dealt so harshly with the Civil Rights demonstrators in 1963. As Mrs. Fullerwinder recalled, "Changes in the 1970s were positive between races" (personal communication, 2016).

Modern Danville

The second half of the 20th century brought with it both demographic and cultural shifts to Danville. Underlying federally mandated integration in the decades after the turbulence of Civil Rights demonstrations was an incremental movement toward the loosening of rigid racial boundaries between Whites and Blacks in Danville. Despite courageous organizing efforts, however, little progress was made willingly. That Danville was forced into compliance by the federal government was evident. While not legally enforceable, neighborhoods remained largely segregated. Housing for people of color was often substandard, lacking heat and air conditioning with poor access to transportation and impoverished schools. The majority of Blacks continued to live in poverty, overpoliced and under supervised probation of the Virginia Department of Corrections.

The Danville Chapter of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts was given permission by the Danville City Council to lease the Sutherlin Mansion in April 1971 after two renovations occurred to the mansion in 1934 and again in 1950 (Brubaker, 1979). Still city-owned, the Sutherlin Mansion became the Danville City Fine Arts Museum. A new integrated library was envisioned to replace the segregated Confederate Memorial Library formerly housed in the Mansion. In 1971 a bond was issued to construct the new library on Patton Street near the city municipal offices. In 1974 after the new library was completed renovations began on the Sutherlin Mansion with the goal of restoring the interior and furnishings to the antebellum period of its original construction. While it serves as an art museum, the main levels of the mansion reproduce as closely as possible

the furnishing and layout during Jefferson Davis's stay there in 1865. The Danville Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy continued to meet in two bedrooms on the second floor of the city-owned mansion under a free lease with no termination period.

Following decades of rapid change toward racial equality, Danville's narrative as the "Last Capital of the Confederacy" remained dominant. The city's Department of Tourism marketed Danville as the "Last Capital of the Confederacy," eventually publishing both print materials and a video centered around Danville's participation in the Civil War. In 1979 the museum published a small book, now out of print, that detailed day-by-day the events of April 1865 (Brubaker, 1979). The volume quotes extensively from Jefferson Davis including his last proclamation as an Appendix. The Foreward to the book claims that the experiences of the Civil War "remain central to the American experience" and offers Robert Penn Warren's observation that "only at the moment when Lee handed Grant his sword was the Confederacy born…in the moment of death the Confederacy entered upon its immortality" (p. i). Although segregation was several decades prior, symbols of the Confederacy, slavery, and segregation continued to proliferate the city as its population shifted to majority African American. An enduring symbol of racial hierarchy in Danville, the Sutherlin Mansion museum entrance continued to be flanked by the United States flag on one side and the Confederate flag on the other. Situated on Main Street in the "millionaire's row" area of the city, the well-maintained mansion remained a stark contrast to the crumbling architecture and peeling paint in the predominantly Black neighborhoods around it.

Removal and reinstallation of the Confederate flag. In 1994 the City Council voted to remove the Confederate flag from the front of what had become the Danville City Museum. Almost immediately the Danville Chapter of the Heritage Preservation Association (HPA) reacted by submitting a proposal for the installation of a protected monument which would reinstall the flag. The African American community in Danville rallied against the reinstallation of the flag. Against the protests of African American church and civil groups, the two African American City Councilors who voted against the measure were outvoted by the majority White council. The city reached an agreement with the HPA to erect a Confederate monument and Confederate flag memorial on the front lawn of Sutherlin Mansion. In part the agreement between the city and the HPA stated,

> Neither the City, its successors in interest, or any tenant of the property shall alter the design, location or inscription of the monument, nor shall the city, its successors in interest or any tenant of the property remove or alter the flag flying from the monument. (Hutcherson, 2015)

The HPA was responsible for the flag's maintenance, purchase, removal, and replacement; while the city owned the monument and the flag pole, the flag belonged to the HPA. Designated a "war memorial," the Confederate flag was protected under Danville City Resolution 94-9.1(2) enacted at the time of its installation and by Virginia State Code 15.2-1812 that prohibits war memorials from removal including those honoring "the War Between the States." This very public display of the Confederate flag two decades after the mansion's renaming as the Danville City Fine Arts Museum again

served as public manifestation and “cultural amplifier” of the White identity framework. For the HPA, the flag monument was also a source of fund raising; it quickly sold a succession of Confederate flags flown over the City Museum.

As Rothbart and Korostelina explain, “for communities engaged in generations of hostility, the multiplicity of group identities converges to a single dominant category retaining symbols of a nationality, ethnicity, or religion” (2006, p. 31). In Danville, these identity groups, largely constructed along racial lines, polarized into those who supported the placement of the Confederate flag at the City Museum and those who believed it should not be flown over city property but rather placed in a museum. While power sharing was evolving in the local government with the inclusion of African Americans, during the two decades following the erection of the flag monument at the City Museum Danville’s identity remained largely focused on its Civil War past and legacy as the “Last Capital.” Two years after the HPA erected the Confederate flag memorial at the museum, in 1996, African American Sherman Saunders was elected to the City Council. From 2008 to 2016 Mr. Sanders served as mayor. Displays were added in the Fine Arts Museum regarding slavery and the Civil Rights movement, however the museum remained centered around the “Last Capital” narrative. The interior main level of the museum was configured with period furniture original to the Sutherlin’s when possible, including the “treasured” desk at which Davis signed the “Last Proclamation” of the Confederacy. The halls were decorated with Confederate military portraits and uniforms. In commemoration of Jefferson Davis and his cabinet who “worked steadily to carry on the Nation’s business” (personal observation, 2016) during the final days of the

Confederacy the dining room was set with the family china, remaining so in 2019, seemingly awaiting the return of the Confederacy to Danville. In the midst of a growing social and economic crisis in the city, indicators of racial polarization began to reappear. The local chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy, permanently deeded space on the second floor of the City Museum, raised thousands of dollars for memorials in Danville, in 2009 placing a marker on the grave of the chapter founder and in 2011 erecting and dedicating a granite bench to "Southern Women" inscribed with the names of the chapter's namesake, Annie Eliza Johns, and the founder of the first Ladies Memorial Association in Danville in 1872, Augusta Yates. The organization expanded its growing collection of Civil War artifacts displayed in their second floor spaces including two prized treasures: a wooden secretary belonging to the first Judge Aiken, who led the Danville Riot usurping the elected government in 1883, donated by his wife who served as the President of the Women's Memorial Association, and a portrait of the former Mayor of Danville, William Graves, who shot the Black police officer at point blank range following the same Riot.

Slave cemetery threatened. In contrast to increased preservation efforts of Confederate historical memory sites, in 2013 amidst much controversy, plans were made to dig up and relocate slave remains from the 18th century Thomas Fearn plantation cemetery so that GOK International Corporation, a Chinese furniture-assembly company, could build on the 158-acre property (Thibodeau, 2013). The site, purchased by the city from a North Carolina investor, was placed on a list of endangered sites by Preservation America. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources recommended that the

cemetery not be moved while the Danville Pittsylvania County Regional Industrial Facility Authority and city officials including Mayor Saunders attempted to go forward with the initiative despite the protests. Mayor Saunders supported the efforts, commenting online that he was "delighted" that the GOK facilities could be accommodated in the Danville Region. The cemetery was the final resting place for the remains of 63 people and is registered with the "Remembering Slavery, Resistance and Freedom Project" in partnership with the MLK Memorial Commission of the Virginia General Assembly. In 2014, despite protests, the unmarked graves were relocated (Crane, 2016b). Following the relocation of the remains to make way for new industry, development still has not come to the site and according to city officials the city has no money targeted for it (Crane, 2016b).

The flag controversy emerges. City leaders including the Danville Fine Arts Museum staff began to see the Confederate flag flying over city-owned property on the most prominent street in Danville as a hindrance to new initiatives to improving the increasingly worsening economic and social situation. While conducting a museum audit in 2014, Cara Burton, curator of the museum, along with museum administrators, concluded that the flag discouraged Black residents, comprising more than half of the city's population, from visiting the City Museum (Jenkins, 2015). Ms. Burton explained, "The flag is a barrier to people coming into this museum…. It's an economic development issue. It's hard to recruit companies and professionals here when you have a Confederate flag flying on city property" (Jenkins, 2015).

On September 30, 2014, the city manager received a letter conveying the Danville City Museum's board of directors' request that the city remove the Confederate flag. The letter cited concerns regarding the flag's divisiveness and a lack of historical proof that the Confederate flag had flown in front of the Sutherlin home during the Civil War. The museum offered a plan to relocate the flag from the exterior of the building to a cultural display planned for the interior of the museum. As emotional intensity over its placement grew, in 2014 the controversy over the flag in front of the Sutherlin Mansion escalated. A long and bitter public debate ensued over the flag, divided largely along racial boundaries and further polarizing the community. Demonstration and rallies were held at the City Museum, swelled by flag supporters from around Virginia. The Danville Chapter of the SCLC led by Reverend Avon King represented Black citizens, denouncing the flag as a "symbol of hate" and supporting its relocation to a display inside the museum. At a pro-flag rally held at the mansion the event's keynote speaker, former Congressman Virgil Goode, encouraged attendees to not give in to the pressure to be "politically correct." "They say if you do not agree with our view on causes, symbols, and flags, you're racist bigots and full of intolerant phobia. I say no," said Goode. "The P.C. [politically correct]ers won't be happy until they've moved it inside, then in the closet, then in the basement, and finally to the Danville landfill" (as cited in Ray, 2015, p. 1). Ed Clark, Second Lieutenant Commander of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, emotionally defended the flag as "historical." Interviewed for the nightly news, Clark suggested to Blacks protesting in front of the City Museum "you need to go back to Africa" (Tola, 2014, p. 1).

Bishop Lawrence Campbell, one of the leaders of the Civil Rights demonstrations in Danville the summer of 1963, addressed the City Council the night of the flag vote, commenting in part, “I fought segregation. This flag is polarizing our community…. I see it as people glorifying slavery” (as cited in Jenkins, 2015, p. 2). Dozens of people attended the vote at which the Danville City Council passed a resolution directing the city manager to notify the Board of the Danville Museum of Fine Arts and History that the council could not, under Virginia law, consider its request to remove the Confederate flag from the grounds of the museum. In part the Council’s resolution read: “The Council of the City of Danville…has determined that under Virginia law it does not have the legal authority to remove the Confederate flag from the grounds of the museum and therefore cannot consider the museum’s request” (Jenkins, 2015, p. 6).

For almost another year the Confederate flag flew over Main Street on city property in view of the majority African American population. The city, led by a Black mayor, a Black city police chief, and a City Council, more than half of whom were African American, was ready to for a change. The local government and many community and business leaders made it apparent that they believed to prosper Danville needed to eschew its “Last Capital” narrative and promote the city as an upscale waterfront business and recreational destination. In May of 2015, the city revealed the downtown community’s new branding and tagline, “River District: Reimagine That” to “capture the spirit of change” in the community (City of Danville, Virginia, n.d.). As Corrie Teague of the city’s Office of Economic Development explains, “Our message is clear, ‘here in the River District, the status quo is a no go’” (City of Danville, Virginia,

n.d.). Some citizens, however, regarded even the status quo as too far afield from the city's Southern roots. With a demography reflecting the city's population, the mayor and City Council were clearly ready to deemphasize the city's historical connections with the Civil War. Others in Danville seemed equally determined to remind the community of its legacy of intolerance.

On June 16, the day before an event that was to be a catalyst for change throughout America regarding the Confederate flag, a group identifying itself as the "loyal white knights of the KKK" put flyers in yards throughout Danville criticizing presidential candidate Jeb Bush for having a wife of Hispanic heritage (Jenkins, 2015, p. 3). On June 17, 2015, a tipping point regarding the Confederate flag issue in America occurred with the murder of nine African American Bible study participants at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in downtown Charleston, SC. The alleged shooter, White supremacist Dylann Roof, authored a website "The Last Rhodesian," showing photographs of himself posing with a Confederate Battle Flag along with a manifesto pronouncing Blacks "the biggest problem for Americans," blaming Jews for "agitation of the Black race," and characterizing segregation as a positive institution: "Segregation was not a bad thing. It was a defensive measure. Segregation did not exist to hold back negroes. It existed to protect us from them" (as cited in Neuman, 2015). Following the Charleston murders and the discovery of Roof's manifesto and fascination with the Confederate flag, a wave of social "norming" swept America rejecting Southern claims of the flag as a relevant cultural symbol. Horrified by the murders and amidst discussions by South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi regarding removal of the

Confederate Flag on state property, on June 23, 2015, Virginia Governor Terry McAuliffe ordered Confederate flags to be eliminated from Virginia license plates, citing the divisiveness and hurt the symbol caused to many of Virginia's citizens (Booker, 2015). Mayor Sherman Saunders issued a statement calling for the city to examine "the presence of the Third National flag of the Confederate States of America…and whether the flag should be a part of Danville's future" (as cited in Jenkins, 2015, p. 3). As opinions in national debates began to quickly coalesce against display of the flag, on July 7 the Danville Museum board again requested permission from the City Council to remove the flag. In response to the Charleston shooting, on July 10, 2015, the Confederate flag over the South Carolina capitol was removed by an honor guard of state police who folded it and handed it over to museum staff for inclusion in an interior display.

As the events in South Carolina continued to make national headlines, following a second request from the museum to allow the flag to be moved to an interior exhibit, the city's debate over the Confederate flag escalated to threats of violence. Just three hours prior to a July council meeting to discuss the museum board's latest request Councilor Rev. Larry Campbell, son of Rev. Lawrence Campbell, a leader of the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, was called to the office of Danville Police Chief Philip Broadfoot. A package from a group calling themselves "Anonymous CSA" threatened Campbell and his family if he voted to take the flag down. The threat was verified by the Virginia Fusion Center, a collaborative organization of state and federal agencies including Virginia State Police, the FBI, and U.S. Department of Homeland Security, and

was also made against two other Virginia legislators, one in Richmond and one in Fredericksburg (Thiboeau, 2015a). At the City Council meeting that evening, Rev. Campbell responded to the threats saying, “Bringing the flag down will strengthen the unity within our community. I’m not against the Confederate people, I think their history needs to be preserved. I’m just saying the flag should not be flown” (“Danville City Councilman Threatened,” 2015). Pro-flag supporters including Sons of the Confederacy leader Ed Clark called attempts to remove all signs of the flag as a form of “cultural genocide,” with Clark saying he is proud of his heritage and would fight any efforts to “wipe them out”: “We have a right to fly the flag and I’m willing to defend it” (as cited in Thibodeau, 2015a). With more than 70 people in attendance, the council decided to seek a legal opinion from the state attorney’s office on whether the flag and the memorial were separate items before proceeding.

Numerous debates, protests, and press conferences were held regarding the flag issue following the July council meeting. Extensive state-wide media attention included sound bites on the evening news of leaders of both sides and print and social media coverage of hundreds of Confederate flag-waving supporters marching in pro-flag parades and rallies on Main Street in front of the museum and on the museum grounds. Supporters of the flag removal marched with homemade placards on the sidewalk in front of the museum, declaring the flag an embarrassment. With shifting public opinion regarding the meaning of the flag and armed with an opinion from the state attorney’s office that Virginia State Code 15.2-1812 was not applicable, on August 6, 2015, a second referendum was held by the City Council to discuss the flag issue. A detailed

analysis of the video of the meeting is provided in Chapter 3, Results. With the council chambers filled to capacity and lines of people spilling out the doors and onto Main Street, supporters and opponents of the flag sat shoulder to shoulder, taking turns addressing the council. Of those commenting the majority were White, many of whom were residents from counties surrounding the city including nearby North Carolina communities. Emotionally, supporters characterized the flag as their heritage, a symbol that their ancestors fought and died for the Confederacy. After public comments, the City Councilors were also invited to speak. City Councilor Buddy Rawley, to massive applause, warned the City Council they were "heading down a slippery slope" (DanvilleVAGov, 2015b) in taking down the flag. Councilor John Gilstrap invoked General Robert E. Lee's instructions that if the not the common flag it should be folded and put away. Councilor Rev. Larry Campbell, son of Rev. Lawrence Campbell, the leader of the Civil Rights movement in Danville, spoke for the flag's removal, saying that 49 to 50% of the city's population is African American and "we do not want the flag to fly on city property" (DanvilleVAGov, 2015b).

City Council votes to remove the flag. Following the 2-hour-and-25-minute meeting chaired by Danville Mayor Sherman Saunders, in a 7-2 vote the City Council passed an ordinance limiting flags flying on city property in Danville to the national, state, city, and missing in action/prisoner of war (MIA/POW) flags. The evening of the vote, in the middle of a summer rainstorm, an electric company bucket truck lifted an African American Danville City police officer to the top of the flagpole; once removed the Confederate flag was placed in an envelope and mailed back to the HPA (Thibodeau,

2015b). Newspaper editorials and social media posts reflected the divided opinions regarding the flag removal, largely along racial boundaries. Many Whites felt a sense of betrayal with the unceremonious removal of the flag which they viewed as a sacred object. In an August 18, 2015, opinion letter to the editor of the *Danville Register Bee*, a Danville citizen referred to the August 6 City Council vote as a "a day that will live in infamy" and compared the police and City Council who removed the flag to "thieves," stating that "even South Carolina showed more respect as it held a ceremony...where the state police Honor Guard removed the flag and folded it to be placed in a museum" (Hutcherson, 2015).

Since its removal in August of 2015 the flag issue has escalated into a divisive and visceral representation of underlying racial tensions in Danville. A lawsuit asking for the flag to be restored at the City Museum was filed by pro-flag groups in June of 2015 and was dismissed after the Virginia Supreme Court declined to hear it. The restoration of the National Flag of the Confederacy over the Danville City Museum appears unlikely. Opposing groups including the HPA, the Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Virginia Flaggers continue to use the flag issue to strengthen racial and identity boundaries and cultivate supporters who fear the erasure of their "cultural history." Wayne Byrd of Danville, President of the Virginia State Chapter of the Heritage Preservation Association, denying racial connotations of the flag, said, "I'm upset with my own hometown that all of us trying to do a little part of history here and certain individuals with an agenda chose to attack our history and our heritage" (as cited in Brown, 2016). Heritage groups are fulfilling their commitment from the night of the City

Council vote to raise 1,000 Confederate battle flags in and around Danville on private land. Extraordinarily large Confederate flags on poles, the maximum allowable by city code, have been installed conspicuously around the city. One sizeable Confederate flag soars at the base of the Martin Luther King Memorial Bridge and adjacent to Black Southern North Main Street neighborhoods. On July 23, 2016, in 93-degree weather, hundreds of Confederate supporters raised the 14th Confederate battle flag, a massive 30- by 50-foot flag, hoisted onto a pole by a hydraulic crane as rifles and cannons fired a salute (Metcalf, 2016). It is the largest Confederate Battle Flag in the world. Explained Virginia Flaggers spokesperson Susan Hathaway, after a bagpiper led the procession carrying the flag to its placement on private property along the U.S. 29 bypass that encompasses Danville, "I want to thank the Danville City Council for taking down a tiny 3 by 5 flag" (as cited in Metcalfe, 2016). Flag supporters, including Kevin Stone of the Sons of the Confederate Veterans, said he would no longer passively watch flags, monuments, and other memorials removed: "I'm tired of defending. I'm ready to charge" (as cited in Metcalfe, 2016). Shortly after his election, Mayor Gilstrap characterized the Confederate flag issue as having been dealt with: "Council took action as to what flags they would like to fly on city-owned poles and it's behind us" (as cited in Crane, 2016a).

Community indicators since 2000. Recognizing and analyzing the environmental context of conflict over historical symbols is a key factor in the Danville case. In the years following the 1994 reinstallation of the 3rd National Flag of the Confederacy over the city-owned Danville Fine Arts Museum, significant economic changes occurred as fortunes of the city spiraled downward. Women and African

Americans struggled for the few well-paying jobs in the city which had long been held by White males. Already among the poorest and least employed in the state, Danville's residents were deeply affected as the city's major employer, Dan River Mills, filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy in 2004 after recording a $120.2 million net loss, reducing its work force by 243 to 4,800 (Malone, 2005). In 2005 it closed two more facilities reducing its employees to 4,100, some 2,000 jobs less than during the Civil Rights demonstrations in the 1960s. Another 800 employees lost their jobs when Dan River Mills sold its fabrics division in 2005. In 2006 the company restructured, closing its Danville operations. The closure of Dan River Mills in 2006 had tremendous economic and emotional impact on the city. In 2008 a subcontractor for the Swedish furniture manufacturer IKEA began operations in Danville, bringing approximately 300 jobs to the area, not close to filling the gap left by the Dan River Mills closure.

Since the closing of Dan River Mills in 2006, city leaders have focused on poverty, unemployment, and crime in Danville. While older Whites remained in the city, younger Whites continued exiting, seeking employment outside the city. In 2010, in the midst of its downward spiral, local leaders adopted a multiyear development project to attract new employers to the area, unify its racially diverse population, and develop an image as a cultural and historical center. Charlottesville-based Virginia Organizing pinpointed Danville for activity in 2010 and, led by a community organizer, Nik Belanger, low-income residents began coalescing for reform on health care issues, overpolicing, and the lack of jobs and opportunities for people returning to Danville from incarceration. They petitioned the Danville City Council to endorse a federal job creation

bill and despite being turned down by the council, one of whom explained “people wouldn’t work anyway now that they were all getting checks from the government,” residents began to learn how to advocate for change (Belanger, 2015). Following this defeat, Belanger and other resident members worked to diversify the Danville Chapter of Virginia Organizing and gain support among low-income Whites. They held training including workshops on dismantling racism in the city and rode along with police to monitor the street crime approaches in low-income and Black neighborhoods.

In 2013, the City Council marked the 50th anniversary of the 1963 Civil Rights movement by forming the Danville United Community Relations Coalition with an expressed goal of “working together to make Danville a more tolerant, friendly, and welcoming community to all regardless of race, gender, religion, creed, ethnicity, nationality, or economic status” (Danville United Community Relations Coalition, 2013). Mayor Saunders signed the resolution into effect October 17, 2013. In the spring of 2013, a historic marker was placed in front of the High Street Baptist Church in a ceremony celebrating the historic congregation’s service to the community as the rallying point for the Civil Rights movement (DanvilleVAGov, 2015). Marchers memorialized the Bloody Monday June 10, 1963, attack that inflicted such pain in the African American community and drew outrage and disbelief from many across America with a parade to City Hall on Main Street.

Since the removal of the flag in 2015, the struggling city is caught between opposing visions of its future. While Danville strives to increase employment by attracting new industries, legacies of the old South proliferate. Poverty and crime in

Black neighborhoods continue at levels above those in White neighborhoods. Concerns by the Virginia Attorney following citizen complaints regarding overpolicing in Black neighborhoods resulted in training to eliminate police bias in 2016 followed by the establishment of Project Imagine in 2018 designed to reduce gang violence in the city (Livingston, 2016; Virginia Municipal League, 2019). The city is currently assessing the feasibility of bringing a casino complex to the Danville Region. Requests for Proposals (RFP)s for a conducting an impact assessment for the casino complex are due back to the city government by May 15, 2019. Further discussion of indicators of community wellness are discussed in the results chapter. The city government continues efforts to promote public–private partnerships using the River City brand on signage throughout Danville. As of 2019 more than $100 million has been invested downtown to revitalize and stimulate the local economy, largely from state and federal grants (City of Danville, Virginia, n.d.). In 2016 a White city Councilor, John Gilstrap, was elected mayor. Fundraisers and anniversary commemorations in opposition to the removal of the flag continued, buoyed by the violence in Charlottesville in 2017 and new national debates regarding Confederate memorials.

Since 2018 African American Alonzo Jones, a member of the City Council since July 2010, has served as mayor. Mayor Jones has deep roots in the Danville Community, serving on the boards of numerous nonprofits as well as a trustee of the Bible Way Cathedral, a historic African American church in Danville. City officials and nonprofit organizations have achieved numerous milestones in the last 10 years in strengthening community well-being within Danville. Community redevelopment efforts to eradicate

blight, rebrand the downtown, and bring new employers into Danville have met with some success. Unemployment is still significantly above state and national averages, as is the child poverty rate. Likewise, high school dropout rates in Danville have decreased and individuals attaining associate's degrees have increased above the state average. Preventable hospital stays have also decreased to levels slightly below the rest of Virginia. While crime rates remain high, they are lower than peak rates in 2016 (Virginia State Police, 2018). The city continues to fight against the blight created by abandoned buildings in Danville.

In June 2019, a dramatic step toward acknowledgement and acceptance of responsibility for the pain suffered by the African American community in Danville during the Civil Rights movement occurred. Fifty-six years following the 1963 violence of Bloody Monday, Danville's White police chief, Scott Booth, offered an apology to Apostle Lawrence G. Campbell, Sr., the prominent Civil Rights and religious leader, who with his wife was beaten during the 1963 protests. The approach of the City Council regarding the flag controversy appears to be resignation. In 2019, four years after the removal of the flag, protests continue to be held each Saturday morning at the Danville City Museum by flag supporters. Confederate flags surrounding the city on private property remain both a source of contention and outside the purview of the city government.

Chapter Four: Results

The following chapter provides results and analysis of data regarding historical interpretations of Confederate symbols in Danville from four sources: a video record of the August 5, 2015, Danville City Council meeting regarding the display of the 3rd National Confederate flag, semistructured interviews, field observations, and governmentally sourced demographic and economic data. While the data collection portion of the case study was not planned as a longitudinal investigation, the availability of the 2015 video record of citizens speaking at the City Council meeting facilitates a comparison with interview data collected in 2018 and 2019, strengthening the results. Historical events described in the case study chapter (Chapter 2) also help situate perceptions, interpretations, and opinions expressed in the results longitudinally. While data presented in this results chapter are based on contemporaneous events, the historical context described in the case study chapter is strongly apparent in themes and narratives represented by respondents. Of note is the reduction in community polarization and conflict readiness between the 2015 council meeting and the 2018-2019 interviews. While the more polarized primary narratives expressing opinions and perceptions of the historical interpretations of Confederate symbols remained constant in this three- to four-year period, an empathetic other primary narrative emerged in the interview data. This primary narrative focuses on encouraging the resolution of conflict in the Danville

community. To facilitate the comparison between the analysis of the 2015 video record and the interviews, the video record analysis is presented first in the chapter.

Analysis of Video Record

In order strengthen and triangulate research findings an analysis was conducted of the public comment portion of the video record of the August 6, 2015, Danville City Council meeting (DanvilleVAGov, 2015b). The primary agenda issue of the meeting was the Confederate flag flying at the City Museum. The meeting provided a forum for public comment prior to a council vote. After soliciting opinions from Virginia's Attorney General, Democrat Mark Herring, regarding legal options available to the city, the Danville City Council included on its August 6, 2015, agenda a vote on a city ordinance limiting the types of flags permitted to fly on city flagpoles. Sitting Mayor Sherman Saunders chaired the meeting. He established ground rules for public comment based on an earlier council resolution prior to opening the meeting to citizen speakers.

The video was recorded live in the City Council chambers in the city administration building in Danville and uploaded to YouTube by the city of Danville (DanvilleVAGov, 2015b). It is an unedited color video with clear sound made using multiple cameras. The video records the entire 2 hours and 25 minutes of the council meeting. While the meeting was attended by both African Americans and White citizens, based on camera shots of the audience more White than Black citizens were in attendance. Visitor seating appeared to be at capacity with approximately 100 members of the public attending. On the back rows of the council chambers, flag supporters waved dozens of small 3rd National Confederate flags, the flag flying at the City Museum. Strict

guidelines for conduct of the meeting were provided orally prior to the floor being opened to citizens. Per Danville Mayor Sherman Saunder's instructions individuals wishing to speak were allotted 5 minutes. Those representing groups were allotted an additional 5 minutes of speaking time. Each citizen speaker was required to state their name and if representing an organization, identify the organization, and members of the group being represented were asked to stand. A total of 19 citizens spoke at the August 6 meeting. Citizens were given two opportunities to speak during the meeting, first regarding topics on or not on the agenda and second on agenda items only. Two of the 19 citizen speakers spoke at both opportunities, one addressing issues other than the flag. Another speaker, representing the Danville Confederate Memorial Association, discussed an offer made on July 2, 2015, to the City Council to purchase the City Museum for $500,000 and privatize it. Of citizen speakers, 74% were White, 26% were people of color; 84% were male and 16% female. The analysis of the video is limited to the public comment portion; all of the quotations in this section are directly from the video (DanvilleVAGov, 2015b).

Analysis. While watching the video, the researcher disassembled the speech of each citizen into key phrases for coding. Preserving the words of respondents, the phrases were entered into a software program. The entered data comprised 54 lines. In the first analytical cycle, preliminary codes were assigned to each of the 54 lines. In a second analytical cycle, coded lines were grouped together into 15 categories. Analyzing the speaker narratives and categories, 6 primary conceptual constructions were identified: (a) preserving historical memories; (b) pride and heritage; (c) hate, race/racism, and White

supremacy; (d) pain/trauma/loss; (e) power dynamics, and (f) fear of erasure. The categories were mapped to these 6 conceptual constructions. Additional analysis of the 6 conceptual constructions yielded 6 themes and 16 subthemes. Narratives were assembled into groups based on their consistency within the themes and subthemes of the 6 conceptual constructions (Figure 1).

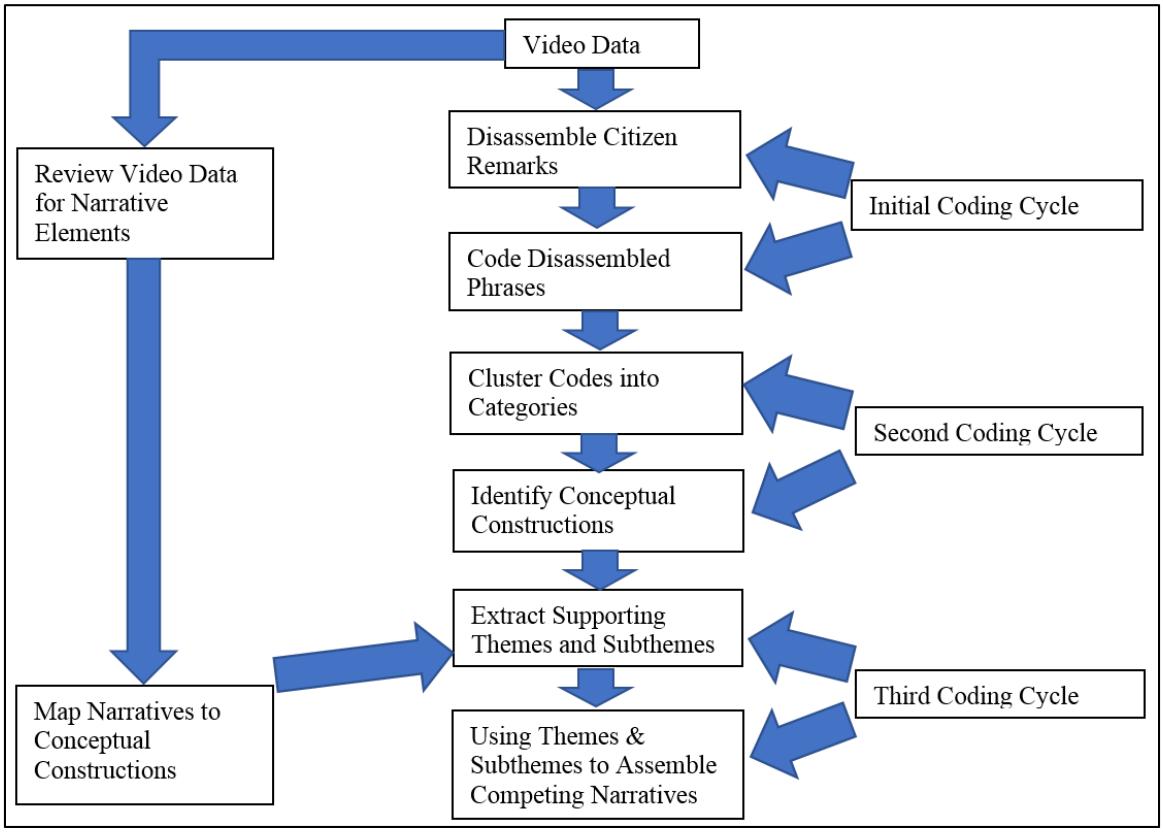

Figure 1. Data analysis process of video.

Three competing narratives regarding contemporary conflict surrounding Confederate symbols in Danville were identified in analysis: Southern identity/pride and heritage, history and education, and racism and hate. Of speakers, 74% represented

Southern identity/pride and heritage, 10% represented a historical/educational model of the conflict, and 16% presented the racism and hate narrative. Table 2 offers a comparative analysis of the three competing narratives based on subthemes identified in the analysis and coding of the video data. The comparison correlates the narratives with applicable subthemes indicating beliefs and opinions expressed in the narrative.

Table 2

Comparative Analysis of Competing Narratives from Video Record by Subtheme

Competing Narratives			
Southern Identity/Pride and Heritage	Historical and Educational	Racism and Hate	Subthemes
X	X		Support Display of Symbols
		X	Oppose Display of Symbols
X		X	Heritage and Pride
X			Confederate Veterans
		X	Racism, Hate, Injustice, and Confederate Ideology
X		X	Slavery
X			Comparison with US Flag
X	X	X	Civil War
X	X		Confederate Flag as History
X		X	Revisionist History
X		X	Mansion vs. Museum
X		X	Negative Attributions Stereotypes/Collective Denigration
X		X	Threat Narratives
X		X	Conflict as Value Based
X		X	Cultural Trauma Indicators
X		X	Fear and Threats Narratives
X		X	Moral Trauma Indicators
X		X	Narratives of Violence and Victimization
		X	Moral Trauma Indicators
X		X	Power Struggles
X		X	Legality and Financial Concerns

Summary of opinions regarding display of the flag. All citizen speakers addressing the City Council spoke directly to the issue of the display of the Third National Flag of the Confederacy flying on the grounds of the publicly owned City Museum. A summary of the opinions expressed by those speaking during the public comments period of the City Council meeting follows (Table 3).

Table 3

Summary of Demography of Citizen Speakers at August 6, 2015, Danville City Council Meeting

Speaker Race and Gender	Pro Display	Against Display	Total
White Males	11	1	12
White Females	2	0	2
Black Males	1	3	4
Black Females	1	0	1
Total Speakers	15	4	19
	Percentages		
Whites	93%	7%	100%
Blacks	40%	60%	100%
% of Total	79%	21%	100%

Themes and subthemes. Six themes and 16 subthemes emerged from an analysis of speakers' public comments regarding the display of the flag. Primary themes include: (a) opinions and attitudes, (b) duality of meaning, (c) history, (d) identity dynamics, (e) victimization and trauma, and (f) systems of power.

Opinions and attitudes. The majority, 79% of speakers, supported the display of the flag on City Museum property. Many of those supporting the flag were discernably emotional, displaying anger toward the City Councilors as they spoke. Following the

comments by each flag-supporting speaker, observers loudly applauded and waved their Confederate flags. Of speakers, 21% opposed the continued display of the flag. Opponents of displaying the flag at the City Museum were also impassioned during their public speech.

Duality of meaning. A strong binary in meaning regarding the Confederate flag was apparent between flag supporters and those opposing the display of the flag. Supporters invoked language of pride, heritage, and honor in their speech while opponents described the flag as a symbol of hate and injustice. Both supporters and opponents represented their opinions as based in moral foundations.

Subtheme heritage and pride. Supporters described it as representing their "heritage" or "Southern heritage" and consider it "sacred ground." Several of the speakers urged the City Council to sell the City Museum to a heritage group. John, a White male flag supporter, asked the council "before taking the vote remember that our Southern heritage is at stake." Speakers supporting the display of the Confederate flag at the City Museum enjoy and feel proud of the display of the flag. As a White female, Nancy, from nearby Providence, NC, describes: "I enjoy seeing the flag because it honors our ancestors; we love to see it fly." Another speaker, Ricky, a White male who described himself as a Civil War reenactor, describes, "I enjoy going over there and seeing that flag fly." Other supporters describe feeling "good" and "proud" when they see the flag flying.

Subtheme Confederate veterans. Supporters of the display of the flag believe it represents Confederate veterans. A White male speaker, John, believes that removing the flag disrespects veterans and specifically Southern veterans: "Don't disrespect our

veterans by taking down our flag down." He then introduced his "favorite veteran," his wife who served "boots on the ground" in Afghanistan. He represented her as a great-great-great-granddaughter of General Robert E. Lee. Likewise, Cory, also a White male explains, "Veterans should have their piece of ground…." Michael, a White male flag supporter, also linked the display of the Confederate flag, explaining that the "Confederate veterans are equal to federal veterans…protected by a law passed in 1958."

Subtheme racism, hate, injustice, and Confederate ideology. Supporters of the flag including a White female, Carol, explains "this is not a hate flag…it is a hate flag for many of the Blacks because they feel wrong about it." Carol adds: "I want the flag to fly. The flag itself is not hurting anyone. It did not kill those people in the church…. There is going to be hate whether the flag flies or not."

Scott, a Black male who opposes the flag display, describes it as a "symbol of hate," adding that people of color have been "faced with the most extreme injustices known to modern man." The SCLC and head of the Danville Minister's Alliance described the flag as an attempt to "rewrite Confederate ideology," citing "the cornerstone speech of Alexander Stevens" that "from the inception of the Confederacy the Negro was not equal to Whites." Barry, a White opponent of flying the flag on city property, wearing a tee-shirt emblazoned with the logo "On your lawn not ours," explains that the flag "represents the failed Confederate States of America."

Subtheme slavery. Opponents of the flag represent its meaning as White supremacy and slavery. Bishop Campbell explains, "The flag must come down…it's a disgrace to humanity particularly to glorify people being killed and treated as Black folk

were treated during slavery." Cory, a younger White male flag supporter, describes "slavery was absolutely wrong," adding "we must learn from the bad mistakes on both sides." Carol, a White female flag supporter, describes, "slavery was not a good thing for most people but people who had plantations had to have people to help them…but this flag honors not only the Confederate soldiers who fought and died."

Subtheme comparison with U.S. flag. Several of the flag supporters equate the Confederate flag to the U.S. flag. Cory, a younger White flag supporter from the county, equates the Confederate flag with "the red, white and blue," describing them both standing for, "honor, courage, discipline, motivation, determination, and passion." Ed, a city flag supporter, also equates the flag with the United States flag, which he refers to as "that vile flag over there," pointing to the American flag at the front of the room. Keith, a White male supporter of the display of the flag, states, "If we are going to start taking down flags maybe we should take down the American flag because it was offensive to some as well."

History. Throughout the public comment period of the City Council meeting, citizen speakers included historical references or characterizations of history to support their opinions. Both those supporting and opposing the display of the flag addressed causes of the Civil War in their speech.

Subtheme Civil War. Supporters and opponents of the flag represent binary opinions regarding the cause of the war. Supporters of the flag strongly repel narratives linking the Civil War to slavery. Several supporters including Carol and Cory introduce the topic of the Civil War without directly speaking to the present controversy over the

display of the flag. Carol, a White female flag supporter, explains "the War was about commerce, the North taking our land and crops and burning what our ancestors had and protecting their family." Cory, a White male flag supporter, explains the Civil War was fought against an "oppressive, over-extending federal government." Michael, another White male flag supporter states, "The War was not about slavery…my ancestors defended Virginia against an invading tyrannical government."

Opponents to the display of the flag, including Barry, a White male, and the SCLC representative, a Black male, connect the Civil War to slavery and the oppression of people of color. Barry quotes from "Article 1, Section 9, clause 4 of the Confederate States Constitution which states…that no bill of attainder, expos facto law, or impairment denying the right of property in Negro slavery shall be passed." He adds, "I cannot purify or explain away slavery from the flag." The SCLC representative explains, "In the Cornerstone speech Vice President Alexander Stevens make it clear that the revolution started over slavery…he made it clear that its great truth rested in the Negro not being equal to the White."

Subtheme flag as history. A Black female, Teresa, who supports the display of the Confederate flag at the City Museum, identifies herself as "a museum specialist." Teresa states, "we need to leave our ancestors at the door." She adds that the flag is "public history…removal of the flag will not solve racial issues." She also describes herself as "proud to be Southern." Gene, a White flag supporter who flew both the Confederate Battle and 3rd Confederate National flag in his yard for 15 years until they were "stolen" after the mass killing of African Americans in Charleston, South Carolina, in June of

2015, explains: “That Southern flag at the mansion needs to fly it is a piece of history that no one can change…not us, not nobody.”

Subtheme revisionist history. Both supporters and opponents to the display of the flag are concerned with revisionist history. Ed, a White male from Danville city, described efforts at removing the flag as being started by “spoon-stirrers at the City Museum” and “Civil Rights organizations” that “shove their history down our throats….” He continues, “let that flag fly…it is history…that flag should fly right where it is forever.” Darren, a flag supporter from Pittsylvania County in the greater Danville region, describes the flag and other symbols as “history markers that are pawns” of “those seeking the destruction…of this entire nation.”

Subtheme mansion/City Museum. The City Museum has a strong identity-based binary historical meaning to supporters and opponents of the flag in their speech at the City Council meeting. Sale of the mansion to an entity that would continue to allow the flag to fly is requested by five supporters of the flag. The dichotomy of the historical meaning of the museum is evidenced in several ways including in how speakers name the Danville City Museum. Throughout the public forum supporters refer to “the mansion” while opponents of the display of the flag refer to it as “city property” or the “City Museum.” Supporters use the City Museum’s origins as the last meeting place of the Confederate government as a justification for continuing to fly the flag on public space. These speakers use highly emotional language conveying the sacredness of the mansion which should be honored and even loved. Ed, a White male flag supporter asks, “please leave the flag and sell the mansion…leave the monument and flag alone.” Supporters of

the display of the Confederate flag use language of sanctification in their speech evoking moral, religious, or value-based justifications for their positions. Ricky, a White male who described himself as a Civil War reenactor, articulates, “honor that sacred ground...it deserves to fly in the Last Capital.” Tony, a White male who offered to purchase the museum through the Danville Confederate Memorial Association, refers to flag supporters as “the rightful heirs” based on the Association’s contributions to saving the mansion from being razed in 1912. Tony adds, “we want our building back…we will give it the love and honor it deserves.” Opponents also use value-based images in describing the flag flying at the City Museum. One flag opponent, Scott, a Black male, viewed that people “conditioned to suffer in silence…while being faced with the most extreme injustices known to modern man.”

Identity dynamics. Highly polarized, threat-laden identity dynamics and processes were apparent within the public comment period of the City Council meeting. Identity group processes serving to strengthen negative perceptions of the other and unify and coalesce in-groups include moral denigration and attempts to show moral superiority in their positions regarding the display of the flag.

Subtheme negative attributions, stereotypes, and collective denigration. Speakers at the City Council meeting both supporting and opposing the display of the flag employed negative attributions, racial tropes, and denigrating stereotyped language and descriptions of members of opposing groups. Speakers supporting the removal of the flag characterized the City Councilors as “tyrants”; “an embarrassment”; “spineless people”; “geniuses” (sarcastically); adding that the City Councilors “don’t care about…federal,

state, or city laws" and have "wasted millions of dollars." Supporters of the display of the flag also repeatedly invoked stereotypes and collective denigration toward people of color. Keith, a White male flag supporter, explained, "There were a lot of people oppressed in this country—Blacks were not the only ones." Adding, "how amazingly weak a man must be to be offended by a flag…to be hurt by a symbol." Glen, a White male flag supporter from Danville, comments, "As far as slavery goes, I'm very sorry that slavery ever came to this country. Right now, I expect people to get along and to work for what they get…the rest of y'all can start pulling your own weight…." H. K., a Black male flag supporter, describes "the love that existed between master, friends, and family" and that "Black people were duped by Northern teachers during Reconstruction." Darren, a White flag supporter, describes "people in bondage to drugs and alcoholism that is self-imposed… looking at any object and saying that it holds them back from any progress is disingenuous."

Opponents of the flag also engage in narrative dynamics founded in threat narratives and moral denigration of the Other. Bishop C. characterizes flag supporters as "Klan members and skinheads and other groups like that…."

Subtheme threat narratives. Both flag supporters and opponents use exploitive and violent imagery to escalate the nature of the conflict and link past and future threats. Cory, a White male flag supporter, and Patrick, the 16-year-old White male flag supporter, intensify the consequence of the flag being removed. Cory states that "no show of force will take it down" while Patrick described the removal as "cultural genocide." Carol, a White female flag supporter, described "people paid to stir up trouble" causing

the controversy surrounding the flag display, adding, “these people should be punished.” Tony, a White male flag supporter representing the Danville Confederate Memorial Association, explains that “we will be forming a 501(c)4 political action committee to work against candidates who vote against us, specifically the ones who have stabbed us in the back…this is not over….”

Scott, a Black male flag opponent, compared the flag flying at the City Museum to a burning cross: “the Confederate flag stands on city property as a fiery cross in the noon-day sun,” connoting the Confederate flag with cross burnings by extremist groups such as the KKK. The SCLC leader states, “we cannot allow the Confederacy to capture our city in 2015” as though Danville was presently besieged in the Civil War.

Subtheme conflict as value-based. Several value-based binaries were created regarding the council vote regarding the display of the flag. Speakers established moral equivalences between voting for and or against the flag display and support for Danville, hate, killing and inhumanity, divisiveness and polarization. John, a White male flag supporter, commented, “If you take down the flag you are against Danville.” Scott, a Black male opponent of the display of the flag, explained, “the City Council has the power to remove a symbol of hate….” Bishop Campbell, a Black male opponent of the flag, describes it as

> a disgrace to humanity particularly to glorify people being killed and treated as Black folk were treated in the time of slavery…. The Confederate flag represents a kind of element in this community that that flag needs to come down because it is divisive and polarizes our community.

Victimization and trauma. Narratives of victimization and trauma were used frequently by citizen speakers at the City Council meeting. Both speakers supporting and opposing the flag used language described violence and injustice suffered by their social identity groups as well as personal experiences of trauma. Indicators of cultural and moral injury trauma were also apparent including merging past trauma with present events and moral dissonance in discussions regarding slavery.

Subtheme collective trauma indicators. Both speakers supporting and opposing the flag represent pain and trauma suffered by their collectives. Underlying the public comments by flag supporters appeared to be the loss of the Civil War and a fear of cultural erasure, creating a strong focus on recreating the past. The youngest supporter of the display of the flag to speak, Patrick, identified himself as being 16 years old and from an area near Richmond. Patrick described the removal of the flag as a type of "cultural genocide" stating that "100 more will rise if this flag comes down…supporters will pepper this city with flags." Opponents to the display of flag recount examples of collective traumatization and pain through systemic racism. Bishop Campbell, a Black male opposed to flying the flag, states,

> Pain is when you are used in a kind of system that you are not respected as a man, that's pain. Pain is when you find yourself in a position that even if you speak a word that seems to be indifferent to how the status quo believes it should be spoken and you pay the penalty…. That's pain when you see people who are waving the flag today and most of those persons are associated with the Ku Klux Klan, skinheads, and other groups like that.

Subtheme narratives of violence and victimization. Speakers both supporting and opposing the display of the flag at the City Museum offer episodes of past violence and looming threats of future violence to unify in-groups, highlighting their own moral superiority. Scott, a Black male opponent of the display of the flag, without context describes "the raping and burning of Almay Grove, now Jacksonville, VA." The SCLC representative and representative of the Danville Minister Alliance (who does not give his name) describes the display of the flag "as intentionally trying to bring pain" to people of color. Bishop Campbell, an opponent to the flying the flag, comments,

> I'll tell you about pain. Pain is when you go to a restaurant to eat and you have to sit in the back or come to the back door and wait for someone to serve you…. Pain is when you went to the high school that the only kind of equipment you could use for the football team was the material/uniforms that G. W. had worn out and given them to Black folk…when I was thrown down the steps and my wife was beaten and when I walked out of this building the Confederate flag was flying and they had on the Confederate uniform…that's pain.

Nancy, a White female flag supporter, states, "I have a lot I could be racist about but I'm not. In 1971 my father was killed by two Black men trying to rob him." Likewise, Carol, another White female flag supporter, states,

> I just read recently where two Black guys went up to White people's house in a Black neighborhood…the two Black guys started shooting through the house and this 5-year-old girl was sitting on her grandfather's lap and she was shot and killed.

Ed, a White male flag supporter, states “Black people shot my great-great-granddaddy over on Craighead St.”

Subtheme moral injury trauma indicators. There were two major aspects of this subtheme: time out of place and moral dissonance.

Time out of place. Both those opposing and supporting the display of the flag connect the present conflict regarding to past traumas of slavery, the Civil War, and the Civil Rights movement in Danville, indicative of a merging together of past trauma and present traumas. Barry, a White male opposing the display of the flag, links the flag to slavery, Confederate ideology, and to the decision to secede from the Union: the “flag represents the failed Confederate States of America…it is equivalent to flying the British flag…after the Articles of Confederation and Constitution strengthened the union loyalists did not fly the British flag.” Flag opponents compared the flag flying at the City Museum to “a burning cross” and to “the capture of the city of Danville by Confederates” as though the Civil War was presently occurring. Bishop Campbell describes,

> In this court room, there was a time in 1963 when Black folk had to sit on this side and White folks on this side [gesturing]. I chose to sit where White people were sitting and Judge Aiken sat there with a gun on his side and had Mr. Riddle the bailiff to throw me down the steps. When I was thrown down the steps and my wife was beaten and when I walked out of this building the Confederate flag was flying and they had on Confederate uniforms…that’s pain.

Supporters of the display of the flag refer to themselves as the “rightful heirs” and “the mansion” as “ours” although it has been city-owned property since 1912 and was the

Danville Public Library from 1953 until the mid-'70s when it was repurposed as the Danville City Museum.

Moral dissonance. Supporters of the flag appear to create narratives that deny painful aspects of their ancestors' actions relating to slavery and secession from the Union. Carol, a White female flag supporter, explains that,

> slavery was not a good thing for most people but the people who had plantations had to have people to help them. Some of the slaves were treated badly and some were treated good. Some had it better than they would have had it out on their own.

Glen, a White male flag supporter, observes, "Even the Confederates respected the law of the nation." A Black male flag supporter, H. K., describes the benefits of "Christian White folks in the Southland of introducing us to Jesus Christ…this is not a question about slavery…. Black folks have been duped as relates to our history by Northern teachers…." Barry, a White male opponent of the display of the flag, recognizes moral dissonance in others as he comments that while supporters of the display of the flag can "divorce the memories it inspires from the harm that slavery caused," he could not.

Systems of power. Speakers describe various power struggles during the public forum portion of the City Council meeting. Some are historical including the 19th century federal government, Confederate ideology and systems of racism, and other more contemporaneous systems of power including local or state governments or groups that the speakers perceive as threatening the demise of the current federal government.

Subtheme power struggles. Power struggles are apparent in several contexts in the language of speakers during the public forum. Opponents of the display of the flag characterize the vote regarding the flag display as addressing systemic racism and Confederate ideology in Danville. Asserting that "the Confederate flag must come down," the SCLC representative characterizes flying the flag as "trying to rewrite Confederate ideology." Describing "oppression by Confederates," he delineates "Blacks being sold and bought as property" and urges the City Council to "make history by voting the flag down." Bishop Campbell states,

> That flag must come down. It should never have been flown. It is a disgrace to humanity and particularly to glorify people being killed and treated as Black folk were treated in the time of slavery.

Freedom of expression on public vs. private property is another power struggle noted by speakers. Barry, a White male opponent of flying the flag at the City Museum, states he is "speaking against flying the Confederate flag on public property" while adding that "personal choice may be protected."

Other speakers allude to struggles with unnamed forces aiming to cause trouble or curtail freedoms, not only in Danville but nationally. Carol, a White female flag supporter, refers to groups questioning the display of the flag as "people being paid to stir up trouble." Darren, a White flag supporter, blames the vote being held on "forces who seek…the destruction…of this entire nation." Other speakers question the authority of the state government to intercede in the conflict. Tony, the speaker who offered to purchase the "Sutherlin Mansion" through the nonprofit Danville Confederate Memorial

Association, describes forming a Political Action Committee saying, “Mark Herring [Virginia’s Attorney General in 2015] does not have the final word…. A judge will speak to this issue.”

Subtheme legal and financial power. Concerns by flag supporters regarding the politics and legality of the City Council’s vote regarding the Confederate flag were voiced by several speakers. These speakers characterized an unfairness or impropriety of the vote and emphasized financial waste. Ed, a White male flag supporter from Danville, called the vote regarding the flag “belly-dirt politics” adding “that flag has every reason to be there…that flag should fly right where it is forever.” Two speakers characterized the mansion as being “held hostage by political correctness.” Underlying the speakers’ disapproval regarding the handling of the flag issue appeared to be anger over city finances and accusations of law-breaking. Glen, a White male representing “retired, tax-paying, property-owning citizens” accused the council of ignoring “federal, state, and city laws” regarding the flag display.” He added, “You guys have wasted millions of dollars…you have to get a grip on finances.”

Competing Narratives in Video Record

Three narratives were represented in the citizen speeches during the August 6, 2015, City Council meeting: Southern identity/pride and heritage, history and education, and racism and hate.

Narrative 1: Southern identity/pride and heritage. Of citizen speakers at the August 5, 2015, City Council meeting, 74% represented a Southern identity/pride and heritage narrative regarding the meaning and display of Confederate flag at the Danville

City Museum; 5% of speakers representing other narratives mention pride or heritage in their speech.

In this narrative, respondents represent the Confederate flag as a historical marker symbolizing as Southern heritage, preserving Danville's history in the Civil War as the Last Capital of the Confederacy, and honoring their ancestors and Confederate veterans. As a White female, Nancy, from nearby Providence, NC, describes: "I enjoy seeing the flag because it honors our ancestors; we love to see it fly." Another speaker, Ricky, describes, "I enjoy going over there and seeing that flag fly." Other supporters like a White female flag supporter, Carol, describe, "we want to see the flag fly." John says, it "deserves to fly in the Last Capital" while Ed states, "That flag has every reason to be there…let it fly." As flag supporters John and Cory explain, the flag is about "veterans who should have their piece of ground" and "don't disrespect our veterans by taking our flag down." Michael, a White male flag supporter, describes "federal law makes Confederate veterans equal to other veterans."

For speakers representing this view, their pride in Confederate symbols manifests in a patriotic perception of Southern participation in the War. As Cory explains, "what the flag truly stands for is honor, courage, discipline, motivation, determination, and passion, same as the red, white, and blue." According to this representation, the Confederate flag is symbolic of patriotism and freedom honoring those ancestors who "fought to protect their family." Several speakers trace the pride and heritage meaning of the symbols to their own ancestors' military service for the Confederacy. Carol, a White female representing this narrative, says, "I know I had three great-great-great-

grandfathers who fought for and died for the Confederacy." Michael, a White male flag supporter shows a photograph which he identifies as "one of seven ancestors who defended Virginia against Northern invaders."

Respondents representing this narrative identify the Confederate flag as a source of pride and heritage. Respondents characterize a deep emotional connection with Confederate symbols stressing a personal, patriotic, value-oriented relationship with the flag. Descriptions include: "love the flag," "represents my ancestors," and referring to it interchangeably as "my flag" or "our flag."

Citizens representing this narrative view removing historical symbols as an attempt to erase both historical facts and the culture of a people. Patrick, a 16-year-old White flag supporter, describes the removal of the flag from the City Museum as a form of "cultural genocide which will result in Danville being peppered with Confederate flag." Another respondent, Cory explains, "No show of force will take it down." Speakers interpret the history of the Civil War as having similar dynamics to America's Revolutionary War with the British. The Civil War occurred as a result of the subjugation of freedom and independence by an overreaching federal government. As Cory describes, "the Civil War was fought against an oppressive, overextending federal government." A White female, Carol, postulates, "The war was about commerce and the North taking our land and crops and burning what our ancestors had and protecting their family." Michael, another White male flag supporter, characterizes the war as being fought against an "invading, tyrannical government."

According to this narrative, the Confederate symbols do not typify racism, hate, or slavery. Speakers view Confederate symbols as representing a part of America's past which cannot be changed and should be acknowledged. Carol, a White female flag supporter, explains, "This flag is not a hate flag. It is a hate flag for many Blacks because they feel wrong about it." A Black male flag supporter representing the pride and heritage narrative, explains, "this is my flag…it has a place of honor earned…it is not a question of slavery…Negroes fought, too." Gene, a White male supporter who had his Confederate flags stolen after the mass killing of Black parishioners in Charleston, SC, describes: "That Southern flag at the mansion needs to fly; it is a piece of history that no one change not us, not anybody." In this narrative, while disavowing hate or racism, speakers use negative stereotypes and collective denigration of people of color: 20% of speakers representing this narrative describe situations of violence committed by people of color unrelated to the Confederate flag issue. Nancy, a White female flag supporter, states, "I have a lot I could be racist about but I'm not. In 1971 my father was killed by two Black men trying to rob him." Likewise, Carol, another White female flag supporter, states,

> I just read recently where two Black guys went up to White people's house in a Black neighborhood…the two Black guys started shooting through the house and this 5-year-old girl was sitting on her grandfather's lap and she was shot and killed.

Ed, a White male flag supporter, states "Black people shot my great-great-granddaddy over on Craighead St." Keith, a White male flag supporter, describes, "some of these

people seem to forget they came here on a boat flying an American flag not a Confederate flag." Glen, another White male flag supporter, states, "I'm very sorry that slavery ever came to this country but right now I expect people to get along and…to start pulling your own weight…." Likewise, another flag supporter, Darren, describes people in "bondage to drugs, alcoholism which is self-imposed…anyone who says a flag holds them back…lies to themselves."

Conversely, several speakers offering this narrative explain conflicts surrounding the symbols as being caused by false narratives. Ed, Darren, and Carol see Black and White "trouble makers," "spoon-stirrers," and "Civil Rights organizations" and "those far from Danville who seek the destruction and tearing down of this entire nation" as causing conflict surrounding the flag. Another White male, Ed, says, "People want to blame the Confederate flag for everything."

Significant to individuals representing this narrative is the City Museum property itself. Referring to it the Sutherlin Mansion, they characterize it as "sacred ground" to which they are the "rightful heirs." The majority representing this narrative ask City Councilors to "sell the mansion" and "leave the flag" or "let the flag fly." Tony, representing the Danville Confederate Memorial Association, who describes "I offered $500,000 for the mansion on July 2…we want our building back…we will give it the love and honor it deserves." Darren, another White male flag supporter asks, "Please leave the flag and sell the mansion…."

Narrative 2: History and education. Teresa, a Black female flag supporter, represents a historical/educational model of the conflict surrounding the Confederate flag

in Danville while also representing herself as a "proud Southerner." This model emphasizes the flag and the memorial as history. Elements of this narrative were shared by another 20% of speakers representing the Southern identity/pride and heritage narrative. The speaker establishes herself as an outside expert during her speech, characterizing herself as herself as "a person with 22 and a half years in the museum field." She states, "People who live here or visitors from other places can read and learn about this history." According to this narrative the City Council "needs to keep that flag and that monument in place." Teresa describes the flag and monument to which it is attached as "not only a monument to Confederate history but it is also an outdoor exhibition. It is called public history." According to this narrative both White and Black people believe the cause of the Civil War to be "states' rights" and that "Southern and Confederate heritage does not belong to one race."

According to this narrative removing the flag will not solve but widen racial differences in Danville. Teresa explains, "You may think removing the flag will erase racial issues. I'm here to say that it will widen the division." She quotes a history from a 2011 panel in Richmond on the causes of the Civil War saying, "people need to leave their ancestors at the door…this comment was not directed at Northerners but Southerners." Like those representing the Southern identity narrative, Teresa closes by saying

> Please understand Southern and Confederate heritage does not belong to one race. It crosses racial boundaries. My great-great-grandfather had a connection to

Confederate history. So please reconsider and do not turn your backs on all of us who are proud to be Southern.

Narrative 3: Racism and hate. Of speakers, 21%, three males of color and one White male, represent a racism and hate narrative regarding the display of the Confederate flag in Danville. For these speakers, the Confederate flag represents White supremacist ideology, racism, and hatred for people of color. Asserting that "the Confederate flag must come down," the SCLC representative characterizes flying the flag as "trying to rewrite Confederate ideology." He adds, "We have witnessed many people trying to rewrite Confederate history which has been recorded in volumes…it is being ignored as if it did not happen at all." Describing "oppression by Confederates" he delineates "Blacks being sold and bought as property" and urges the City Council to "make history by voting the flag down." Another speaker, Bishop Campbell states, "That flag must come down. It should never have been flown. It is a disgrace to humanity and particularly to glorify people being killed and treated as Black folk were treated in the time of slavery." Scott, a Black male flag opponent, compares the flag flying at the City Museum to a burning cross: "the Confederate flag stands on city property as a fiery cross in the noon-day sun," connoting the Confederate flag with cross burnings by extremist groups such as the KKK.

These speakers believe the Confederacy stood for slavery and White supremacy. For them displaying the symbols represents a desire to return to this old ideology. One speaker, Bishop Campbell, conflates flag supporters with White supremacy groups

stating: “you see people who are waving the flag today and most of those persons are associated with the Ku Klux Klan, skinheads, and other groups like that.”

People representing the hate and racism narratives speak of the pain that the Confederate flag and Confederate ideology caused both historically and contemporaneously.

Speakers representing this narrative also view the display of the flag as divisive and polarizing within the Danville community, as notes Bishop Campbell:

> I can tell you about how White folk have treated us down through the years, not everybody but that Confederate flag represents a kind of element in this community that that flag needs to come down because its divisive and not only is it divisive, but it is polarizing our community.

Analysis of Interview Data

Using 7 questions, 25 respondents familiar with the conflict in Danville regarding Confederate symbols were interviewed in sessions lasting from 20 minutes to 2 hours. The first question confirmed demographic data including residency, occupation, education, and age. The subsequent 6 questions solicited beliefs and opinions regarding Confederate symbols. A short summary of the analytical methodology follows and is illustrated in Figure 2. Following the completion of the interviews the researcher disassembled responses to interview questions 2-6 into key phrases for coding. Preserving the words of respondents, the disassembled interviews were entered into a software program. The entered data comprised 535 lines. In the first analytical cycle, preliminary codes were assigned to each of the 535 lines. In a second analytical cycle,

coded interview lines were grouped together into categories. Analyzing the interview narratives and categories, six primary conceptual constructions were identified: (a) pride and heritage, (b) hate and race/racism, (c) Confederate ideology, (d) silence/memory, (e) power dynamics, and (f) the need for truth. The categories from coded interviews were mapped to these 6 conceptual constructions. Additional analysis of the 6 conceptual constructions yielded 6 themes and 20 subthemes. Narratives were assembled into groups based on their consistency within the themes and subthemes of the 6 conceptual constructions. Four primary competing narratives emerged explaining the conflict surrounding Confederate symbols. A flowchart of the data analysis process is provided in Figure 2. The theoretical and practical implications of the findings will be described at length in the Discussion Chapter.

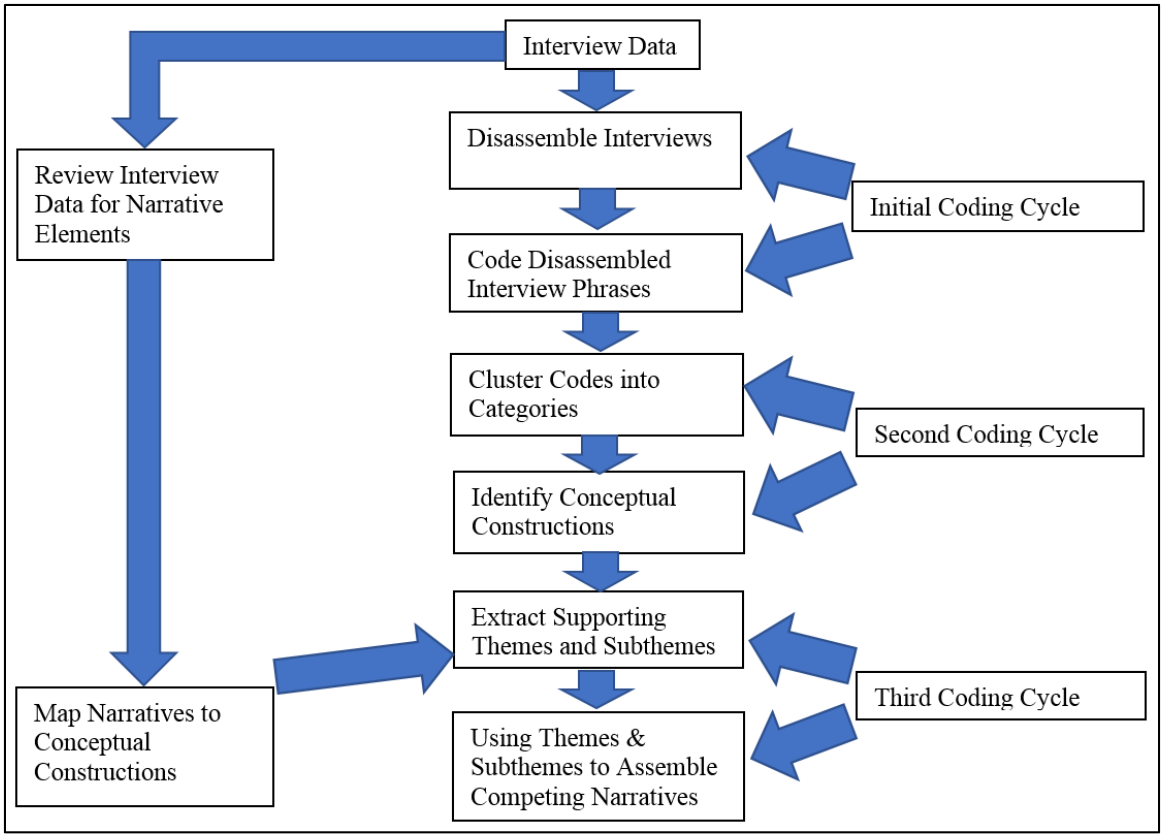

Figure 2. Data analysis process of interviews.

Themes and subthemes. Six themes and 19 subthemes emerged from the analysis of the 6 conceptual constructions interview data: (a) opinions and attitudes, (b) duality of meaning, (c) identity dynamics, (d) victimization and trauma, (e) systems of power, and (f) divided community.

Opinions and attitudes. While the interview questions were not designed specifically to elicit opinions or attitudes regarding Confederate symbols, these opinions were apparent in the interview responses. Favorable attitudes and opinions regarding the symbols were expressed by 48% of respondents while 52% of respondents expressed generally negative or unfavorable attitudes and opinions. Opinions were linked to a

strong duality or binary of meanings assigned to the symbols by the interviewees. Those holding favorable opinions generally linked them to pride, heritage, family, and the defense of homeland against invaders. Individuals expressing negative attitudes regarding Confederate symbols characterize them as representing hate, White supremacy, and racist ideology.

Subtheme display of Confederate symbols. Based on the responses to questions 2 – 6, four positions regarding the display of Confederate symbols emerged: (a) generally positive opinions supporting display, (b) generally positive or generally negative opinions and supporting display within limitations, (c) generally positive or negative but neutral regarding display, and (d) generally negative opinions and opposing display.

Generally positive opinions regarding symbols and display. Respondents who hold generally positive opinions regarding Confederate symbols support the display of Confederate symbols and largely regard them as a representation of their heritage and family and as a part of America's history which should be remembered and protected. Twelve respondents, comprising approximately 46% of those interviewed, support the display of Confederate symbols and hold a generally favorable opinion of them based on responses to interview questions. Of those, 96% are White and 4% African American.

Opinions expressed by respondents who support the display of symbols include acknowledgements that the symbols may offend others or that others may perceive the symbols as racist. One 71-year-old White woman who has lived her entire life in Virginia and North Carolina characterizes herself as "staying in the middle ground—feeling for those offended by the symbols" but thinking they should "not be destroyed." The same

respondent also shared “that if Confederate flags and monuments must come down so should monuments of Martin Luther King.” Another lifelong Danville resident, now 70, professes to have no emotional reaction or opinions regarding the meaning of the Confederate symbols, but declares that the Confederate flag which was removed from the City Museum was “there for a purpose and should remain there.”

Generally positive or generally negative opinions and neutral regarding display. Two respondents were neutral regarding the display of Confederate symbols while simultaneously expressing generally negative or positive opinions regarding the symbols themselves. One respondent, an African American female, aged 74, supports the rights of individuals to “express their opinions while respecting mine.” Characterizing the Confederate flag as representing “a dark period,” she explains the symbols “didn’t bother me as much as others because of the way I was raised.” She recalls her father telling her there were both White and Black slaves. Living her entire life in the Danville area, she believes that it is “better to focus on what she can do make positive changes” than on controversy surrounding Confederate symbols. Another 70-year-old White male, a lifelong Danville resident with generally positive opinions of Confederate symbols who characterizes himself as Southern, describes no emotions regarding the flag: “it does not matter if it is taken down,” while also explaining that the symbols represent “the heroes of the Confederacy following the war.”

Generally positive or generally negative opinions and support display with limitations. Regardless of their overall negative or positive opinion of Confederate symbols, certain respondents support the display of Confederate symbols in limited

contexts. These contexts include museums, display on private property, or display in National Battlefield parks. A 62-year-old Black female who grew up in the Danville area, who holds mostly negative opinions of the flag, adds that she "is not personally involved in the situation." She believes that the flag should be "kept safe and protected in a museum."

Among the respondents who express a desire to limit the display of some Confederate symbols are those who consider themselves to have a White Southern identity and generally express a positive opinion of the symbols. These individuals characterize feelings of pride regarding the Confederate symbols, while also developing a system of rationalization regarding the symbols' display. For example, a 58-year-old White male does not believe the Confederate Battle flag should be displayed because its use by hate groups has created a meaning which inflicts harm on certain people. Simultaneous to expressing this opinion, he also describes a visceral connection with the symbols of the Confederacy: "These symbols are integrated into your very being," adding that his "family is mostly Southern" so he has "no negative feelings about the symbols." This respondent also supports the presence of Confederate statuary in National Parks. While expressing generally positive opinions regarding the display of Confederate symbols, a 28-year-old White male HVAC technician who lives in Franklin County adjacent to Danville believes Confederate flags should not be displayed on government properties which should be "unbiased," but "displaying flags in yards is okay."
A dichotomy of opinion was expressed regarding the display of Confederate flags versus Confederate statuary.

While 100% of respondents holding favorable opinions of Confederate symbols also supported their display, two African American men, both veterans of the U.S. military who have generally negative opinions of Confederate symbols and oppose the display of the Confederate flag other than in a museum, support the continued presence of Confederate memorials and statuary of Confederate military figures. A lifelong White resident evaluated the continued display of the symbols according to the financial investment required to move them, stating that "it is okay to take down the flags, but it would cost too much money to move the statues."

Generally n*egative* o*pinions* r*egarding Confederate* s*ymbols and* d*isplay*. Thirteen respondents, or 52% of those interviewed, express negative opinions regarding the display of Confederate symbols. The negative opinion group is divided equally between White and African Americans; 84% are male and 15% are female. Within the 52% of respondents who expressed negative opinions regarding Confederate symbols, 83% correlate Confederate symbols with racism, slavery, and White supremacy regardless of their own race. Other characterizations of Confederate symbols by those holding negative opinions include the failure of Confederate supporters to "criticize slavery," the use of Confederate symbols to "intimidate," using the symbols to "preserve the ideas of the Confederacy," an example of "Southern culture trying to gloss over dark history," and "made worse by Trump who enhances/emboldens the use of coded language." Thirty-three percent of those expressing negative opinions of Confederate symbols believe the Confederate flag to be associated with the Ku Klux Klan in some manner. Among the White respondents who express generally negative opinions of Confederate symbols, two

respondents expressed guilt or shame regarding their family's participation in slavery or in honoring the Confederate cause. These respondents are also engaged in community activism in the Danville region to counter what they perceive as the deleterious effects of the display of Confederate symbols. One of these respondents, a 68-year-old White female, perceives the Confederate flag as a "trigger for what she can do to resolve these issues." An 88-year-old African American male describes the Confederate Flag as "a part of history used to project an old ideology," remarking that for "Blacks [it] is like the Nazi Swastika is for Jews."

Duality of meaning. In response to interview questions 2 and 3 respondents shared opinions regarding the history represented by Confederate symbols in the Danville community as well as personal meanings of the symbols. Both those expressing favorable and unfavorable opinions regarding the symbols describe them as meaning from or of the Civil War and representing history. Meanings of Confederate symbols represented by respondents largely entailed a binary opposition of pride and heritage for supporters of the symbols and racism and hate for opponents. While perceptions regarding social group membership were not specifically elicited, evidence of the influence of social identity group membership is apparent. In addition to the Civil War, historical meanings include subthemes of pride, honor, slavery, racism, and White supremacy.

Subtheme Civil War. Both respondents expressing favorable and unfavorable opinions regarding Confederate symbols contextualize them with the Civil War. A continuum of explanations, however, is emphasized regarding causes of the Civil War and the purpose and meaning for displaying Civil War symbols. Those holding favorable

opinions regarding the symbols described them as honoring Civil War heroes and veterans and as representing men who fought for what they believed in and against Northern aggression. In his discussion of the historical meaning of Confederate symbols a 55-year-old White male supporter connects the Confederate flag to "freedom to make choices" for the South and representative of the South wanting "independence." He believes removing the symbols is an attempt to "erase the Confederacy" comparable to "erasing the Holocaust." Likewise, a 40-year-old White male describes the symbols as "representing how a country should function…they are about states' rights and federal government authority." A 70-year-old White male and lifelong resident of Danville characterizes the symbols as "representing heroes following the Civil War," describing his opinions regarding the meaning of the symbols as coming not from family stories but from history textbooks. Like the 40-year-old White male respondent, he cites how "Sherman raped and burned the South" as the rationale for the original placement of flags and statuary. A 28-year-old White male from nearby Franklin County, Virginia, characterizes the flags as representing history, where "we come from" and "brothers fighting." A 52-year-old White female and lifelong Danville resident and flag proponent describes the symbols as "about the Civil War" adding, "I don't understand how it could be racist."

While respondents expressing generally unfavorable opinions of Confederate symbols also connect them to Civil War history, they perceive them as representing states fighting to maintain slavery or glorify the Confederate way of life. An 88-year-old Black male, a lifelong resident of Danville, describes the Confederate flag as "representing

history and the men that died in the Civil War." He elaborates, adding Confederate symbols are "a part of history used to project an old ideology…representing the 13 states fighting to maintain slavery for economic gain." A 35-year-old Black male who has lived the majority of his life in Danville describes the symbols as typifying "Danville's fascination with the Confederacy" which the city "glorifies and romanticizes" it. Another respondent describes how the loss of the Civil War continues be a factor in the minds of Southern people, "It is still an issue that the Confederates lost the war—still us against them. Resentment over the North continues and affects life today."

Subtheme pride/heritage. Regardless of their own opinions regarding Confederate symbols, the majority of respondents interviewed correlate the symbols with pride and heritage of Southern people: 48% of respondents mention pride or heritage in their responses. Respondents holding positive opinions regarding the symbols connect pride to "my Southern heritage," characterizing themselves as "very proud" or feeling "pride and affection." For respondents who consider themselves Southern, the pride and heritage represented by Confederate symbols is disconnected from race or slavery. As one respondent explained, "pride is in the symbols and is nothing to do with Black or White." For respondents who have generally unfavorable perceptions of the Confederate symbols the pride extends to "glorification," "fascination," and "romanticizing" absent from any negative critique of slavery the symbols are viewed as representing. As one African American respondent explains, there is "no criticism of slavery—just this is our heritage." Another African American respondent notes that "flaggers believe they are being asked to bury their pride" by the flag being removed from the Danville City

Museum. A 28-year-old White male Confederate flag supporter, while disagreeing with the display of Confederate flags in "government buildings," believes that the symbols represent "heritage and what my great-great-grandfathers believed in" and "questioning these beliefs is almost as bad as racism."

Subtheme slavery, hate, and racism. Respondents holding both favorable and unfavorable opinions of Confederate symbols and their display address slavery, hate, and racism in their interviews. Several narratives emerged regarding the role of slavery and racism and contemporary meanings and conflict regarding Confederate symbols. One respondent, a 55-year-old White male who formed a motorcycle club honoring the Confederate regiment from Danville, believes "opinions regarding Confederate symbols are generational." He adds that "those under 40 both Black and White associate it with slavery" and that "younger people see the flag as racist, or as a Klan symbol." Similarly, a 70-year-old White male explained the "turmoil about the flag in Danville is excessive" stating that "radical people want to push the agenda of racism." Other respondents holding favorable opinions of Confederate symbols characterize them as having "no connection with racism," "don't understand how it could be racist," "can be racist but everything can be," "having no connection with slavery," "Blacks think it should come down because it represents slavery," and "some people see it as an actual hate flag and it's a terrible thing that they believe this." A Black male supporter of Confederate symbols from Pittsylvania County, age 31, describes pressure by other people of color not to wear the clothing adorned with Confederate symbols.

Respondents generally favorable toward Confederate symbols conceptualize the passage of time as sufficient to erase pain of slavery and racism if the symbols indeed once held this meaning: 20% of Confederate flag advocates believe that people offended by the symbols "should just let it go" as a White female, 34 years old and raised in Danville, comments. Another White female, 52 years old and a lifelong Danville resident, explains, "none of us were slave owners and none of them were slaves." This sentiment was expressed similarly by a Black male Confederate flag supporter, 31 years old: "I've never been a slave—it's just another flag." These respondents also appear to create an equivalency between Confederate symbols and statuary and remembrances honoring slain Civil Rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King. A 28-year-old White male explains those offended "need to turn the other cheek and move past it" while also stating that if "the flag comes down so should MLK references." Likewise, a White female, 71 years old and born in Virginia, believes flying the Confederate flag is done to "aggravate Blacks." Concerning slavery, she adds: "Blacks are making a stink about it but didn't live it…they need to live with it [Confederate symbols] and get over it." This respondent also makes the equivalency between Confederate monuments and Martin Luther King, Jr. statuary, "If I have to see his monuments let them see the Civil War monuments…what is good for the goose is good for the gander." A 69-year-old White female who has lived the majority of her life in Danville and Richmond, Virginia, comments, "Blacks think it is all about them…they think it [the Confederate flag] should come down because it represents slavery." Her granddaughter, a 34-year-old White woman who was born and lived in Danville until her late 20s, believes the Confederate Battle flag on the bypass

around Danville, among the largest Confederate flags in the United States, was installed to “agitate others.”

In contrast, those holding generally unfavorable opinions connect the symbols to slavery and racism. Respondents who consider themselves Southern but are empathetic toward those feeling harmed or threatened by the symbols, as discussed in the identity dynamics theme, appear to experience levels of internal conflict often associated with moral dissonance and include both characterizations in their responses. For example, a 68-year-old White female with a generally negative opinion of Confederate symbols who is engaged in social activism specifically targeted at identifying remedies for conflicts surrounding the symbols expressed a dichotomized meaning of Confederate symbols. She acknowledges the symbols simultaneously mean both “family and heritage; and hate” while describing the symbols as “representing history and the men who fought and died in the Civil War.”

Those who do not consider themselves Southern, regardless of race, correlate the symbols to slavery and racism. A 35-year-old Black male believes proponents of Confederate symbols in Danville consider “slavery as a God-given right.” The 23-year-old son of Russian immigrants who grew up in Danville believes Confederate symbols there represent “what it means to be a slave owner” and “racism toward Blacks—not outward but the sentiments are there.” Likewise, a 28-year-old White male who was born in New Jersey, where he attended elementary school before moving to Virginia, sees the Confederate flag as “a symbol of evil and oppression of slavery not states’ rights… symbol of holding on to the past.”

Subtheme White supremacy and Confederate ideology. Respondents holding generally negative opinions of Confederate symbols correlate them to White supremacy and Confederate ideology. Respondents expressing this concern link 19th century Confederate ideology to present racial discord. One such respondent observes that "flag supporters separate the Confederacy from slavery." Another respondent, a 62-year-old African American female whose father was instrumental in the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s believes that Confederate symbols "give Whites a feeling of superiority" although "the majority do not support slavery." A 69-year-old African American respondent sees Confederate symbols as "supporting the belief that Black people should be slaves." A Danville native, a 53-year-old Black male whose great-great-great-grandparents were slaves in Pittsylvania County, shares that the Confederate symbols "brought about a dominant race in America" and mean "hatred of people of color and White superiority." Other respondents with unfavorable opinions regarding the symbols describe them as historical but representing ideas of the Confederacy, the "lost cause," slavery, "a dark period," or "used to project old ideology." A 28-year-old White male who lived in Danville while attending community college characterizes Confederate symbols there as "an oppressive reminder of White supremacy" and a "symbol of holding on to the past…comparable to a Nazi flag."

Identity dynamics. Perceptions of respondents regarding Confederate symbols reflect group identity processes which frequently emerge within protracted conflicts. Subthemes include salience of social identity group affiliation, conflict readiness, fears and threats, and negative attributions and stereotypes.

Subtheme salience of identity. Respondents holding the most polarized views of Confederate symbols appear correspondingly to maintain the highest identity salience and most rigid social boundaries. Regardless of their opinions, Confederate symbols represent value commitments to groups involved in the conflict which appear to have transitioned from "polymodal" identities to a single, dominant group identities. Three primary identity groups appear in respondents' interview answers regarding Confederate symbols in Danville. These include a Southern identity, Northern or Non-Southern identity, and African American identity. Themes surrounding the history represented by Confederate symbols derived from group affiliation are strongly binary. These dynamics appear to be influenced by social group identity salience, particularly ethnicity as well as a Southern versus Northern or Non-Southern identity. Respondents exhibiting less salient ethnic identity as exemplified by interview responses indicating participation in socially diverse activities, or having more salience toward professional, social, or progressive political groups expressed opinions which vary from those offered by others in their ethnic group. For Whites who identify as Northern or Non-Southern or those Southern Whites who describe feelings of empathy toward those who have been historically marginalized or contemporaneously hurt, the history represented by the Confederate symbols includes negative connotations.

Respondents identifying as Southern expressed an intimate relationship with the Confederate flag, connoting a sense of belonging, positiveness, and patriotism. The majority of respondents, regardless of race or whether expressing generally favorable or unfavorable views of Confederate symbols, perceive the symbols as representing the

South or Southern identity. All respondents holding favorable opinions of Confederate symbols consider themselves Southern, while not all respondents who consider themselves Southern have favorable opinions of the symbols. Those characterizing themselves as Southern derive their identity from being born or raised in the South, having parents from the South, or adopting a Southern heritage based on ancestry or marriage. African Americans whose demographics could qualify as Southern do not express such an affiliation. Meanings associated by those with a primary White Southern group identity salience focus on family/heritage/pride/power.

While the three primary social groups involved in conflicts surrounding Confederate symbols appear to be those identifying as Southern, Northern and other, and African American, nuanced subthemes emerged surrounding development of empathy or moral dissonance by individuals identifying as Southern. These empathetic individuals appear to have a reduced saliency of the Southern identity resulting in feelings of regret, shame, or guilt over the meaning of Confederate symbols. Two such respondents report an epiphany accompanied by clarity regarding systemic racial inequality. In contrast to the primary Southern identity, White respondents corresponding with the "empathic" Southern identity appear to mitigate or alter their Southern heritage by participation in social justice movements or other diverse organizational participation. These respondents associate Confederate symbols with themes of enslavement/disenfranchisement/pain/ oppression similar to their African American cohort. One such respondent, a 30-year-old White male originally from Louisiana and now a community organizer, believes that he must work to "try to right wrongs of the past/previous generations." Another White male,

36 years old, describes the flag as meaning both “pride and racism” and being a “big thing” for Southerners. He states that he “would not fly a flag” and that Confederate symbols “cause conflict” and there will “be no peace with the presence of flags.” He also mentions that his grandparents “would not allow Black people in their home.”

In those respondents with a high degree of Southern identity salience, empathy for others appears to influence opinions regarding limitations on the display of Confederate symbols. A 58-year-old White male raised in Virginia from the age of 3 who is generally favorable toward Confederate symbols and considers himself Southern states that he would “neither fly or wear a Confederate flag,” declaring that Robert E. Lee would ask “Why are you flying my flag? The war is over.” Conversely, this respondent describes Confederate symbols as “integrated into your very being.”

White respondents characterizing themselves as Northern or as immigrant held some of the least favorable perceptions regarding Confederate symbols. A 28-year-old White male originally from New Jersey who lived in Danville for 18 months and a 22-year-old White male who grew up in Danville after his parents immigrated there from Russia both referred to Confederate symbols as “a “relic of history” and “relic of the past.” The 22-year-old also characterized the symbols “metaphors for South vs. North…and polarity of political views” while the 28-year-old saw them as “an oppressive reminder of white supremacy.”

Lower salience of ethnic identity in African American respondents appears to produce less negative descriptions of the meaning of Confederate symbols. For example, a 74-year-old female, a lifetime resident of the Danville area, describes family values and

beliefs as the basis for her attitude toward Confederate symbols. Describing them as representing “different things to different people” and a “dark period of separation,” she is neutral regarding the display of the symbols. She believes that she has a different outlook than most people based on the teachings of her father to “not dwell on the past” and that this difference “begins in the womb” and that those engaged in controversy surrounding the symbols “are not secure in their identity.” A 31-year-old African American male married to a White female describes being threatened by his family and other persons of color over displaying the flag on his phone and his vehicle, adding “I am married to a White lady who likes the flag.”

African American respondents appearing to have high identity salience strongly with their ethnic identity seem to view Confederate symbols and their influence in more negative ways. An 88-year-old African American male, presently a prominent religious leader and formerly a primary leader of the Civil Rights movement in Danville in the 1960s, appears to have a high ethnic salience and characterizes Confederate symbols as “part of history used to project an old ideology” with “people holding on to it as a system,” adding that “it is a problem that Black people need to solve.” A 35-year-old Black male raised in Danville from childhood sees the flag as “a symbol of racial discord” which “glorifies” and “romanticizes” the “Confederacy and slavery…dividing the community.”

Subtheme conflict readiness. Respondents considering themselves Southern and holding generally favorable opinions regarding Confederate symbols observe conflict readiness among their cohort. One such respondent, a 58-year-old White male, describes

Confederate symbols being used by “miscreant White-sheeted idiots to intimidate Black neighborhoods…the problem comes when these symbols are used to offend others.” Another Confederate symbol supporter describes the symbols as “causing people to have arguments and fight,” while a third, a 71-year-old White male, characterizes Southerners as “hard-headed people who will be irritated if you take down flags or statues.” Other respondents with generally favorable opinions regarding symbols describe flags as being used to “irritate” or “aggravate” people of color.

Respondents who are members of identity groups other than Southern, including empathetic Southern, Northern, or African American identity group members, perceive supporters of Confederate symbols as seeking out attention and conflict. Confederate symbols supporters are believed to be supporters of “Klan” or “Nazi” ideology who “brandish” Confederate symbols resulting in “lack of peace.” A 31-year-old White City Counselor describes the “battle flag as used to incite violence” and flag supporters “as part of an anti-government movement…having a lack of respect for people in the community” and “wanting conflict and attention, looking for a fight.”

Subtheme m*erging past and present fears and threats*. Regardless of their own race, respondents connecting Confederate symbols to racism, slavery, and White supremacy in the past also perceive these fears or threats in the present. The fears and threats described by respondents fall into a continuum of relatively mild “attention-seeking behaviors” to “intimidation,” “rebellion against the government,” and “supporting the belief that Black people should be slaves.” Several respondents use the terms “remind” or “preserves” to indicate that threats are not only historical but present

and future concerns which establish an altered temporal perception linking past events to the current conflict. A Black male respondent describes the symbols as “taking us backwards” and “refusing to allow Danville to go forward.” An 88-year-old religious leader connects President Donald Trump to the resurgence of conflict around Confederate symbols: “Now we have Trump who enhances/embolden use of coded language…Donald Trump and MAGA is coded language used to stir up Confederate people.”

Confederate symbol supporters also perceive fears and threats in conflict surrounding the symbols. As a 55-year-old White male, a lifelong Danville resident, explains, “the younger generation…see the flag as racist or a Klan symbol.” He identifies this as originating with “Black preachers” who get youth “riled up,” and educators “who don’t teach correct information.” Comparing Confederate ideology to the Jewish Holocaust, this same respondent compares taking down Confederate symbols to “erasing the Holocaust.” Another respondent with favorable perceptions toward Confederate symbols describes those involved in removing the symbols as “radical people wanting to push an agenda of racism.” A 39-year-old White respondent actively involved in the conflict in Danville points to the “media” and “City Museum and City Counselors” who made the “flag an issue in Danville because of the South Carolina thing,” referring to mass killings of Black parishioners by a White supremacist displaying Confederate symbols.

Subtheme negative attributions, stereotypes, and collective denigration. Members of identity groups engaged in conflict regarding the display of Confederate symbols in Danville employ negative and stereotyped language and descriptions of members of

opposing groups. A 69-year-old African American female expressing generally negative opinions and attitudes regarding Confederate symbols makes negative attributions regarding displaying them which “gives Whites feelings of superiority,” while two younger White males, also opponents of the display of Confederate symbols, characterize flag supporters as “ignorant” and “idiots.” A White City Councilor refers to symbols supporters as “flaggers,” adding that “flaggers have no regard for our community” and are “hateful people.” Likewise, supporters of Confederate symbols employ language indicative of rigid boundaries between themselves and opponents of the display of the symbols. Opponents to the display of the symbols are described as “radical people who want to push an agenda of racism” and “Blacks making a stink about it.”

Victimization and trauma. Although none of the seven interview questions inquired about trauma, respondents report either collective or personal trauma or emotional states symptomatic of cultural, personal, or moral injury trauma.

Subtheme collective trauma. Of respondents, 12% described trauma suffered by Southern people during and after the Civil War. Two of these respondents describe Southerners as victims during the Civil War traumatized by the “raping and burning” perpetrated by federal General William Sherman. One of these respondents, a 40-year-old White male, added that “the South felt enslaved by the North.” The same respondent describes the Confederate Battle flag as being used in “aggressive ways” as a symbol of Southern solidary against such victimization and “hatred over Sherman.” A 55-year-old White male respondent characterizes the removal of Confederate symbols for Southerners as “the same as erasing the Holocaust.” Another respondent, a 70-year-old White male

and lifelong Danville, resident explains learning about “Sherman’s rape and burning of the South” from history textbooks. Another respondent, a 68-year-old White female falling within the “empathic” Southern identity group describes “traumatizing history” while characterizing the “real problem” around Confederate symbols as “a framework is lacking for talking or listening.”

While the African American respondents do not refer directly to trauma, they offer explanations surrounding Confederate symbols which consistently correlate the symbols with the pain and humiliation of slavery, racism, and Jim Crow segregation. Two African American respondents, one a 74-year-old female and the other a 35-year-old male, describe Confederate symbols as representing “a painful period,” “a dark past,” leading to “disturbing attitudes.” The 35-year-old male who grew up in Danville characterizes “Blacks resigned and disgusted to a system of belief in Danville.” Another 65-year-old Black male describes the Confederate flag as representing a “deep-rooted, historical feeling of racism” and “anti-me and anyone who looks like me.” Several respondents noted a “lack of empathy” or “hatred” toward people of color and the desire of flag supporters to “take us backwards.” This extends, explains the 65-year-old African American male respondent, to “anyone different…resulting in a dominant race in America” and “lots of people in power that have Confederate heritage.” Another respondent, an 88-year-old religious leader, states that the “flag is a part of history used to project old ideology,” stating that “for Blacks Confederate symbols are like the Nazi Swastika is for Jews.” He maintains, however, that “Blacks are not afraid, alarmed, or traumatized.” A 68-year-old White female who devotes herself to resolving issues around

the Confederate flag describes the conflict as being “painful for the community” and that “the impact on people of color seeing the flags everyday hurts Danville.” A 53-year-old Black male who lived his entire life in Danville believes that the Confederate symbols represent “Southern history, oppression, and a deep, deep wound in our past” and “represent owning another human being…that Blacks are evil.” Like others, he believes “a lack of empathy causes the problem.”

Subtheme personal trauma. Several respondents shared incidents of both past and contemporary personal violence and resulting trauma surrounding segregation, White supremacy, and Confederate symbols in the Danville area. Three African American respondents shared personal experiences of trauma including crosses burned in their yards, in one case by four to five robed Klan members; suffering dog attacks when biking through a White neighborhood as a child; and being threatened by groups of White men as a teen. Among these respondents is an African American man who discovered as a young adult that his great-great-great-grandfather was a White plantation owner and his great-great-great-grandmother a Black woman who lived in a small house on the property. Other than one discussion after he found photographs, his mother never mentioned this and “was not comfortable discussing it.” A 31-year-old White male who was on the City Council at the time of the flag vote in 2015 describes himself as “viciously attacked” by “flaggers” in social media and “threatened by flaggers that ‘rope is cheap.’” He believes that the “battle flag is used to incite violence” and “now associates the flag with the group that attacked him relentlessly” and “tries not to think about the night of the vote.”

Subtheme silence/denial. Of the 62% of respondents holding generally unfavorable opinions regarding Confederate symbols reported silence, lack of conversation, communication or discussion, and absence of family stories during childhood regarding Confederate symbols. A 65-year-old Black male explained the silence about the Confederacy as related to the "era" during which "people held things close to the vest." A 53-year-old Black male states that "Danville had the most slaves in Virginia" and "we want to forget." This respondent is among the minority of African American respondents whose family did discuss the legacy of Confederate symbols. He recalls his mother "telling stories of lack of opportunity" and of his maternal "great-great-great-grandparents being slaves…not being allowed to learn to read or count." While the majority of those holding unfavorable opinions regarding Confederate symbols report silence regarding these symbols during their childhood, 50% of respondents holding favorable opinions of Confederate symbols indicate memories of ancestors who fought for the South were shared by parents, relatives, or elders. Of these respondents, 40% could name the specific relatives and/or the battles they fought in or military unit in which they served.

Families which spoke about the Confederacy or Confederate symbols shared a version of the information which corresponded to the views held by their social identity group and are indicative of moral injury trauma. Those from Southern families were taught generally positive information regarding the family heritage, pride, and positive connotations of the symbols. Two respondents in the "empathic" Southern identity group were taught as children to honor the "lost cause" and that "relatives defended the

institution of slavery." One of these respondents describes feeling "shame…guilt and embarrassment" from his "entire family being from the South." A third respondent in the "empathic" Southern identity group described his grandparents as "not allowing Blacks into their house."

In contrast to the childhood silence experienced in respondent families, respondents presently desire communication on this topic and suggested contemporaneous discussions as a way of lessening conflict surrounding the symbols. One respondent, a 65-year-old White female actively pursuing solutions to the conflict, explains the "issue may be too raw to confront head-on" while suggesting "community facilitations" as an approach to conflict resolution. A 69-year-old Black male holding generally unfavorable view of Confederate symbols suggested that "civil conversation" would help to lessening conflict observing that "no true communication is currently taking place." Similar observations were made by other respondents holding both favorable and unfavorable opinions regard symbols. Comments included: "people don't talk," need to "facilitate discussions," "get races to know each other," "hard discussions must be had," "need a neutral mediator to give information," and "discuss concerns and differences through meetings…communicate."

Supporters of the display of Confederate symbols consistently denied that slavery was the cause of the Civil War. Two Confederate symbols supporters, one a 31-year-old Black male and the other a 69-year-old White male real estate investor and lifelong Danville resident, invoked silence in their responses to interview questions—the former describing that "talking about it makes it worse" and the latter by invoking silence in

response to virtually all the questions. The 69-year-old stated that “the subject need to be left alone…;” “I have no feelings about the symbols…no family stories…don’t know what the opinions about the symbols are in Danville” and “don’t know what the symbols represent.” He did add that the conflict “started as a result of race relations…and that Danville began to change when [Dr. Martin Luther] King came to Danville” and that he had “nothing else to say.” A third proponent of Confederate symbols, a 55-year-old White male, believes that “young people listen to preachers who get them riled up” concerning Confederate symbols and that “preachers need to quit talking about it.”

Subtheme emotional responses. The majority of respondents expressed emotion or states of being in response to interview questions regarding Confederate symbols. The nature of the emotions expressed generally correspond to the opinions held by the respondents regarding the symbols and the salience of their affiliation with a social identity group effected by the symbols. Of the 12 respondents expressing generally favorable perceptions toward Confederate symbols, 50% used the word “pride” to describe their attitude toward the symbols. Likewise, 42% or 6 of the 14 respondents holding generally unfavorable perceptions toward the symbols believed that those favoring the symbols felt pride regarding them. More than half of respondents in the favorable group and slightly under half in the unfavorable group described no family discussions of Confederate symbols or their meaning. Of those holding generally unfavorable opinions of the symbols, 35% mentioned the importance or necessity of empathy toward those harmed or hurt by the display of the symbols. The need for empathy was also expressed as important for resolving conflicts surrounding the display

of the symbols. Table 4 documents the emotional representations and frequency with which they were articulated by respondents. In some cases, the emotions being described are those attributed to the opposite group. This will be discussed in more detail in the Discussion Chapter.

Table 4

Emotions or States of Being Expressed by Respondents

Emotion	Symbol Supporters	Symbol Opponents
Affection	1	1
Aggravation	1	1
Aggression	1	
Anger		1
Apathy		1
Beliefs	1	
Danger		1
Disappointment		1
Discrimination		1
Discord		1
Disgust		1
Disheartening		1
Disturbing		1
Doesn't Offend	1	
Empathy is needed		5
Evilness		1
Fear		2
Freedom	1	
Guilt & Embarrassment		1
No Fear		1
No Meaning		1
No Trauma		2
Oppression		1
Pain		2
Hatred	4	3
Passion		1
Pity		1
Power		1
Pride	6	6
Honor	1	1
Hurt		1
Independence	1	
Intimidation		1
Irritation	2	
Love	2	
No Emotion	5	2
Resentment	1	1
Resignation		1
Shame		1
Self-Reflection		1
Silence	7	6
Sorrow		1
Superiority		2
Tension		1
Upset	1	
Viciousness		1
Wounded		1

Subtheme moral injury trauma indicators. Indicators of moral injury trauma revealed in the interviews are time out of place, moral dissonance, and precipitating environmental exposures.

Time out of place. Both those opposing and supporting the display of the flag connect the present conflict to past traumas including slavery, loss of the Civil War, and white supremacy in Danville. Using Graham's (2017) characteristics, this linkage or merging of past trauma and present traumas, or dislocation, is indicative of moral trauma. Flag opponents place conflicts over the flag to cultural painful experiences of slavery, the secession of the Confederacy, and systemic racism. A 69-year-old African American respondent sees Confederate symbols as "supporting the belief that Black people should be slaves." As a 35-year-old Black male respondent explains, flag supporters "don't criticize slavery, they consider it a God-given right…they still want independence from the federal government." A 23-year-old son of Russian immigrants describes, "It is still an issue that Confederates lost the war—it's us versus them—racism toward Blacks is there. It is not outward but the sentiments are there." He adds, "we must confront police brutality and racial profiling in Danville." A 53-year-old Black male flag opponent explains, "these symbols bring back slavery for African American citizens…it takes us backwards, it represents division. The Civil War happened to maintain slavery."
Flag supporters also experience contemporaneous conflict surrounding the display of Confederate symbols in the historical context of the loss of life of Confederate soldiers, the valor of their ancestors, and the march of General Sherman through the South in 1864. A 55-year-old White male flag supporter describes the symbols as representing

“veterans who died for the Confederacy” as though the deaths occurred recently. A 40-year-old White male supporter of the display of Confederate symbols explains, “flying the battle flag represents hatred over Sherman.”

Moral dissonance. Supporters of the flag appear to create narratives that deny painful aspects of their ancestors’ actions relating to slavery and secession from the Union. Several emphasize the bravery and heritage of Confederate leaders and ancestors, disconnecting Confederate symbols from slavery or racism. A White male supporter of the display of Confederate symbols notes, “the truth needs to be told about the Northerners and Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis.” A White female flag supporter, age 52, explains, “the symbols mean about the Civil War…I don’t understand how they could be racist…I don’t see what the big deal is.” A 28-year-old White male supporter explains, “the Southern states treated slaves better than the North treated Blacks. Slavery is a horrible idea but not racial.” This respondent adds, “People need to get over it and move on. It didn’t effect anyone personally who is alive today.”

Precipitating environmental exposures. According to Graham’s (2017) research, certain conditions give rise to moral injury trauma. These conditions include violence or what Graham refers to as traumatic explosive assaults, dangerous or “pythonic habitats,” structural or systemic traumas, and identity/moral framework degradation (p. 80). Both respondents supporting and opposing their display describe these environmental exposures relating to conflict surrounding Confederate symbols. While respondents supporting the display of Confederate symbols minimize the environmental impact of the symbols on opposing groups, they perceive substantive in-group threats. Supporters

describe symbols as “being used in aggressive ways” or to “to irritate or aggravate” opponents who “need to get over it” or “turn the other cheek.” In contrast, they represent themselves as having survived traumatic violence in the past while being faced with “erasure” in the present. A 55-year-old White male supporter describing the removal of the Confederate flag from the Danville City Museum says, “You cannot erase the Confederacy; it would be like erasing the Holocaust.” A 70-year-old White male adds, “turmoil about the flag in Danville is excessive” while other pro-symbol respondents call for the removal of Martin Luther King memorials in response to Confederate symbol removals: “If I have to see his monuments let them see the Civil War monuments.”

In contrast, respondents opposed to the display of Confederate symbols link the symbols to degraded community life including “intimidation,” “oppression,” and “preserving the ideas of the Confederacy.” As an 88-year-old religious leader explains, “Confederate symbols are part of history used to project an old ideology…for Blacks it is like the Nazi Swastika is for Jews.” As described in the White supremacy and Confederate ideology subtheme, those opposed to the display of Confederate symbols see them as “a reminder of White supremacy…and a symbol of holding on to the past.” Two Black male respondents describe the symbols as creating a system of belief that “Blacks are resigned to” and “a deep-rooted feeling of racism.” A 23-year-old White male opponent of the display of the symbols believes they are used to “disenfranchise people of color…there is no input from people of color.” He connects the symbols to the “brutality of policing” in the city. Other respondents expressing negative views of the display of the symbols link them to “violence and crime rates.”

Systems of power. Themes of power were described by respondents regardless of opinions regarding Confederate symbols: 77% of those holding unfavorable opinions of Confederate symbols include some power typology in their responses. Power dynamics include subthemes of political power and subjugation, racial power dynamics, control of narratives, and history education.

Subtheme political power and subjugation. A total of 32% of respondents connect the conflict in Danville surrounding Confederate symbols to political power. Respondents holding favorable opinions describe power being used in subjugating or influencing regional or local decisions regarding the symbols. Of respondents holding favorable opinions of Confederate symbols, 42% perceive both historical and contemporaneous attempts by the North or federal/local Danville government to limit Southern autonomy and self-determination. For these respondents the Confederacy represents, as one 40-year-old respondent explains, “a heritage” of “state’s rights” a “symbol of how a country should function.” Historically, respondents describe power welded by the North/Union/ federal government to impose “taxation and tariffs” and “enslave the South.” A 71-year-old White male explains Confederate symbols “represent 13 states who took a stand against tyrannical government” while a 55-year-old White male describes Confederate symbols as representing “freedom to make choices” and “independence.” Respondents represent an unfairness in how the emancipation was applied in the North and South following the Civil War. As the 40-year-old respondent explains, “emancipation did not apply to the North.”

Contemporaneously, these respondents believe political power is being applied to prevent Confederate symbols from being displayed. A 70-year-old White male notes that "radical people want to push an agenda of racism" while a 39-year-old White female believes that "City Museum and City Counselors used the South Carolina issue [Dylann Roof's mass murder of Blacks] to take the flag down."

Respondents holding unfavorable opinions toward Confederate symbols also express concerns regarding historical and current use of political power. A 30-year-old White male describes the Confederate symbols as used to "disenfranchise people of color" adding "in Danville there is no input from people of color." A 23-year-old White male describes historical "resentment over the North" as continuing. The same respondent views "police brutality and racial profiling in Danville" as problems which must be addressed. A third respondent, a 31-year-old White male who was a City Counselor at the time the vote was taken to remove the flag from the City Museum, characterizes pro-flaggers in Danville as "an anti-government movement" and having "no regard…lack of respect for people in the community." Other respondents see Confederate symbols as a metaphoric rebellion against federal authorities representing the polarity of political views in America. A 35-year-old African American respondent describes Confederate symbols in Danville as "rebellion against the federal government" by those "still wanting independence from the federal government." He sees the "absence of political will" as allowing the conflict in Danville to continue and a political division of "Democrats versus Republicans paralleling non-flag flyers versus flag flyers." Another respondent, a 22-year-old White male, sees a "liberal versus conservative dynamic" and

“metaphor for polarity of political views.” An 88-year-old religious leader characterizes Donald Trump as using “coded language to enslave us” and to “stir up Confederate people,” adding Trump “enhances and emboldens use of coded language.” A 62-year-old Black female characterizes the symbols as representing “neo-Confederates who want to be rebels.” Likewise, a 55-year-old African American male states that “Confederate symbols bring back slavery for African Americans.”

Subtheme racial power dynamics. Themes of racial power and power asymmetry were represented by respondents holding positive and negative opinions of Confederate symbols. Three respondents holding generally unfavorable attitudes report White supporters of Confederate symbols using the symbols for purposes of power. A 69-year-old African American believes that displaying Confederate symbols “is about power” while a 62-year-old African American female explains the symbols, “give Whites a feeling of superiority.” A 65-year-old African American respondent believes that people “in power in the South” have “a Confederate heritage and it’s a source of deep pride” adding that “big land owners are still White people and money allows them to feel superior…people in power now have a deep-rooted affection for that period of time.” This respondent adds, there “needs to be a changing of the guard—diversity in people in power.”

Respondents holding generally favorable opinions regarding Confederate symbols also perceive racial power as influencing the conflict over the symbols. A 55-year-old White male respondent believes “Black preachers” are leading younger people to “see the flag as racist and as a Klan symbol.” A 71-year-old White female sees “Blacks making a

stink about it" and that "young Blacks might appreciate progress if they had lived through segregation." A 70-year-old White male describes the conflict as "race related…started as a result of race relations," while a 69-year-old White female believes "Blacks think it should come down because it represents slavery."

Subtheme control of narratives. Control of narratives by educators or historians, religious or political leaders, political parties, or the media was described by respondents holding both favorable and unfavorable opinions of Confederate symbols. Respondents favorable toward Confederate symbols believe that narratives unfairly portray the South as fighting the Civil War over slavery and that it is necessary for children to be taught "the truth" in order for conflicts surrounding Confederate symbols to be resolved. A 55-year-old White male calls for critics of the Confederacy to "tell the truth about Northerners and about Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis." A 39-year-old White female describes "false narratives," "one-sided stories," and "hate" as being spread by "schools," "media," and "the Southern Poverty Law Center and Anti-Defamation League." Similarly, the 39-year-old female respondent states that "there were no problems with the flag in Danville until after the Dylann Roof shootings." The same respondent states that "the media" have created "a one-sided story regarding slavery" and alludes to a conspiracy regarding media coverage of the Dylann Roof shootings while suggesting "the media doesn't talk about the 2017 church shooting by a Sudanese immigrant."

Subtheme history education. Of the respondents, 48% express concern regarding how the Confederacy and the Civil War is being taught in schools or represented in textbooks or through generalized knowledge. Of those holding favorable opinions of

Confederate symbols, 42% characterize negative history regarding the South as being taught erroneously in schools. A 40-year-old White male explains that "history only teaches the Union perspective" explaining that "education and better information" is necessary. A 58-year-old White male who considers himself Southern believes that "knowledge is the key" and "professors/academia need to get involved." A 71-year-old White male describes being taught "real history" growing up in Alabama "that the war was about economics, not slavery." The 55-year-old White respondent explains, "it goes back to education—the correct information is not being taught." The 39-year-old female respondent also believes that "schools are teaching hate."

Of respondents generally unfavorable toward Confederate symbols, 54% are also concerned about false narratives and biased history being taught. Two younger White males, 22 and 28 years old, educated in public schools explain that "history textbooks and the school system in Danville "Whitewashes'" and "teaches the Civil War was about states' rights." A 35-year-old Black male who was educated in Danville public schools describes "history textbooks don't say that the war was about slavery." Two additional respondents, both of whom were educated in school systems in the counties surrounding Danville, report "inaccuracy in textbooks." One of these respondents, a Black female aged 62 recounts, "I learned what was necessary to pass the test."

Concern about inaccuracy in education extends to false or inaccurate information regarding causes of the Civil War and general knowledge about the Confederacy in Danville. A 68-year-old White woman plans on going to the Danville Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy which meets at the City Museum to "educate

people about the Confederacy." A 35-year-old African American male raised in Danville believes that more information is needed and schools need to "teach facts at a younger age" to "counter family narratives." A 53-year-old Black male whose ancestors were slaves in the Danville area believes that "education and understanding" is necessary to improve relations in there.

Divided community. All of the respondents, 100%, addressed or mentioned community division or conflict as a consequence of Confederate symbols in the Danville community. Three subthemes emerged: conflict, conflict catalysts, and division. The explanations and observations from respondents largely coalesced around social identity membership incorporating historical positions and narratives. The conflict around Confederate symbols in Danville is race related.

Subtheme conflict. Of respondents, 65% agreed that Confederate symbols were the cause of conflict within the Danville community. This perception held true across race, gender, and age. Only one respondent, a 70-year-old White male who is a lifelong resident of Danville, did not believe the symbols created conflict. Among those who acknowledged conflict surrounding the symbols, a wide range of opinions about the nature or intensity of the conflict were expressed. On opposite ends of the conflict scale, one respondent characterized the conflict as "minimal" with "few [people] concerned enough to have symbols removed" while another reported that the removal of the flag from the City Museum was "still the cause of conflict five years later." Descriptions of the conflict ranged from "minimal" and "low key" to "lots" and "excessive." Within this subtheme 10 respondents attempted to quantify the degree of conflict while others linked

the present conflict issues beyond the display of Confederate symbols to “disparate backgrounds,” “Civil Rights,” and “it started with race relations.” Two respondents saw the conflict as resulting from deficits in communication or willingness to address opinions regarding the display of Confederate symbols. A 68-year-old White female respondent who describes the conflict as “painful for the community” elaborates on numerous repelled attempts at securing a venue to host discussions to reduce conflict around the removal of the Confederate flag over the City Museum. A younger Black male associated the conflict with “semi-redneck White protests on Saturday mornings in Danville,” a reference to ongoing protests regarding the removal of the flag.

Subtheme conflict catalyst. Of respondents, 32% identified a particular catalyst for conflict surrounding Confederate symbols in Danville. Half of these respondents identified convicted mass murderer Dylann Roof as the catalyst for the removal of the Confederate flag from the City Museum property. Other conflict catalysts identified were Black preachers, church groups, removing the flag, radicals, and silence—“people don’t talk.” The oldest respondent, an 88-year-old African American religious leader identified President Donald Trump and his “make America great again” rhetoric as “coded language used to stir up Confederate people.” A 31-year-old White male respondent who was on the City Council at the time the vote passed to remove the flag identified Dylann Roof as a catalyst for removal of the flag by “White business leaders who decided the flag was inappropriate” after the murders in Charleston.

Subtheme division. A total of 42% of respondents named division as a consequence of conflict surrounding Confederate symbols in Danville. Within this

subtheme, respondents expressed a variety of opinions regarding the nature of division created, ranging from Confederate symbols as a mechanism of "holding on to the Confederacy as a divisive system of functioning within Danville" to reflecting divisiveness between various social identity groups. Binaries identified by respondents included political parties, race, political orientation (conservative/liberal), generations, regions (South/North), geographical locations (rural/urban), and "flaggers/anti-flaggers." An additional dichotomy identified within the division subtheme was heritage vs. hate. Narratives with the subtheme of division also include resentment toward the North; Confederate symbols as an impediment to community solidarity; clashes, arguments, and fights over the symbols; and division within families. One respondent characterized the conflict as "representing division and a problem to be solved…I ask myself, what can I do?"

Competing Narratives in Interview Data

Four competing narratives regarding contemporary conflict surrounding Confederate symbols in Danville were identified based on interview data: (a) Southern identity/pride and heritage, (b) empathetic other, (c) history and education, and (d) racism and hate. Of those interviewed, 48% represented a Southern identity/pride and heritage, 12% of respondents represent a narrative focusing on empathy, 16% of respondents represent a historical/educational model of the conflict, and 24% of respondents presented the racism and hate narrative. Table 5 offers a comparative analysis of the four narratives based on subthemes identified in the analysis and coding of interview data. The

comparison correlates the narratives with applicable subthemes indicating beliefs and opinions expressed in the narrative.

Table 5

Comparative Analysis of Competing Narratives from Interviews by Subtheme

Narratives				
Southern Identity/Pride and Heritage	Empathic Other	Historical and Educational	Racism and Hate	Subthemes
X				Display of Symbols: Support
			X	Display of Symbols: Oppose
	X	X		Display of Symbos: Neutral or Limited
X	X	X	X	Civil War
X	X	X	X	Pride/Heritage
	X		X	Slavery/Hate/Racism
	X		X	White Supremacy/Confederate Ideology
X			X	Salience of Identity
X			X	Social Identity Processes
X			X	Collective Trauma Indicators
			X	Personal Trauma
X			X	Silence/Denial
X			X	Emotional Responses
X			X	Moral Trauma Indicators
X	X		X	Political Power and Subjugation
X			X	Racial Power Dynamics
X			X	Control of Narratives
X	X	X	X	History Education
X	X	X	X	Conflict
	X		X	Conflict Catalyst
X	X	X	X	Division

Narrative 1: Southern identity/pride and heritage. Twelve respondents or 48% of those interviewed represented a Southern identity/pride and heritage narrative regarding the meaning and display of Confederate symbols. A total of 68% of respondents mentioned pride, heritage, or elements of Southern culture as part of their explanation of the historical meaning of the Confederate symbols.

In this narrative, respondents represent Confederate symbols as an honorable Southern heritage preserving the history of the Civil War and values and beliefs of Southern identity. The majority of respondents believe—and perceive other Southerners as believing—that the symbols mean pride and heritage. As one respondent explains, "Southern heritage...the majority see it as heritage and pride." Another 28-year-old White male describes the symbols as meaning "history…represents were we come from... heritage and pride." Intermingled with feelings of heritage and pride represented in this narrative is also the conceptualization of values or beliefs. A White male, 40 years old, understands the symbols as representing "heritage and beliefs…a symbol of how a country should function." As a 55-year-old White male explains, the symbols are about "veterans who died for the Confederacy." A 28-year-old male expresses admiration for the way in which his ancestors "stood up for their beliefs." Likewise, statuary of Confederate figures were characterized as honoring "veterans," "heroes," and "ancestors" who defended the Southern homeland from the Northern invaders.

For respondents representing this view their pride in Confederate symbols manifests in a patriotic perception of Southern participation in the War, often a family legacy. According to this representation Confederate flags and memorials are symbolic of patriotism and freedom honoring those ancestors who "fought for what they believed in." While a 52-year-old White female describes the symbols simply as meaning "about the Civil War," a 70-year-old White male believes the symbols "represent history and heritage… and heroes following the Civil War." Several respondents trace the pride and heritage meaning of the symbols to their own ancestors' military service for the

Confederacy. Among these respondents are individuals who have researched and documented ancestors who fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War. These respondents frequently provided the names, troop affiliation, and battles in which their relatives fought. A respondent describes "over 100 family members fought for the Civil War…my great-great-great-grandfather fought with the Danville Greys." Another respondent, a 40-year-old male, explains he is "related to Albert Sydney Johnston [a celebrated General]" and his "family told stories about Johnston's participation in the War." Others describe "uncles and grandparents telling…stories about relatives that fought in the war." A 71-year-old White female explains, "generals considered themselves serving their country."

Respondents representing this narrative identify the Confederate flag as a source of pride and heritage. Respondents characterize a deep emotional connection with Confederate symbols stressing a personal, patriotic, value-oriented relationship with the flag. Descriptions include: "love the flag," "represents where we come from," "represents beliefs," "part of my past," "my ancestors," and "ancestry/roots." They refer to it interchangeably as "my flag" or "our flag." As a 52-year-old White female explains, "The flag won't go away, this is our flag." One respondent, an 71-year-old White male whose family fought for the South and whose mother was raised in Alabama, anthropomorphized the flag into an appendage: "that's part of me." Such respondents see pride in the Confederate flag as signifying membership in a Southern group identity while appearing to serve as a social group boundary marker. The pride and heritage these respondents represent may result from biological family heritage of Confederate military

service or be a metaphoric connection or obligatory core-value occurring through Southern group affiliation. A 71-year-old White female born and raised in Virginia describes the Confederate flag: “it is part of my past as a symbol of the South,” declaring herself as “not particularly proud of the flag, but I had no say in the connection.” She adds, “I have no family stories because my ancestors came after the Civil War.” Another 69-year-old White female explains, “right or wrong the flag represents heritage…I had a great-great-grandfather somewhere back in the family who fought in the war.” A 58-year-old White male who asks, “Why fly something that offends someone else?” but also explains, “I cannot have negative feelings about the symbols…my family is mostly Southern.” Respondents consider the Confederate flag or other Confederate symbols to represent their identity as Virginians and as Southerners—in some cases more salient than that of a national identity. A 39-year-old woman who is directly involved in conflicts surrounding Confederate symbols explains, “Supporters of the Confederate flag are Virginians before Americans.” She goes on to explain that the flag represents her “ancestry and roots…pride…I am very proud…love the flag.”

Respondents representing this narrative view removing historical symbols as an attempt to erase both historical facts and the culture of a people. As a 55-year-old White male respondent explains, “You cannot erase the Confederacy—it compares to erasing the Holocaust.” Another respondent explains, “Southerners are hard-headed people; if you take down flags or statues it will irritate White Southerners.” This suggestion will be met with resistance by those considering themselves Southern and will result in a

proliferation of Confederate symbols. As a 28-year-old White male respondent describes, "after Charlottesville, there were lots of battle flags."

Respondents representing the pride and heritage narrative interpret the history of the Civil War as having similar dynamics to America's Revolutionary War with the British. As a female respondent describes, "the [Confederate] symbols represent 13 states who took a stand against a tyrannical government." To her, the Civil War occurred as a result of the subjugation of freedom, independence and state's rights being by an overreaching federal government. A 55-year-old White male explains, "taxation and tariffs had a lot to do with the war…it was fought over freedom to make choices…the South wanting independence to do their thing." Another 40-year-old White male states: "the South felt enslaved…the war was about states' rights and federal government authority not slavery." The same respondent adds, "It's about heritage…Confederate symbols represent how a country should function." A third respondent also explains the war as caused by "unfair taxation and tariffs." Respondents representing this narrative emphasize the Confederate states as a sovereign nation fighting for independence. A 70-year-old White male, a lifelong Danville resident, explains "the Confederate flag as represents the South just as the US flag represents the United States."

According to respondents representing this narrative, Confederate symbols do not typify hate or slavery. Respondents view Confederate symbols as representing a part of America's past which cannot be changed and should be acknowledged. A White female respondent says simply, "it is not about slavery" while a 71-year-old White male elaborates, "the symbols have no connection to slavery…for White liberals, minorities,

they are pro-slavery." Another respondent, a 69-year-old White female, explains of the Confederate flag in Danville, "Blacks think it should come down because it represents slavery." A 31-year-old Black male representing the pride and heritage narrative explains, "I've never been a slave, it's just another flag…I looked up the meaning of the flag and studied it for myself." A 28-year-old White respondent describes, "slavery is a horrible idea but political and economic not racial…Southern states treated slaves better than Northern states treated Blacks."

Although respondents representing this narrative consistently counter connections between Confederate symbols and slavery, they offer several perspectives regarding whether the symbols are connected to racism. Some respondents representing this narrative refute any connection of the symbols to race or racism while others acknowledge that the symbols could be considered racist and still others ground the conflict in race relations. A 69-year-old White female explains that the conflict is "not about race" while a 52-year-old White female who has lived in Danville the majority of her life states that she "does not understand how it could be racist…racism shouldn't come into it all." A 40-year-old White male explains "there are no racial or bias meanings, but the symbols could be considered racist." Similarly, a 70-year-old White male describes the symbols as holding "no racial or bias meanings but could be considered racist." A 28-year-old White male minimizes racist connections of Confederate symbols while simultaneously offering a defense against the racism question: "can be racist but everything can be…questioning a person's beliefs is just as bad as racism." Conversely, several respondents offering this narrative explain conflicts

surrounding the symbols as being race related. One respondent places responsibility for conflicts on “Black preachers” and “younger people listen to preachers who get them riled up.” Two White females, one 69 and one 70 years old, describe “Blacks making a stink about it” and “Blacks think it is all about them” as causing the conflicts. A 70-year-old lifelong Danville resident says, “this conflict is race related…Danville started changing when Martin Luther King came to Danville.”

Respondents representing the pride and heritage narrative characterize the lack of education and false narratives as creating conflicts around Confederate symbols. A 55-year-old White male describes, “it goes back to education…the correct information is not being taught in school any longer. Younger people need to read books…and Black preachers need to quit talking about it.” Other respondents recount learning from “history textbooks,” and “in school in history classes” that “Sherman raped and burned the South.” A 40-year-old White male calls for “better education” while a 70-year-old White male says he was “taught real history that the war was about economics, not slavery.” They see minorities, radicals, and religious leaders as misleading the public about the events and causes of the Civil War and about slavery. A 40-year-old White female describes “false narratives…and hatred taught in school…education is what is necessary.”

Shared landscape variation. One proponent of the Southern identity model believes that the Confederate symbols should not be removed from their present location but that it is possible that public space could be shared. Educational displays, plaques, or

statues representing the Black community could be added to the landscape as long as the subject of the display is “equal in importance” to the Confederate statuary or flags.

Symbol typology variation. A total of 28% of respondents, 20% representing the pride and heritage narrative and 8% representing the racism and hate narrative, differentiated between meanings of types of Confederate symbols. The Confederate Battle flag is Lee’s flag and should not be equated with the Bonnie Blue flag or Confederate National flag. The Battle flag has connotations which the other flags do not. One of these respondents believes it is okay to take down the flag but statues should not be moved or removed. Another of these respondents added that the Confederate Battle flag is used by Southerners to repel feelings of victimization created as General Sherman “raped and burned” his way through the South. Two respondents, veterans of the United States military and both representing the racism and hate narrative, believe that statues honoring war heroes should be thought of differently than Confederate flags. They do not find the statues offensive in the same way.

Christian variation. One respondent representing the pride and heritage narrative added a Christian component to her description of the meaning of the Confederate flags. The 39-year-old White female who marches in the weekly Saturday protests against the removal of the Confederate flag from the Danville City Museum identifies the flag as a “Christian symbol” and as a “symbol of my Christian, Scottish heritage.”

Narrative 2: Empathetic other. Of respondents, 12%, two of whom who consider themselves Southern and one who does not, represent a narrative focusing on empathy, reducing racism, and resolving the conflict surrounding Confederate symbols.

Another 24% of respondents represent empathy as important to resolving conflict surrounding Confederate symbols while an additional 8% describe the necessity for conciliatory actions which would be considered empathetic without using the term.

In this narrative Confederate symbols represent history, heritage, and the Civil War while also representing White power and supremacy, slavery, hate, and subjugation of African Americans. A White male aged 30 representing this narrative believes the symbols represent "history, Southern history, oppression and a way of life that was not ideal." The third respondent representing this narrative, a 68-year-old White female, describes the symbols as "representing a dichotomy—family and heritage and hate." She adds that the symbols also represent "history and the men that fought and died in the Civil War." This respondent explains she does not "really have feelings regarding Confederate symbols, they never meant a lot" to her although she articulates for "flag supporters they feel it represents who they are." Both White respondents grew up in the South and were raised either with family stories or positive affirmations concerning the Civil War and Southern culture. The 30-year-old White male describes his family "showing historical interest and pride around the Civil War" as well as "honoring an 1867 copy of *The Lost Cause*" in a special place in his family's home. He explains his family as "more genteel but shared identity with segregated Louisiana." The White female respondent describes "her great-great-uncle participated in Pickett's charge" and "relatives defended the institution of slavery." In contrast, the African American male representing this narrative did not have family stories or other family influences regarding the Confederacy. He was educated in segregated schools, learning about the

Civil War and the Confederacy in "Virginia and U.S. History" classes. This respondent describes Confederate symbols as meaning "power…they preserve the ideas of the Confederacy…supporters of the symbols believe that Black people should be slaves." White respondents representing this narrative express shame, embarrassment, and guilt regarding the treatment of people of color by Southern Whites generally and their ancestors specifically. The 30-year-old White male explains he feels "shame that my entire family is from the South…guilt and embarrassment." Likewise, the 68-year-old White female respondent feels responsibility for "educating people" describing "her relatives defended the institution of slavery" and now "the flag is a trigger for what she can do the resolve these issues."

Respondents representing this narrative perceive Confederate symbols as emerging from racism and express negative emotions regarding their impact. As a 68-year-old White female representing this narrative describes, "the symbols are an impediment to community solidarity…the impact on people of color seeing the flag every day hurts Danville." Another respondent, a 30-year-old White male, describes the symbols as "disenfranchisement of people of color…in Danville people of color have no input." The 30-year-old White male explains, "I need to try and right wrongs of past/previous generations…with a goal of dismantling racism." The African American respondent representing this narrative describes the symbols as a "source of tension" prompting him to feel "mixed emotions…anger, disappointment, but only momentary." The focus for respondents representing this narrative is on empathy, improving relations between those holding different opinions, and on identifying possible solutions to the

conflict surrounding Confederate symbols. The respondents emphasize "self-reflection" as the 30-year-old White male describes, and as the African American respondent describes "civil communication," believing that the races must spend time together "sharing perspectives." As the 68-year-old White female respondent explains, Confederate symbols for her are "a trigger for what I can do to resolve these issues… what will make a break-though?" She adds, "It is disheartening…a symbol of not knowing how to resolve this and a metaphor for divisiveness." She "has tried to do a program to reduce conflict surrounding the flag but couldn't secure a venue because of security concerns." All three respondents representing this narrative identify empathy as a part of the conflict resolution. As the African American male representing this narrative explains, "create empathy…civil conversation." He maintains that "no true communication is currently taking place" and describes "feeling sorry for flag supporters." Likewise, the third respondent representing this narrative, the 30-year-old White male, outlines, "get the races to know each other—increase empathetic understanding of the hurt." Similarly, the White female respondent believes establishing "community facilitations" that "mix races at tables" along with "having meals together" may be better than "confronting the issue head on."

The three respondents representing this narrative all describe experiencing an epiphany or shift in emotional understanding regarding race, racism, and race relations. For the 30-year-old White male, the catalyst for this shift was helping victims of Katrina following the hurricane in Louisiana in 2005. As a 17-year-old, he experienced a "life-changing transformation" and began to "question systemic racism." The 68-year-old

White female had a similar experience after working as a journalist in Danville and "hearing professor and historian Charles Dew speak on *Making of a Racist*." The African American respondent describes enlisting in the Navy as instrumental in "exposing him to White people and how they thought about people of color."

The African American respondent representing this narrative believes there is an "inaccuracy in textbooks" and a "certain narrative" which escalate the desire by supporters to display Confederate symbols.

Symbol removal variant. One of the respondents representing this narrative believes that the "solution is to tear all symbols down; the flag from 1994 and the statues from the Jim Crow era. The symbols should be moved to a museum not in the landscape."

Narrative 3: History and education. Of respondents, 16%, evenly divided between African American and Whites, represent a historical/educational model of the conflict surrounding Confederate symbols. This model negates a group or personal connection to the symbols while expressing as one African American respondent explained, "The history around the symbols should be known but not glorified. "

According to respondents representing this narrative, Confederate symbols have different meanings to different people and connote pride and heritage to some and hate to others. A 74-year-old African American respondent describes Confederate symbols as representing "a dark period" or a "reminder of slavery." Another Black female, 62 years old, believes the symbols "represent slavery, oppression, and a painful time." This respondent adds, "they are used for intimidation as a reminder of slavery."

The respondent adds, “People who are flying the large Confederate battle flags around the city are doing so for attention. The symbols have been used in the past by racists and Klan members to intimidate people of color.” She also believes that few people of color in Danville are concerned about the symbols, but rather are focused on economic improvements for minorities. For the 74-year-old, people, regardless of race, who are secure in their own identities need not be affected by the display of Confederate symbols, even outside of a historic or educational context. She also suggests, however, that the display of the symbols around Danville may contribute to crime rates within the city and that Confederate symbols are not appropriate for city property. Both respondents representing this narrative emphasize that Confederate symbols represent the Civil War and war history and should be honored and protected inside of a museum, within a National Park context or in other displays which should also provide an educational context regarding slavery. While only two respondents shared this model in its totality, several others mentioned the theme of placement/contextualization of the symbols in an educational setting.

Narrative 4: Racism and hate. Of respondents, 24% represented the racism and hate narrative. In this narrative Confederate symbols are linked to historical experiences of slavery, White supremacist ideology, and hatred for people of color. As a 53-year-old Black male describes, “Confederate symbols are another way to support White supremacy…. What is good about the Confederacy for Black people?” A 65-year-old Black male respondent sees the flag as “anti-me and anyone who looks like me.” Respondents believe the Confederacy was formed and the Civil War fought to keep

slavery, and contemporaneous display of the symbols represents a desire to return to this old ideology. As an 88-year-old Black male representing this narrative explains, “the Confederate flag represents 13 states fighting to maintain slavery for economic gain and in the 21st century, encrypted, coded language trying to enslave us.” This same respondent explains Confederate symbols as a mechanism of “holding on to the Confederacy as a divisive system of functioning within Danville.” He characterizes Donald Trump as using “coded language” to “stir up Confederate people,” adding Trump “enhances and emboldens use of coded language.” He adds, “Klan supporters and flag supporters are the same.” A 35-year-old African American respondent raised and educated in Danville describes it as having “a history of racial strife…there are lots of Confederate symbols and they are glorified. There is a fascination with the Confederacy in Danville…it is romanticized—this is dangerous.” He adds, “Black people are disgusted…Danville will always be the Last Capital of the Confederacy.” A 53-year-old Black male respondent states, “my great-great-grandfather and grandmother were slaves…. These symbols bring back slavery for African American citizens…the area surrounding Danville had the most slaves in Virginia.” He adds, “the flag stands for slavery…was slavery wrong?” A 22-year-old White male representing this narrative characterized the symbols “metaphors for South vs. North…and polarity of political views,” adding “it is still an issue that the Confederates lost the Civil War.”

Respondents representing this narrative believe contemporaneous display of Confederate symbols is related to political divisiveness, dissension against the federal government, and White supremacy. A 35-year-old Black male views Confederate

symbols in Danville as “rebellion against the federal government” by those “still wanting independence from the federal government.” He also identifies the “absence of political will” as allowing the conflict in Danville to continue and sees a political division of “Democrats versus Republicans paralleling non-flag flyers versus flag flyers.” Another respondent, a 22-year-old White male, sees a “liberal versus conservative dynamic” characterizing the symbols as “metaphors for South vs. North.” A 28-year-old White male describes Confederate symbols in Danville as “an oppressive reminder of White supremacy.” He believes Confederate symbols are “comparable to a Nazi flag.”

Three respondents representing this narrative believe Confederate symbols are used for purposes of power and to denigrate them. A 69-year-old African American believes that displaying Confederate symbols “is about power.” A 65-year-old African American respondent believes that “big land owners are still White people and money allows them to feel superior…people in power now have a deep-rooted affection for that period of time.” This respondent adds, there “needs to be a changing of the guard—diversity in people in power…it is something used by others to put me down.” Respondents holding the racism and hate narrative also represent pride as factor in the display of Confederate symbols. A 53-year-old African American male respondent notes that “flaggers believe they are being asked to bury their pride” by the flag being removed from the Danville City Museum. A 65-year-old African American respondent believes that people “in power in the South” have “a Confederate heritage and it’s a source of deep pride.”

Respondents representing this narrative believe history in Danville is inaccurately taught, includes false narratives, and is biased. Two younger White males, 22 and 28 years old, educated in public schools, explain that "history textbooks and the school system in Danville Whitewashes" and "teaches the Civil War was about states' rights." A 35-year-old Black male who was educated in Danville public schools describes "history textbooks don't say that the war was about slavery." Two additional respondents, both of whom were educated in school systems in the counties surrounding Danville, report "inaccuracy in textbooks." Their descendants view slavery as a God-given right. Respondents representing this narrative believe that a lack of empathy, White supremacy, and family narratives influence the present conflict including the desire to display the symbols. A 36-year-old White male explains, "the more they [the symbols] are restricted the more people will want them…you can't make people take them down. You need to find the Klan and Nazi leaders…there will be no peace with the presence of the flags." A 35-year-old Black male explains, "support for the flag is being passed down. Children need information to counter family narratives." A 53-year-old Black male says, "Flag supporters need to learn empathy. Education and understanding, maybe group panels would help."

Black community variant. One respondent offering the racism and hate model believes White people cannot solve the problem with Confederate symbols in Danville. This is up to Black community.

Analysis of Competing Interview Narratives Using Ross' Social Group Process

As described in the methodology chapter, Ross (2007) suggests a social group process comprising construction of social group identity, attribution, interpretation, and group emotional investments underlies narratives produced by groups experiencing conflict. As these processes are identified within narratives and analyzed, underlying community beliefs and perceptions can be recognized and addressed. Applying these social process elements to the four primary narratives yields the results shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Analysis of Competing Interview Narratives by Social Group Process

Narratives				
Southern Identity Heritage/Pride	Empathic Other	History and Education	Racism and Hate	Social Group Process
Yes	No	No	Yes	Construction of Social Group Identity Framework
Yes	No	No	Yes	Attribution
Yes		Yes	Yes	Interpretation
Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Group Emotional Investments

Responses within the four social group categories include stereotyped characterizations of opposing groups, rigid interpretation of historical events, solidification of social identity frameworks of in- and out-groups through differentiation, and expression of range of emotional states. While all four processes are apparent in the primary narratives, 158 of the 525 responses coded reveal social group emotional investments in the conflict over the display of Confederate symbols in Danville.

Regardless of the opinions expressed regarding the meaning or display of Confederate symbols, social group emotional investments were indicated.

Comparison of Results Between Video and Interview Data Analyses

As briefly discussed in the chapter introduction, the three- to four-year time lapse between data collection from the City Council meeting video and the semistructured interviews allows a useful longitudinal perspective in data analysis. While three of the primary narratives and four of the major themes are similar or the same, several differences also emerged. A relationship appears to exist between indicators of threat perceptions and conflict readiness in group social processes and indicators of underlying experiences of trauma. During heightened states of conflict readiness, effects of collective experiences of trauma appear to be reduced.

Comparison of themes and subthemes. Comparison of themes and subthemes of the 2015 citizen speeches at the City Council meeting with subsequent representations in the 2018-2019 interviews indicates decreased group processes of conflict readiness over time. The heightened emotions of the citizen speakers during the City Council meeting appear to be related to spiraling levels of perceived threat for the most polarized identity groups, the Southern identity, pride/heritage, and racism and hate groups. Levels of threat perceptions, negative attributions, stereotypes, and collective denigration of out-groups were all reduced in subsequent interviews. It is also possible that environmental differences, the shift from a contentious public forum to a one-on-one interview with a neutral party, decreased identity group-related conflict processes. Another notable variation is the heightened representations of victimization and violence and lower levels

of collective trauma indicators in the 2015 video data as compared to subsequent interviews. Data suggests an inverse relationship between conflict readiness and trauma indicators, appearing to mirror theories regarding the mitigating effects of violence in reducing trauma symptoms in individuals (Sommer et al., 2017; Weierstall et al., 2012). Differences in collective axiology were also apparent between the data sets. City Council video data analysis indicates heighten levels of value-based justifications in group positioning regarding conflict surrounding Confederate symbols with a subsequent reduction in value-based justifications in subsequent interview data. This shift is supported in theorizations regarding collective axiology in conflicted communities (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006).

Comparison of primary narratives. In comparing the primary narratives represented by citizen speakers to those represented by interview respondents, polarization between social identity groups representing the narratives appears to have diminished over time. Similarly, while the Southern identity/pride and heritage, history and education, and racism/hate narratives are very similarly represented within the two data sources, the empathetic other narrative is absent from representations of citizen speakers from the council meeting. Such an absence appears to be attributable to a decrease in direct violence, i.e. verbal threats and protests once was the flag was removed from the City Museum. The representation of an empathetic other in subsequent interview responses does appear to correspond with reductions in conflict readiness and threat perceptions noted in the comparison of themes and subthemes above. It should also be noted, however, that these differences could also be related to the selection

methodology for interview respondents in comparison to the City Council meeting citizen speakers. While the methodology was snowball sampling, intentionality toward demographic variation in the respondents resulted in the researcher interviewing community leaders and other individuals known to her in Danville. Finally, the emergence of the empathetic other could also indicate a burgeoning development of empathy toward others holding different perspectives or interpretations of Confederate symbols.

Field Work and Observations

As part of the case study design intended to triangulate and strengthen findings, two observations were conducted by the researcher in the Danville community. The first observation took place approximately 18 months following the City Council decision enacting the flag ordinance resulting in the removal of the Confederate flag from the City Museum. The second observation was conducted approximately 3 years following the removal of the flag. Although taking place substantially after the City Council action in August of 2015, the dynamics and enactments within the events remain consistent with themes represented in the interviews and in the citizen speech from the City Council meeting. The observation data is analyzed in detail following the observation descriptions.

Observation at the Martin Luther King, Jr., birthday celebration breakfast. On January 17, 2017, the researcher attended a breakfast in Danville, Virginia, sponsored by the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity honoring the birthday celebration of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The breakfast was held in the ballroom of the Stratford Courtyard Conference

Center. The ballroom was set up with approximately 30 tables each seating 8-10 people. Programs featured an artistic rendering of Dr. King and were filled with advertisements by Black-owned businesses and churches. VIP tables were set up in the front of the room for the speaker and special guests including Danville Mayor John Gilstrap and other political and community leaders. The keynote speaker for the event was the Reverend Lawrence G. Campbell, Sr., a well-known clergy member in the Danville community. Reverend Campbell founded Bible Way Church in Danville in 1953.In 1988 he became the first Black chairman of the Danville School Board.

The researcher entered the large room around 9:15 a.m.; she found a seat at a table at the back with four African American couples. It was immediately apparent that the event was largely racially segregated. While crowded with hundreds of attendees, there were approximately 10 White people in attendance including Mayor Gilstrap. While waiting for the program to begin she made small talk with others at her table while also making observations. The atmosphere of the event was one of celebration and anticipation, loud and lively with conversation and laughing. Families appeared to share many of the tables, with numerous youths in attendance. Brothers of the hosting fraternity dressed in fraternity colors of purple and white attended to the logistics of the event. The breakfast opened with an invocation and the singing of the Negro National Anthem, “Lift Every Voice and Sing” by James Weldon Johnson.

Following the invocation and breakfast, special guests were introduced, and there was a short speech of welcome given by Mayor Gilstrap. After an enthusiastic welcome by attendees, Dr. Campbell’s speech traced the progress of African Americans in

Danville from slavery through the Civil Rights movement to the present goals of increased economic achievement and improved relationship and cooperation with the city police. Dr. Campbell reflected on the racial strife in Danville, pointing to the lack of support from White churches and White pastors during the most difficult struggles of the Civil Rights movement. He acknowledged the importance of Dr. King's support for the Civil Rights movement in Danville. After describing positive changes realized in the community over the last 55 years, Dr. Campbell addressed issues of racial inequality still requiring attention. Throughout his speech he emphasized the foundational role of the Black family and Black churches. Speaking about the effect of crime on the Black community in Danville, he noted that the 16 victims of murder in Danville in 2017 were African American. Dr. Campbell also addressed what he characterized as the continued silence on the part of White clergy and churches in Danville regarding racial profiling, racism, and violence in the Black community. Addressing the issue of the Confederate flag in Danville, Dr. Campbell reflected,

> the White pulpit is silent on the Confederate flag and violence in the Black community, but will talk about violence in Afghanistan…. If the White Church would speak out against the KKK, Neo-Nazis and the Confederate flag publicly, on Sunday morning, that's when the word will become flesh…. Why is it that you do not hear any White preacher in our city speak out publicly against racial issues?

Following the conclusion of Dr. Campbell's speech several community members were honored for the contributions to the Black community in Danville. The researcher

met Dr. Campbell and his wife following the event as well as engaged in conversation with other attendees. Dr. and Mrs. Campbell were surrounding by attendees following the event. In 2019 in conjunction with a local social justice advocate in the Danville area, Ms. Anita McGee Royston, Dr. Campbell published a book largely based on his remarks at the 2017 breakfast entitled *1963: A Turning Point in Civil Rights*.

Observation of protest at the Danville City Museum. On Saturday, September 1, 2018, the researcher observed a protest activity at the Danville City Museum by a group advocating for the Third Confederate National flag to again be displayed on museum property. Since the vote by the City Council to remove the flag in 2015 various protests and rallies have been held, frequently on Main Street in front of the museum, to protest the flag's removal and demand its return. A core group of flag supporters associated with the Heritage Preservation Association in Danville has continued to hold Saturday morning protests since 2015.

The morning of the observation the researcher arrived at the City Museum at approximately 11:20 a.m. The weather was warm for September and sunny. The sound of traffic from Main Street was noticeable. Dressed in casual clothing, the researcher parked on a side street adjacent to the City Museum, out of sight of the protesters. Approximately six protestors, two women and four men, were assembled on the sidewalk in front of the City Museum under shade offered by tall leafy trees at the top of a gently rising slope. The protestors displayed approximately 12 Confederate flags comprising 3 typologies: 6 Battle flags, 5 versions of the Confederate National flag, and 1 yellow flag with which the research was unfamiliar. They appeared well-organized and had wheeled

carriers to transport the flags and flagpoles. Parked just up the slope from the protestors was a pickup truck apparently belonging to one of them, its entire hood emblazoned with a Confederate Battle flag. Most protestors were dressed in jeans or shorts, tee-shirts, and ball caps decorated with flag symbols or other references to the Civil War, largely in colors of red, white, and blue. A portly man holding a Confederate Battle flag wore thick red elastic suspenders. One protestor, a younger woman, was dressed in Civil War-era men's clothing including a long black coat and black hat. The group appeared to range in age from approximately 40 to 70 years old and seemed to enjoy their protest activity. Their enthusiasm was apparent as they interacted with passers-by. From their position at the top of the knoll, they were close to a traffic light on Main Street with good visibility to vehicles traveling south on Main Street toward the city hospital. Various folding chairs and flag stands were placed on the sidewalk itself. Directly behind the assembly and adjacent to the folding chairs a tan, thickly painted picket fence surrounded the City Museum property. Waving above the other variations of the flags was a Third National Confederate flag adhered to a flagpole approximately 20 feet tall.

The researcher made her observations from a park bench on the sidewalk down the slope from where the protestors assembled. As vehicles approached the protestors, they stepped to the edge of the curb, waving their Confederate flags at the traffic. Drivers expressing solidarity with the protestors honked their horns in encouragement, also waving and giving the thumbs-up sign. During the observation, numerous vehicles offered signs of acknowledge to the flag wavers. Several pedestrians passed by the protestors. One younger White man holding a small girl approximately 2 years old

stopped to talk to the protestors. Three other passers-by known to the researcher from her time in Danville, two White women and a young girl of color, walked through the protestors, stopping for a brief conversation with the researcher.

After observing the protest for 10-15 minutes, the researcher was approached by the young woman dressed in period clothing carrying a Confederate Battle flag on a long wooden pole. She was accompanied by two other protestors. One of the protestors, an older man dressed in shorts and a tee-shirt and ball cap and glasses, wore a black gun belt around his waist holding a holstered semiautomatic pistol. The other man, younger, was also dressed in shorts, tee-shirt, and ball cap and also carried a Confederate Battle flag. After a short conversation, the young woman agreed to an interview later and posed for two photographs, one of which she wanted taken in front of the memorial where the Confederate National flag flew before being removed.

The other two protestors also engaged in conversation with the researcher, expressing concern about why the researcher was there. They mentioned previous interactions with out-of-state reporters which they described as publishing unfair characterizations of them and their perspectives surrounding flag issues. The protestors seemed to take a stance of wariness and caution in interacting with the researcher. As the researcher sat on the park bench taking notes during this discussion, the armed protestor stood directly next to her, observing her writing. As she explained her affiliation with George Mason University, the protestors described their perception regarding the conflation between Communism and academia. As a woman positioned up the hill with the flags and folding chairs noted the younger man engaging in conversation, she began

shouting at him, believing that he was giving an interview. The younger man explained that the woman was his wife. When he did not respond to her, she quickly made her way down the slope, chastening him for “not learning” from what happened previously. As the researcher attempted to introduce herself and offer a business card, the wife refused to shake hands or take the card, making no eye contact. The wife directed the husband to come with her because it was time to leave for a birthday party. As the researcher continued to observe, the couple gathered their belongings and walked back down the hill along with two other protestors. They drove away in an older model van parked in front of the researcher’s sedan. The van was covered in bumper stickers advocating for gun rights, the display of the Confederate flag, and Trump/Pence stickers. Subsequently the other protestors also packed up and left. The observation ended at around noon. As the researcher drove around the back of the City Museum to circle back onto Main Street, she noted that the park bench down the slope in front of the City Museum was again occupied. A single man of color sat with a relaxed posture on the bench soaking up the noonday sun.

Analysis of observations. Consistent with social identity theory regarding psychocultural community enactments or rituals, the observed events emphasized in-group perceptions and beliefs. Designed to memorialize mythic narratives, the enactments attempted to preserve claims legitimizing and justifying identity positioning. Both events served a typology of cultural ritual or drama reinforcing group narratives regarding moral superiority and suffering. As Duncan (1968) suggests, the events were meant to create or sustain social roles enacted for audiences “whose approval is necessary

in the legitimation of power" (p. 69). From the perspective of cultural trauma theorization, the enactments asserted "morally justifiable claims of victimhood" for community consideration (Alexander et al., 2004, p. 9). Carrier groups comprised of influencers from polarized social identity groups used the enactments as part of a wider social process seeking acceptance of a trauma narrative within the wider community collective. Filtered through a lens of community trauma and moral injury, the observations revealed a merging of past and present pain, rigid boundaries between conflicted groups, and damaged/ineffective social interactions and networks within the community.

Primary narratives, themes, and subthemes represented in respondent interviews and citizen speeches were also revealed in the analyses of the two events. In keeping with the demographics of interview respondents and citizen speakers representing these narratives, the events were largely racially segregated. The Southern identity/pride and heritage narrative was apparent at the City Museum protest. This event was enacted at the contested, and for Southern identity group members sacred, public memory site of the "Last Capital of the Confederacy," the former Sutherlin Mansion. The choice of this site for repetitive protests assisted in solidifying the Southern identity heritage/pride position that "our" flag must "always fly" at the site. Inferring an ownership and possession, it also served to sanctify and confer collective honor and virtue on the protestors attempting the return of the flag to the site. By using Confederate flags in the protests, the participants metaphorically but viscerally defended the memory site using the symbols to actuate threat perceptions to the Southern identity moral framework. The flags worked to

coalesce group members, creating a mythic retelling of the “Last Capital” narrative while generating fear and anxiety surrounding the flag’s removal. The varieties of Confederate flags and protestors dressed in Civil War era clothing or carrying weapons effectively merged past and present, triggering group threat perceptions. Themes and subthemes reflected in the protest included: civil war, pride/heritage, salience of identity, conflict readiness, merging past and present fears, and moral trauma indicators.

Similarly, the racism and hate narrative was represented at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Birthday celebration. By choosing as the keynote speaker an African American faith leader who had been incarcerated and whose wife was injured during the Civil Rights movement and whose leadership was pivotal in efforts to removal the Confederate flag, morality traditions and the dignity of African American group identity in Danville were consolidated. The celebration marked its own sacredness, echoing the ethos of a Black church service with Dr. Campbell’s speech serving as the sermon. The strength of the African American community in the face of suffering and the unwillingness of White church leaders to intervene in or share in the suffering in the past Civil Rights movement or present efforts to remove the Confederate flag from city property were emphasized. Highlighting the traumatization of systemic racism and inequality in the forum of an African American audience and in the presence of elite Whites again offered a traumatic narrative for acceptance and inclusion in a collective community identity. Themes and subthemes reflected in the celebration included: collective trauma; moral injury trauma indicators, merging past and present fears and threats; salience of identity; White supremacy; and slavery, hate, and racism.

Community Trauma Assessment

According to Pinderhughes et al. (2015), symptoms of community trauma include intergenerational poverty; long-term unemployment; relocation of businesses and jobs; deteriorated environments; abuse or use of substances; damaged social relations and networks; destructing, dislocated social norms; and a low sense of collective political and social efficacy (p. 13). Using these indicators, Danville meets the criteria for a traumatized community. Crime, including murders and narcotic offenses, unemployment, and child poverty rates are well above Virginia state averages. Indicators of community traumatization present in Danville are discussed more completely below.

Physical/built environment: dilapidated buildings and infrastructure. Danville's physical environment shows signs of deterioration. According to city planning documents more than 50% of all structures in Danville were built before 1960. Deterioration is evidenced both in the state of residential dwellings and abandoned commercial buildings. A comprehensive plan available on the city's website indicates that as of 2007, 156 occupied dwellings in Danville lacked complete indoor plumbing. The majority of these dwellings were in the African American neighborhoods of the River District and North Main (City of Danville, Virginia, 2010, p. 9). In 2010 the Danville city government initiated a blight eradication project to demolish abandoned and dilapidated buildings linked to drug use and other criminal activity. Since 2010 more than 2,000 homes have been deemed inadequate (City of Danville, Virginia, 2010, p. 9). In 2011, Blight Eradication within the city was incorporated into city ordinances and in 2012 funds were allocated within the city budget to address it (Community Partners,

2014, p.3). The city contracted for an eradication plan to be developed, resulting in the Monument-Berryman Conservation and Redevelopment Plan (Community Partners, 2014). Over the last 5 years, $9 million has been spent by the city, largely funded by state and federal grants, to demolish 250 abandoned or substandard homes. The Danville Industrial Development Authority (IDA) was formed and funded by both private and governmental sources to address the deteriorating infrastructure in Danville. According to the city website (City of Danville, Virginia, n.d.), the IDA works in cooperation with the city and its Economic Development Office to promote and facilitate redevelopment activities. An additional city organization, the Danville Redevelopment and Housing Authority, is also tasked with addressing blight within housing projects and residences within Danville (Anstaett, 2017).

Rates of poverty and unemployment. Danville has twice as many residents living at the poverty level, higher crime, and worse health than Virginia as a whole. According to the city's website (City of Danville, Virginia, n.d.), the median household income in Danville is 41% less than the state of Virginia and 31% less than national levels. In 2018more than 23% of Danville's population remained below the Federal Poverty Level (United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, 2019). According to Parker (2019), in 2019 more than 6,156 households in Danville City receive Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits (p. 1). While poverty numbers have declined slightly in Danville since 2010, Danville's population has continued to drop since 1990, contributing to these declines (Crane, 2018).

Crime, violence, and delinquency. As economic inequities between White and African American residents in Danville increased, crime and gang violence in African American neighborhoods have also steadily grown. Labeling Black neighborhoods as "red zones," Danville police formed a Street Crimes unit in response to spiraling city crime rates. In 2016, Danville had the highest per capita murder rate of any city in Virginia (Lopez, 2018). With the third highest murder rate in Virginia and the second highest crime rate in the state, Danville's poorest and Blackest neighborhoods, like Southern North Main which is 79% Black, experience twice the city's average crime rate. According to Danville City Police Chief Scott Booth, while the city is approximately equally divided racially, Black police officers comprise only 11% of the total force. Gang violence in Danville steadily increased over a 10-year period, dropping slightly in 2019 with the formation of a gang task force. More than 200 gangs have been documented as operating in Danville (Lopez, 2018). According to Lopez (2018), a disturbing pattern has been the increase in youth gang participation. Adult gang members are enlisting minors in criminal activities to avoid harsher adult sentencing.

Education. The latest regional report card issued by the Danville Regional Foundation (2017) measuring economic, educational, and social functioning against state averages indicates deficits in almost every parameter measured. In a social capital survey conducted in Danville by the University of Virginia in 2011, while 100% of children of Black residents attend public school, almost 24% of White students attend private schools (Center for Survey Research, 2011, p. 39). According to the Danville city website, 17%

of city residents have less than a high school diploma. Approximately 6% of residents have less than a 9th grade education (City of Danville, Virginia, n.d.).

Psychological distress and health problems. Health indicators in Danville indicate a population in distress. In 2012, Danville was selected for a study by a group of nutritionists examining health disparities between African American populations and Whites (Hill, Chau, Luebbering, Kolivras, & Zoellner, 2012). African Americans were routinely experiencing higher levels of heart disease, cancer, infant mortality, and diabetes. As one of the "most health disparate regions in the Commonwealth" the study cited unemployment rates of 12-19%, exceeding the state and national averages creating a "dire unemployment situation" (p. 1). According to the 2017 Danville *Regional Report Card* (Danville Regional Foundation, 2017), adult obesity, smoking, the teen birth rate, and diabetes are significantly greater than that of Virginia as a whole. The teen birth rate in Danville in 2016 was 58 per 1,000, more than twice the state average. Children in single-parent households in Danville is 60%, again, twice the state average (Danville Regional Foundation, 2017).

Availability and use of substances. Drug-related crime and violence in Danville evidence the availability and use of both alcohol and illegal drugs within the community. In 2018 more than 300 arrests were made for drunkenness and over 130 for driving under the influence (Virginia State Police, 2018, p. 144). Approximately 800 arrests were made in 2018 for drug and narcotic violations and another 11 for liquor law violations Liquor stores proliferate in poor and minority neighborhoods (p. 144).

Damaged social networks/relationships. Social networks in Danville show indications of damage. Relationships between authorities and citizens, particularly African American citizens and police, are strained. Recent actions on the part of the Danville Police Department, however, show the potential for even symbolic gestures to repair past damage within social networks. During an event held at Averett University on June 11, 2019, an apology was offered by Danville Police Chief Scott Booth for police brutality inflicted on African American citizens during Bloody Monday protests in 1963. The apology was offered by Chief Booth to Bishop Lawrence Campbell, one of the leaders of Civil Rights movement in Danville. Protestors including Brenda Lewis, who was 14 years old at the time of the Civil Rights protest, recalled the violence and trauma of Bloody Monday while characterizing Chief Booth's apology as "an important symbol" (Crane, 2019). Ms. Lewis added, "I'm proud of chief Booth, because I think he's doing things that will eventually help the community," pointing to community policing as an example" (Crane, 2019, p. 3). Other indicators of damaged social relationships are the growing gang violence in Danville and its vulnerability to nationally recognized gang influences. Social networks which could be the source of resilience in poor and minority neighborhoods appear to be weakened. Black-on-Black crime in the city continues to be problematic. Skepticism of Black parents concerning policing in Danville results in less cooperation in identifying gang members (Lopez, 2018).

Chapter Five: Discussion

Analysis of data confirms a dual causality of trauma within the case study context; trauma both results from and contributes to violence surrounding historical interpretations of Confederate symbols. Case study data confirms and expands the theoretical assumptions upon which the present research was based. The first theoretical assumption, that social groups construct narratives about conflict based on historic interpretations which are shaped by moral injury trauma, was confirmed but requires expansion. Based on data analysis and as discussed in detail in this chapter, several typologies of trauma affect the historic interpretations used in group narrative construction in Danville. Data indicates that collectives in Danville use trauma narratives as justification for social conflict and violence and that public memory projects including narratives, symbols, and memorials represent unresolved trauma within the community. Trauma does appear to affect group processes of collective axiology resulting in escalations of conflict. Data gives evidence to degraded community wellness and community trauma resulting from historical interpretations. Effects of such trauma appear to diminish community well-being. Damaged social networks, consistently elevated poverty and crime rates, and weakened community resilience are apparent. Finally, public memory projects comprising symbols which embody unresolved trauma continue to

trigger spirals of conflict in the Danville community. Cycles of trauma and violence are manifested environmentally, socially, and economically.

Traumatic foundations are evident in narratives represented by interview respondents and citizen speakers as well as in observations of psycho-cultural enactments. Contrary to psychologically based theories of group and collective trauma which preference intergenerational transmission of trauma through Freudian psychoanalytic mechanisms, data from the Danville case suggests a constructivist model. Interruption of sociological processes incorporating traumatic historical events into a revised collective identity rather than psychological symptomology appear to affect meaning making surrounding Confederate symbols in the Danville community. Evidence of cultural and moral injury trauma are present based on models developed by Alexander et al. (2004) and Graham (2017). Social group processes and sociological models of cultural functioning, including normative value formation and collective axiology, all display indicators of trauma. Additionally, building on criteria developed by Pinderhughes et al. (2015) regarding community traumatization, Danville appears to suffer from a typology of structural trauma.

Foundations of Trauma

The primary causations of trauma in Danville appear to be harm emanating from the violation of deeply held core beliefs or group moral constructions surrounding loss and injustice regarding Southern identity, slavery, race, and racial boundaries throughout Danville's history. The trauma evidenced in Danville appears to be an aggregation of typologies of moral injury, cultural, and structural trauma. This trauma is reflected in

meaning making and historical interpretation of Confederate symbols, particularly the Confederate flag and the former Sutherlin Mansion. All primary narratives—the Southern identity/heritage and pride, racism/hate, empathetic other, and history/education narratives—contain indicators of unresolved traumatic injury. The Southern identity/heritage and pride and racism/hate narratives are the highly polarized, representing significant levels of traumatic suffering and injury and contested interpretations of Confederate symbols. For the Southern identity group, Confederate symbols and group members are inseparable. Confederate symbols embody values, coalesce group members around what they hold sacred, and broadcast the loss and trauma. For those representing the race/hate narrative Confederate symbols represent the violence and injustice of slavery, racism, and the violent rejection of the Civil Rights movement in Danville. The primary narratives of the Southern identity, African American, and Northern/other identity groups also represent high levels of conflict readiness and threat perception. The empathetic other narrative, represented only in the semistructured interviews, illustrates an intersection of processed agential and receptive moral injury trauma resulting in reduced rigidity in thinking and a repository of unresolved agential moral injury trauma. White respondents representing this narrative simultaneously consider themselves Southern while struggling with guilt, shame, and a need to resolve conflict surrounding Confederate symbols which they believe to be both hurtful to others and a result of direct and structural violence by the social group with which they affiliate.

Using Alexander et al.'s (2004) definitions, historic interpretations of Confederate symbols by these identity groups reflect unprocessed trauma. The narratives contain two critical aspects of Smelser's (2004) definitions of cultural trauma: The memory of events must cause negative effects reflected in values or essential societal beliefs in the affected society; and the memory must be associated with strong negative affect, typically disgust, shame, or guilt (Smelser, 2004, p. 36). As mentioned in the overview to this chapter, the analysis of data indicates tertiary community-based trauma levels in the Danville community. Data suggests that moral injury trauma strengthens social identity processes employed in construction of value-based systems. As moral injury escalates the normalization of threat-based logic, differences between in-groups and out-groups are exaggerated. Moral injury trauma also appears to mediate the formation of shared value systems, escalating group cohesion resulting in strongly binary and polarized representations of in-groups. As mitigators of effective processing of cultural trauma narratives, these representations are used defensively to repel moral dissonance. As violence is justified, out-group trauma narratives of victimization and perpetration of morally reprehensible acts by in-group members are disavowed, necessary sociological processes for formation of a community master negative are stymied, and cultural trauma remains unprocessed.

Representations in interviews and public discourse surrounding Confederate symbols strongly link historical violence and unprocessed cultural trauma in Danville. Historical interpretations of Confederate ideology, slavery, beliefs regarding causes of the Civil War, and the Civil Rights movement combine with racially tinged contemporary

conflicts regarding crime, poverty, substance abuse, unemployment, and economic issues. Systems of power emanate structural violence against marginalized social identity groups in Danville creating a typology of structural trauma. Moral injury and cultural trauma appear to feed cycles of community violence, in turn aggregating with trauma emanating from violence with systems and structures including political, economic, educational, and criminal justice systems. As the narratives of Southern identity and racism/hate represent, systems of power within Danville appear to be undergoing change in the face of environmental, political, and demographic shifts, exacerbating conflict.

Removal of the flag from the Danville City Museum appears to be mediated not only by trauma-laden sociological and moral injury processes, but also by environmental and contextual factors. In removing the flag, the City Council appears to be acknowledging interpretations of injustice, pain, and racism expressed by African American and non-Southern community members. The decision also seems influenced by a national shift in beliefs regarding the display of Confederate symbols following the mass murders of African American worshippers in Charleston weeks before the 2015 Council vote. According to study data, concerns regarding the impact of the display of Confederate symbols on the city's already declining economic state were also a consideration for the flag's removal.

In considering trauma narratives represented in the Danville case study data, it is important to acknowledge that factual occurrence of harm is not required for the deleterious effects of cultural or moral injury trauma to manifest. Construction and acceptance of narratives of perpetration or victimization rather than factual claims are

necessary for trauma to occur. Using the primary narratives represented in the case study data, the following section discusses the sources and effects of trauma on social group and sociological processes in Danville including traumatic foundations within the primary narratives and social identity groups.

Effects of trauma on social group and sociological processes. The dual causality of trauma in the Danville case study appears to extend to social group processes differentiating value systems. Shifts within collective axiology from moral well-being to a threat-based model appear to both affect and be affected by unresolved cultural and moral injury trauma. Based on data analysis, the discomfort of unresolved trauma becomes a catalyst for changes to collective axiology, justifying prejudices and violence against out-groups. As the axiology of difference within the collective axiology normalizes violence against out-groups, moral dissonance is relieved, negating the need for identity destabilization and the arduous process of collective identity reformation. Interview and citizen speech data indicate beliefs about the depravity and moral deficiency of out-groups have been incorporated into the collective axiology of the most highly polarized socially identity groups in the Danville community. Both the Southern and African American identity groups show changes in perceptions of axiology of difference. With this shift, social group cohesion and threat perceptions increase, normalizing violence and prejudice toward out-groups. Hostilities are justified toward out-groups, while feelings of discomfort including shame, embarrassment, and guilt emanating from the perpetration of violence are mitigated or repelled. As cycles of violence and trauma continue, the protective barrier created by a reconstructed collective

axiology justifying violence as normative in turn justifies more violence, mitigating uncomfortable moral dissonance. For those social groups experiencing receptive moral injury in Danville, Confederate symbols serve as terror sites retriggering perceptions of injustice, pain, and threat. As the traumatically affected social processes of collective axiology and cultural trauma intersect, the need of carrier groups of perceived injustice and victimization for community recognition and atonement of past and present traumatic events escalates, leading to conflict. Data suggests that as alternate historical interpretations fail to be memorialized in public memory sites, collective remembering becomes controlled by powerful elites who reject and erase the narratives of marginalized groups. In Danville, public memory sites represent historical interpretations of the Southern identity group. Trauma emanating from historical events, including the establishment and demise of the Confederacy, slavery, and shifting social and racial boundaries following the Civil War, and the Civil Rights movement, coexist in historical interpretations and perceptions of Confederate symbols, specifically the Confederate flag and the former Sutherlin Mansion. Experiences of slavery, Jim Crow segregation, and the Civil Rights movement in Danville have been rejected as cultural traumas by the community collective identity. Moral framework shifts normalizing violence and elevating “enemy” perceptions toward competing social identity groups including African Americans and those empathetic others who recognize the collective harm of these traumatic experiences. Likewise, the moral frameworks of African American and empathetic other social identity groups show similar shifts, elevating fear and threat perceptions of the Southern identity group.

Cultural Trauma

Data analysis suggests that the removal of the flag in 2015 through City Council vote circumvented ongoing sociological and identity negotiation processes necessary for amelioration of cultural trauma in Danville. Based on Alexander et al.'s (2004) theorizations, four critical representations regarding perceived trauma must be met to generate a social crisis sufficient to resolving unprocessed trauma. This process includes the destabilization and reformation of the community collective identity, facilitating the absorption of traumatic meanings regarding traumatizing events. Public memorialization is an important part of discourse surrounding historical interpretations, and as Dwyer and Alderman (2008) propose, are used as normative power to reflect and reproduce about the past, effectively shaping the future (p. 167). As discussed in the theoretical chapter, according to Alexander et al. (2004), these representations include: (a) traumatic effects on the social group and the wider collective, (b) scope of victimization, (c) relation of the victim to the wider collective/audience, and (d) attribution of responsibility to a perpetrator. If this process is successful, moral dissonance is felt as the collective experiences, recognizes, and accepts that harm was done, affecting not only the carrier identity group broadcasting the injury, but to the community as a whole. This incorporation mediates the emergence of a revised collective identity. As the horrific event proposed by a specific social identity group is accepted by the collective as damaging to the community, it can be processed. To be successful, characterizations of such trauma by carrier groups must be sufficiently morally repugnant and efficiently enough broadcast as to result in agreement throughout the collective. The traumatic

experiences, whether historically based or constructed, must be accepted as a violation of a fundamental value or moral framework. A new master narrative is created incorporating suffering, recognized as traumatizing the entire collective, both perpetrators and victims. As part of this process, grieving and healing must be achieved through culturally appropriate means. Analysis of the primary narratives from the interviews and from the citizen speech portion of the August 6, 2015, City Council meeting indicate that traumatic narratives regarding slavery, Southern loss, and the Civil Rights movement have not been integrated into the collective identity of the community. The most polarized identity social groups engaged in the conflict surrounding Confederate symbols, the Southern identity pride/heritage and African American groups, have engaged in conflict regarding meaning making regarding these traumatic events. While each of these social identity groups has served as carriers attempting the process of gaining community recognition of their trauma, the community identity collective continues to repel these traumatic narratives. The cycle of conflict regarding Confederate symbols continues, spiraling into violence depending on social conditions and environment as carrier groups repeatedly offer them for recognition and processing. Based on data from the case study, unresolved trauma characterizations are described in Table 7 and discussed in the following section.

Table 7

Unresolved Trauma Characterizations

Trauma Characterizations	Carrier Group	Repelling Group	Accepting Group	Victim	Perpetrator
Slavery	African American	Southern Identity	Empathetic Others/History Education	African American Collective	Slaveholders/ Confederates/ White Southerners
Southern Loss	Southern Identity	African American/ Northern Whites	Southern Identity	Southern Identity Collective	Northerners/ Liberals/ Federal Government
Structural Racism	African American	Southern Identity	Empathetic Others	African Americans	Systems of Local Power/White Elites

Unresolved traumatic characterizations as themes within primary narratives. Three unresolved trauma characterizations manifested as themes in the primary narratives: slavery, Southern loss, and structural racism.

Slavery. Based on the data analysis, African American and empathetic other social identity groups in Danville have accepted the traumatic claim of slavery. These identity groups have integrated and made meaning of trauma injuries from slavery into their identity formation, processing and relieving the associated discomfort of moral dissonance. Within the traumatic narrative broadcast by these groups, the African American collective is identified as the victim in the traumatic event of slavery, with responsibility attributed to slaveholders and to Southern society more generally through the Confederacy. Southern identity narratives, both interview respondents' and citizen speakers', appear to repel slavery as a collective trauma. Slavery is characterized in the

Southern identity pride/heritage narrative as an economic rather than racial system, as benign, as an ancillary rather than primary cause of the Civil War, and insignificant in the establishment and basic tenets of the Confederacy. Respondents representing the Southern identity/heritage and pride narratives deny painful aspects of slavery, of their ancestors' actions relating to slavery, and of the role of slavery in the secession of Confederate states from the Union. As Carol, a White female flag supporter representing the Southern identity/heritage and pride narrative in the video record (DanvilleVAGov, 2015b) explains,

> slavery was not a good thing for most people but the people who had plantations had to have people to help them. Some of the slaves were treated badly and some were treated good. Some had it better than they would have had it out on their own.

H. K., a Black male representing the Southern identity heritage/pride narrative in the video record (DanvilleVAGov, 2015b), likewise describes the benefits of slavery: the benefits of "Christian White folks in the Southland of introducing us to Jesus Christ…this is not a question about slavery…. Black folks have been duped as relates to our history by Northern teachers…." Of Confederate flag advocates, 20% believe that people offended by the symbols "should just let it go." Negating statements referencing slavery, such as "none of us were slave owners and none of them were slaves" were widely represented in this narrative. By denying and refusing responsibility for the injury caused by slavery, the trauma remains unrecognized in the Danville community collective. As shifts in moral frameworks are incorporated to minimize or deny injury associated with

slavery and Jim Crow segregation in Danville, the discomfort of moral dissonance is repelled by the cycle of conflict and trauma is fueled by this lack of recognition and acceptance. Although denial of the claims repels the existential threat felt by those within the Southern identity group, this denial mediates spirals of conflict. African American and empathetic other carrier groups in Danville continue to make claims regarding their pain, demanding that the community recognize and take responsibility for the harm of slavery.

Southern loss. Based on narratives presented by the Southern identity social group, the loss of the Civil War in Danville continues to be valorized as an honorable and courageous attempt at repelling the tyrannical federal government which attempted to enslave the South. Rather than amoral slave masters or traitors, respondents representing the Southern identity/heritage and pride narrative characterize their ancestors as heroes and veterans who defended Virginia. For those in the Southern identity group, the loss of the war is linked to a loss of culture identity and a fear of erasure. As a 55-year-old White male interview respondent representing the Southern identity/heritage and pride narrative explains, the removal of Confederate symbols for Southerners is "the same as erasing the Holocaust." As Audergon (2004) and Dwyer and Aldermann (2008) posit, while established to memorialize valor or triumph, memorials hold a connotation of loss—these losses having been combined into a trauma narrative within which White Southerners are the victimized group largely constructed around the march to the sea led by federal General William Sherman. Of respondents interviewed, 12% described trauma suffered by Southern people during and after the Civil War. Narratives characterize Southerners as

victims during the Civil War traumatized by the “raping and burning” perpetrated by federal General William Sherman, and being “enslaved by the North.” In response to this victimization, narratives report the Confederate Battle flag as being used in “aggressive ways” as a symbol of Southern solidary. According to the Southern identity/heritage and pride narrative, perpetrators are Northerners, radicals, historical revisionists, and African Americans. In a dynamic similar to that of narratives regarding slavery, while this trauma has been integrated into the Southern identity group in Danville, it has been rejected by the African American and empathetic other identity groups in Danville.

Traumatic perceptions of Southern loss incorporate fears regarding erasure of Southern culture and identity. As described in the Southern identity/heritage and pride narrative, removal of Confederate flags and statues is described as an attempt by radicals, powerful forces, and liberals to negate historical events; underlying this argument appears to be an existential fear of erasure. The Southern identity/heritage and pride narrative likens the removal of Confederate symbols as evoking the same sentiments as “erasing the Holocaust would for Jews.” Of respondents and citizen speakers, 40% perceive “Blacks” and “liberals” as making controversies surrounding Confederate symbols as “all about them.”

Structural racism. Systems of education, criminal justice, and politics are described as sources of inequality in Danville for people of color by those representing the racism/hate narrative. Respondents, including those who experienced the violence and degradation of racial segregation firsthand, describe “the pain” of racism, citing how systems were adapted to marginalize people of color. During the City Council meeting,

Bishop Campbell, a Civil Rights leader in the 1960s, using the word pain multiple times, characterized the demeaning, inferior public services offered people of color and the substandard books and athletic gear provided to Black children after Whites had worn them out. He recounted threats by the gun-toting Circuit Court Judge Aiken during Civil Rights trials and being thrown down the courthouse steps by police officers in Confederate uniforms for sitting in courtroom seats designated for Whites. For respondents representing the racism/hate narrative, Confederate symbols represent Confederate ideology. This is an ideology which respondents characterize as the source of systemic racism: "a divisive system of functioning within Danville." Respondents characterize the display of Confederate symbols being "about power" in a city which "has a history of racial strife," calling for "a changing of the guard and diversity in people in power." According to respondents, racism is apparent in "the lack of political will" to "make changes within Danville…whose Black population is disgusted." Younger respondents characterize the school system in Danville as "Whitewashing" history regarding the Civil War and conducting "overpolicing" of Blacks. While continuing to repel narratives of trauma resulting from systemic inequities, respondents representing the Southern identity/pride and heritage stereotype and criminalize people of color in Danville. Particularly in citizen speeches from the night of the City Council meeting, respondents scapegoated and vilified African Americans, shifting the moral responsibility for the pain described by people of color to their depraved character. Speakers representing the Southern identity/pride and heritage narrative described African Americans "in bondage to drugs and alcohol," "needing to start pulling your own

weight," and "weak." Specific criminal narratives regarding African Americans as murders were recounted, shared, and recorded in the public forum of the City Council meeting. Based on narratives represented in both respondent interviews and citizen speeches, the structural violence of inequality and racism has produced a structural trauma repelling change to systems of power in Danville. Trauma-infected sociological and social identity processes in Danville are imbedded in systems of power. As these systems are covertly protected from transformation by unprocessed trauma, they continuing to produce cycles of structural violence and trauma.

Traumatic representations in public memory sites. Public memory sites in the Danville community affirm Southern historical interpretations of slavery, the Civil War, and the Civil Rights movement. The most contentious of these sites is the City Museum, the former Sutherlin Mansion around which contestations have occurred since the mid-19th century. Eliciting a plethora of positive emotion including pride from the Southern identity group members, the dominance and historical importance of this site has effectively erased alternative historical representations by minority groups from the public landscape. For the community of Danville, the site of the City Museum is imbued with trauma. Citizens representing the racism/hate narrative view the horrors of slavery and struggles against systemic racism as memorialized in this site. As a citizen speaker representing this narrative at the August 6, 2015, City Council meeting stated: "the Confederate flag stands on city property as a fiery cross in the noonday sun."

As representations of the Southern identity group, this site is sacred; it is a symbol of a glorious, heroic past, a heritage which is eternal. In the Southern identity/pride and

heritage narrative, respondents characterize Confederate symbols, particularly flags, as a "part of them." As group members articulated in narratives and speeches, the former Sutherlin Mansion is "sacred ground" to which they are "the rightful heirs." Yet, for Southern identity group members the site also emanates the trauma of Southern loss. It was from the former mansion that on April 4, 1865, Confederate President Jefferson Davis wrote his last proclamation addressed to "the people of the Confederate States of America." In this proclamation, Davis urges Confederate people to hold and defend Virginia with "no peace ever made with the infamous invaders of her homes…and an exhausted enemy shall abandon in despair his endless and impossible task of making slaves of a people resolved to be free" (Davis, 1890). Davis's words are reflected almost verbatim in the Southern identity/pride and heritage narrative. As described in the Southern identity/heritage and pride narrative, the pain of their perceived enslavement and subsequent invasion by a tyrannical federal government remains. The trauma surrounding the inability of subsequent generations of Southerners, specifically Virginians, to achieve the goals of Jefferson Davis appear to remain unprocessed in Danville. The memory site of the "Last Capital of the Confederacy" represents not only the triumph but the tragedy of the South, temporally linking the historical loss with a fear of erasure. What historically was continues to be, preventing a perspective which could allow for processing of trauma.

As a public memory site, the former Sutherlin Mansion has been used to reaffirm group differentiations, coalescing Southern identity group members during periods of perceived threats around racial dominance. This use of the mansion as an identity marker

is evident in a dialectic of threat perception and responding coalescence/reassertion of White Southern identity beginning in 1912 and continuing into the present. As Southern precepts regarding race, Confederate ideology, and meanings of the Civil War are questioned, members of the Southern identity group turn to the mansion to confirm their honor and moral superiority. Within two decades after the disenfranchisement and negation of process toward equality for African Americans realized by the Danville Riot during Reconstruction, the Sutherlin Mansion was saved from razing by Southern women in Danville who formed a Confederate Memorial Association. From 1912 to 1916 the mansion was owned by the Confederate Memorial Association. It was during these years that the narrative of "The Last Capital of the Confederacy" was established. The bronze tablet, still in place, was installed to the right of the entrance and stated, "Corona Post Imperium, The Last Capitol of the Confederacy. April 3-April 10, 1865." The translation of this Latin phase is literally "Crown, Control, After"—a biblical reference to an eternal state of rule. In 1928 during Jim Crow segregation in Danville, the former Sutherlin Mansion became the Whites-only Confederate Memorial Library, and in 1950 the building was expanded, and a Confederate flag was installed outside the entrance. As the Civil Rights movement began, it was the site of contestation as African American students launched a sit-in demanding equal access. The sit-in marked the first Civil Rights demonstration in Danville. The Confederate Memorial Library was subsequently the subject of the first and unsuccessful attempt at court-ordered desegregation—chairs were removed to prevent Black students from studying there. As the city arts museum, following federally mandated school desegregation in the 1970s, the former Confederate

Memorial Library codified the “Last Capital of the Confederacy” narrative by publishing into a book. Released in 1979, approximately three years following school desegregation in Danville, the volume by Brubaker represents White Southern interpretations of loss of the Civil War and the final days of the Confederacy which are referred to in the publication as “an experimental nation” (p. 1).

As social change regarding display of Confederate symbols at Southern capital buildings and statehouses began in nationally in the 1990s, the City Council voted to remove the Confederate flag from the City Museum. Heritage preservation groups immediately reacted by reaching an agreement with the city to install a Confederate monument and flag that were designated as war memorials to protect them in perpetuity. Over objections by Black City Councilors and African American ministers’ alliances, the agreement was consummated. In 2014, facing renewed efforts to remove the flag, this agreement was cited by the city as legal roadblock for removing the flag. In 2015, following the mass killings in Charleston, SC, of African American parishioners by a White supremacist displaying Confederate symbols, a new and widely successful movement to remove Confederate symbols from public buildings was initiated. As the city of Danville once again considered the flag removal from the museum, group social processes of threat perception escalated and efforts at cohesion increased. Rallies and demonstrations by both supporters and opponents of the display of the Confederate flag were held at the contested public memory site. As is apparent in the citizen speeches from the City Council meeting, the focus in Danville had shifted from a moral well-being model to a focus on the moral deficiencies of out-groups. As discussed in the case study

chapter, the flag was removed, setting in motion yet another dialectic swing. As promised by 16-year-old flag supporter Patrick during the 2015 City Council meeting (DanvilleVAGov, 2015b), Confederate battle flags installed by Heritage Preservations groups symbolically surrounded the city. As threat perceptions have once again increased, social identity group boundaries have correspondingly strengthened. Southern identity group members continue to repel slavery as a cultural or moral injury trauma while symbolically creating a justifying moral equivalency between the Confederacy and the Civil Rights movements. As respondents representing this narrative explain, "if we have to look at statues of MLK they can look at our flag." As cited by respondents representing the racism/hate narrative, remarks by American President Donald Trump following the lethal violence in Charlottesville in 2017 surrounding the proposed removal of Confederate symbols appear to have coalesced those within the Southern identity group.

At the base of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Bridge, which spans the Dan River connecting African America neighborhoods with the city center and the historically White millionaire's row, three juxtaposed, competing, public memory sites occupy space within yards of each other. A massive Confederate flag, one of the 14 erected on private property in Danville following the removal of the flag at the City Museum, dominates the horizon. Borrowing a conceptualization from Young (1993), this flag serves to "concretize" a Southern identity collective memory, visually erasing opposing representations from consideration (as cited in Feldman, 2012, p. 510). Dwarfed by the flag is a banner emblazoned with the River City brand instituted as part of economic

revitalization by the city government in 2015. The bridge itself serves not only as a tribute to Dr. King but as symbolic reminder of his role in opening the downtown area of Danville for African Americans during Jim Crow segregation. Less than a mile from the Danville City Museum, the three public memory sites serve as an uneasy reminder of the conflict surrounding Confederate symbols in Danville and the struggle to process and resolve cultural trauma.

Moral Injury Trauma

The primary narratives presented in interviews and the citizen speeches were analyzed for indications of moral trauma injury using Graham's (2017) six characteristics: (a) collective temporal affect, (b) violence/degraded community social interactions, (c) ambivalent loyalties, (d) moral ambiguities, (e) defective agency, and (f) spatial aversity (pp. 84-91). The primary narratives from both respondent interviews and City Council meeting citizen speeches reveal all six characteristics of moral injury trauma. An analysis of the themes and subthemes of the narratives by moral injury trauma indicator follows.

Collective temporal affect. Indicative of moral injury trauma, Danville remains pulled toward the past pain, unable to separate itself from the historical trauma and pain of slavery, the Civil War, and the Civil Rights movement. As Graham (2017) suggests, Danville is a community which marks the passage of time by the occurrence of loss and injury with focus, attention, and energy devoted to the pain of the past. The foundational mythic narrative surrounding Danville's establishment as "The Last Capital of the Confederacy" was constructed in the early decades of the 20th century as the former

Sutherlin Mansion was restored and became the segregated public library. Until the city initiated a rebranding campaign using the “River City” brand in 2015, “The Last Capital of the Confederacy” narrative continued to be used in city tourism literature. On the social media site YouTube (DanvilleVAGov, 2015b), the tagline “Visit Danville VA” continues to take viewers to a 6-minute 8-second video posted in 2010 which touts the “Last Capital” narrative. Three of the four primary narratives represented in the data collection—Southern identity/heritage and pride, history and education, and racism/hate—focus largely on historical suffering and pain. The Southern identity/ heritage and pride narrative includes themes and subthemes regarding causes of the Civil War, heroism of Confederate veterans, meanings of Confederate symbols, and issues of power surrounding perceptions of the enslavement of Confederate states by the federal government enslaving the South. These themes suggest that those representing the Southern identity/heritage and pride narrative see themselves as suffering from receptive moral injury as victims. They do not, however, view themselves as agents of moral injury for the perpetration of violence against people of color through slavery, Jim Crow segregation, and the brutality of White opposition against the Civil Rights movement in Danville. Likewise, the racism/hate narrative focuses on the pain and unresolved trauma of slavery, White supremacy and Confederate ideology, and injury and injustice during the Civil Rights movement. While not exclusively focused on pain and injustice, the history and education narrative is also past-focused, centering on historical education surrounding causes of the Civil War, pride/heritage, and conflict surrounding Confederate symbols.

Violence/degraded community social interactions. Within communities that have suffered moral injury trauma, healing is longed for while division and violence isolates community members from one another. As discussed in the results chapter, Danville has significant levels of violence and poverty, particularly in African American communities. Primary narratives of Southern identity/heritage and pride, empathetic other, racism/hate, and history/education all include descriptions of Confederate symbols as creating conflict and division among community groups. All of the interview respondents, 100%, represent Confederate symbols as causing conflict of some typology and 42% of respondents characterize division in the community as a consequence of such conflict. One respondent representing the history/education narrative characterized high crime rates, murders, and gang violence as resulting from conflict surrounding Confederate symbols. Central to the empathetic other narrative is the goal of finding solutions to conflicts regarding interpretations of Confederate symbols which they regard as "an impediment to community solidarity." Respondents representing the racism/hate narrative interpret Confederate symbols as a mechanism for holding on to "a divisive system of functioning" and that the symbols are "comparable to a Nazi flag." In Danville crime and violence, what Graham (2017) characterizes as "compulsive physical feats" (p. 85) take the place of social networks and relational reciprocity.

Ambivalent loyalties. As indicated in all four primary narratives, the Danville community suffers from ambivalent loyalties, desiring both community cohesion and the security of social group affiliation. Although longing for community solidarity, opposing beliefs regarding the display of Confederate symbols have solidified boundaries between

groups with opposing opinions regarding the display of Confederate symbols on city property. Central to these conflicted relationships is the failure to process traumatic events of slavery, Southern loss, and structural racism. As community members repulse the integration of past traumatic or violent events into a new master community narrative, dissonant moral codes and values mediate isolation from opposing groups, strengthening group boundaries. Community members feel divided loyalties and the tension of living in a divided community as "closeness and distance, commitment and rejection" diminish community social networks (Graham, 2017, p. 86).

Moral ambiguities. Moral ambiguity is apparent in the unsuccessful processing of traumas in Danville surrounding slavery, racism, and Southern loss. This is most clearly evidenced in the Southern identity/heritage and pride and racism/hate narratives. The collective Danville community struggles to avoid recognizing and taking responsibility for the pain and suffering surrounding slavery and structural racism ,repudiating the connection between this suffering and the actions of the Confederacy, Jim Crow segregation, White opposition to Civil Rights, and ongoing inequality. The moral implications of acknowledging the intersection of posited Southern values and the institution of slavery and historical racism repels such a conscious evaluation. If slavery is recognized as morally abhorrent and a violation of Southern moral constructs, then by necessity followers of the Confederacy including the esteemed veterans/ancestors of Southern identity group members are guilty of immorality. A similar ambiguity exists in the denials within the Southern identity/heritage and pride narrative of linkages between slavery and the Civil War and Confederate symbols and Jim Crow segregation and

systemic racism. The presence of structural racism historically in Danville cannot be consciously evaluated or acknowledged to avoid accepting responsibility or placing responsibility on ancestors for engaging in or defending an immoral practice creating horrific harm. By refusing to accept responsibility for agential moral injury, those in the Southern identity cohort continue to suffer the painful effects of unprocessed trauma. Moral ambiguity was partially but prematurely resolved with the City Council's acceptance of moral responsibility in a public acknowledgement of a racist interpretation of Confederate symbols in Danville. Rather than resolving community moral ambiguity, the prohibition against displaying the Confederate flag at the former Sutherlin Mansion proved divisive. Moral injury trauma conflates with cultural trauma as this action, taken prior to the sociological processes of the integration of a master community narrative and the reformation of collective identity, appears to have redoubled efforts to repel acknowledgement, increasing moral ambiguity within the community. The community is now surrounded by massive Confederate Battle flags on private property in accordance with city flag ordinances. As Graham (2017) describes, communities living with moral ambiguity struggle to escape questions concerning the morality of community decisions and actions. Both internally and publicly, communities may feel morally compromised while also attempting to discern moral obligations or responsibility for past actions. Narratives represented both by interview respondents and citizen speakers are indicative of such moral ambiguity.

Defective agency. As with moral ambiguity, the defective agency indicator of moral injury is most clearly evidenced in the Southern identity/heritage and pride and

racism/hate narratives. Agential and receptive moral injury meld with the interrupted sociological processes of cultural trauma as the Southern identity group denies the agential pain and suffering created by slavery and structural racism. This suffering is brought forward to the wider community for examination by receptively injured carriers of the racism/hate narrative. The result is an activation of moral dissonance within the Danville community. As the failure to act on past agential moral injury results in the continuation of harm or violation of core values, forms of moral dissonance are employed to deny or mitigate the harm perpetrated or the harm that others have suffered. This failure to act on core values creates moral injury. As evident in the Southern identity narrative, three mechanisms for relieving the discomfort may be employed: alteration of core values to incorporate a justification for such violence through group processes such scapegoating, stereotypes, and negative attributions; harm must be denied; or the harm must be recognized and integrated into a reformed collective identity. The continued denial of harm has rendered the Danville community powerless to make effective moral assessments, degrading community moral agency. As those representing the racism/hate narrative are denied recognition of their receptive moral injury, they continue to suffer from the unresolved trauma associated with the defective moral agency of their community environment. This was particularly apparent in the racism/hate narrative represented in the citizen speeches regarding the violence inflicted on Civil Rights proponents on Bloody Monday in 1963. The desire for recognition of their suffering and acceptance of responsibility by those responsible is evident in the relief noted by Blacks in the Danville community following the recent symbolic apology for the brutality of the

Bloody Monday violence by a representative of the Southern identity group, Chief Booth, to a representative of the Black community, Bishop Campbell (Crane, 2019).

Spatial aversity. In communities like Danville suffering from moral injury trauma, the environment becomes a dangerous space for those associating it with historic or contemporaneous violence. This is clearly represented in the racism/hate and the empathetic other narrative. As Confederate symbols and ideology reflect direct and structural violence and racism for respondents and speakers representing these narratives, a sense of hopelessness results. As one respondent commented, “these symbols bring back slavery for African American citizens…the flag stands for slavery; was slavery wrong?” The spatial aversity indicative of moral injury trauma in Danville extends to racially segregated neighborhoods, in experiences of escalated crime, poverty, and overpolicing. As moral injury and trauma take place in history it may “dislocate our sense of time and they infuse the places we go with threat and terror” (Graham, 2017, p. 91). Based on data from this case study, such a dislocation has taken place in Danville. Structural systems of injustice in Danville have become “trauma generators.” As an interview respondent explains, “Black people are disgusted…Danville will always be the Last Capital of the Confederacy...there is an absence of political will.” As citizens of color in Danville lose confidence that further injury can be prevented, moral injury increases.

Precipitating exposures to moral injury. Using narrative descriptions of environmental conditions in the Danville community collected from interviews, data was analyzed for evidence of the four precipitating exposures identified by Graham (2017) as

giving rise to moral injury trauma: (a) traumatic explosive assaults from nature, history, interpersonal, or social living experienced among conflicted social groups; (b) "pythonic habitats" resulting from constricted, or dangerous living environments including systemic, trauma-producing systems which create a loss of confidence in governance; (c) moral or behavioral decisions leading to traumatic demise; and finally, (d) grievous loss in identity or damage to a moral framework (pp. 80-82). As discussed earlier, all precipitating exposures are evidenced within the Danville community.

Structural Trauma

The case of Danville appears to support a structural typology of trauma associated with both racism and classism which developed around slavery and Jim Crow segregation. As described in the racism/hate and empathetic other narratives, African American and non-Southern social groups in the community perceive Confederate symbols as representing White supremacist ideology. As one respondent representing this narrative explained in his interview, "Confederate symbols are a way of holding on to the Confederacy as a divisive system of functioning within Danville." According to the racism and hate narrative represented in the data, the consequences of slavery to the descendants of enslaved people coupled with White antipathy toward the Civil Rights movement has not been acknowledged sufficiently for healing to take place. Whites seem unable and unwilling to accept a memory of slavery that incorporates brutality such as that recalled by former slaves in the Federal Writers' Project interviews of the 1930s (Crew, Bunch, & Price, 2014; *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, 1936-1937). The paternalistic narrative of the caring and concerned master so prevalent in

Virginia encapsulates Whites serving as a womb of protective denial which excludes both the violence inflicted daily on slaves including women and children and the telling history of slave rebellions in Virginia. To acknowledge the pain of slave descendants in and around Danville would destroy an identity which has been carefully created and preserved yet bears little resemblance to historical facts.

In the years following emancipation, structural violence directed at African Americans was supported and sanctioned by political and religious leaders and institutionalized through the Danville's legal and criminal justice systems. Elites mobilized lower class Whites in Danville, exacerbating fears and threat perceptions within the Southern identity social group to repel shifts in racial social boundaries. The Reconstruction era Danville Riot of 1883 which is absent from collective memories in primary narratives and public memorialization in Danville exemplifies this. By 1882, African Americans made up 58.4% of Danville residents and served as police officers and City Councilors. As described in the case study chapter, led by White Democratic Judge A. M. Aiken, a coup by armed White militia occurred in Danville days before the 1883 election. With African American voters intimidated into disenfranchisement, White rule in Danville was reinstated in the election. With this shift back to White supremacy, suffrage for African Americans in Danville was stymied and structural systems of inequity reinvigorated well into the 20th century. As described in the racism/hate narrative, structural and direct violence continued during the 1950s and 1960s as systems and structures repelled movements toward racial equality in Danville. Trauma resulting from this structural violence, particularly power asymmetries causing psychological and

physical harm, are solidified through legal structures and social and religious discourse in the Danville community. Present indicators of structural trauma continue to be found in political, economic, criminal justice, religious, and socio-educational community systems. As respondents representing the racism/hate narrative describe, for them the display of Confederate symbols "is about power…people in power now have a deep-rooted affection for that period of time…the Confederate flag represents holding on to the Confederacy as a divisive system of functioning within Danville." That so many factors contributing to the subordination of Blacks to Whites in the institution of slavery continue—including aggressive policing, economic inferiority, poverty, and discrimination—is an additive process, compounding the loss and sorrow which contribute to the racial fear, prejudice, distrust, and insecurity that plagues Danville today.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

The conclusion section of this chapter offers a model for addressing trauma-based conflict within the Danville community. This model integrates existing sociological theories with models of empathy escalation, theories of change, and transformation of structural violence. While social conflict surrounding historical interpretations continues in Danville, identifying trauma as a causation presents opportunity for conflict transformation. As results indicate, the emergence of empathy within a community such as Danville experiencing trauma may mediate the acknowledgement of suffering and the assumption of responsibility, mediating resolution of moral injury trauma and associated cultural trauma. As traumatic perspectives are accepted, ruptured social networks may be repaired through sociological processes required for assimilation of trauma into master community narratives. Further, based on case study data the acknowledgement and legitimatization of traumatic narratives through inclusion in public memory sites in the Danville community may give voice to historically silenced experiences of racialized violence.

Historical, Moral Injury, Cultural, and Structural Experiences of Community Trauma in Danville

Contested interpretations of Confederate symbols in Danville constitute deeply traumatic historical wounds surrounding issues of Southern loss, race, and structural

violence. As is evident in the primary narratives represented in case study data, Confederate symbols represent vastly different ways of collectively remembering historical triumphs and tragedies within the community. Representations of historical interpretations in these narratives blur lines between victims and perpetrators of violence. Collective memories of social identity groups both supporting and opposing the display of Confederate symbols contain unprocessed historical, cultural, and moral injury traumas. For most African American and many non-Southern group members, public memory sites in Danville, particularly the City Museum, formerly the Sutherlin Mansion and the Confederate Memorial Library, emanate White supremacist ideology and racialized violence. As recounted in respondent interviews and citizen speeches, historical events of slavery, Reconstruction, racial segregation, and violent opposition to the Civil Rights movement in Danville resulted in fundamental injuries of racism, marginalization, and injustice which remain unrecognized. Past and present merge as Confederate symbols serve as constant and traumatic reminders of historical violence and injury. Acting as carriers broadcasting the horrific injustice of these experiences, African Americans and other non-Southern identity groups have attempted to solicit collective community recognition and participation in their pain. As structural violence emanating from systems and institutions in the Danville community has silenced and disempowered these voices, structural trauma has been produced. Historical moral injury and cultural traumas intersect with structurally generated violence and trauma creating a community of damaged social networks struggling to gain resilience.

Likewise, Southern identity group members also express deeply felt narratives of trauma and loss. Confederate symbols for these group members represent the loss of an identity and culture viscerally connected to family and pride. For Southerners, Danville will always be the "Last Capital of the Confederacy." Likewise, the City Museum will always be the Sutherlin Mansion, a holy place which is their rightful heritage and possession for eternity. It is a symbol of the last days of what they consider an honorable, patriotic, and courageous way of life, taken away by a tyrannical federal government determined to reduce Southern freedom and states' rights. As all primary narratives indicate, Confederate symbols, particularly the Confederate flag, are identity markers for members of the Southern identity group. As the Southern identity/pride and heritage narrative represents, these markers—particularly the Confederate flag—serve as a collective representation of group virtues: valor, heroism, and determination.

Emanating from direct, historical, and indirect systemic violence, fresh experiences of trauma flow into the cycle of moral injury, cultural, and structural traumatization in Danville. As new generations are traumatized through educational, criminal justice, economic, and other sources of structural violence, the lines between victim and perpetrator blur. Crime rates increase in poor neighborhoods. Social networks are weakened as community members prey on one another. As community trauma creates a generational sense of hopelessness, trauma-imbued historical symbols further degrade self-perceptions and community well-being in marginalized neighborhoods in Danville. Figure 5.2 models the cycle of violence and trauma in Danville manifested in contestations regarding Confederate symbols.

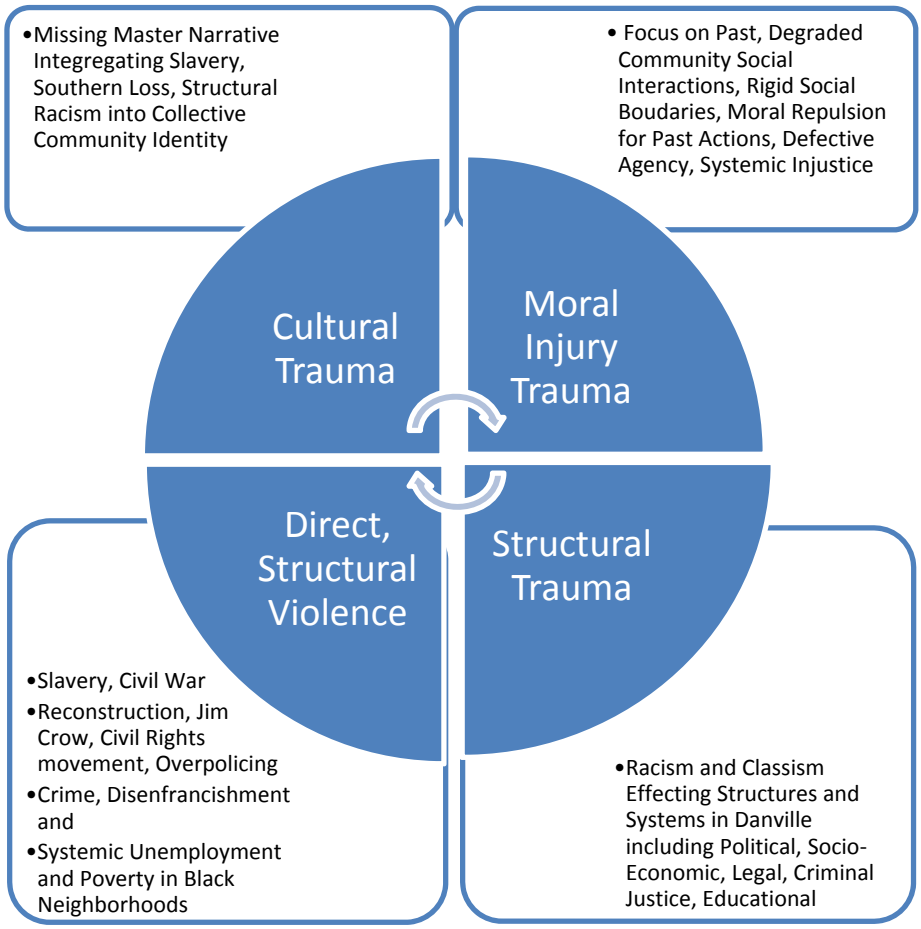

Figure 3. Cycle of trauma and violence in Danville, Virginia.

Social Change and Sociological Processes

Spirals of conflict around the former Sutherlin Mansion site in Danville are neither new or without context sociologically or politically. In each case they have been accompanied by environmental, economic, or normative social changes heightening fears and threat perceptions between primary identity groups in Danville. These shifts and resulting conflict spirals occurred simultaneous to a demographic shift toward an African American majority; antifederal government movements; calls for removal of the

Confederate flag from state capitals in the 1990s; in the context of an economic downturn primarily effecting White workers following the demise of Dan River Mills in 2008; and the election of President Barak Obama in the fall of that same year. The current conflict spiral occurred following changes in normative perceptions regarding the display of the Confederate flag in public spaces following the 2015 mass murders by White supremacist Dylann Roof in Charleston, SC. Respondents representing the racism/hatred narrative also connect spirals of conflict to language and attitudes of current President Donald Trump and as indicative of the overall political tension and divisiveness in American politics. As one respondent maintains, "Donald Trump enhances and emboldens use of coded language to stir up Confederate people."

The vote by the City Council to remove the Confederate flag appears to indicate a shift in power dynamics and historical narratives in Danville from a Southern identity toward a master narrative incorporating trauma. It is also an emergent recognition of agential moral injury within the community.

While reflecting both movement through the stages of cultural trauma resolution and moral injury healing, the community fragmentation over the flag's removal indicates the removal was premature and/or incomplete. A master narrative of suffering surrounding slavery, the Confederacy, causes of the Civil War, and even the Civil Rights movement has not been created within the Danville community. While the symbolic proclamation against slavery and racism by the City Council through the removal of the 3rd National Conflict Flag from the City Museum in 2015 was intended to resolve conflict, a community consensus regarding these historic events has not been achieved

and the need for collective absorption of these traumas remains. Attempts by local political leaders to acknowledge binary meanings of Confederate symbols while recognizing suffering of various social identity groups within the community and assuming responsibility for Danville's ambiguous moral history appears to have triggered social identity and sociological processes exacerbating contestations. As Durkheim (1912) suggests, the nature of collective memory insists on the remembrance or recognition of change within social groups. This recognition is often enacted through ceremonies of great violence or mourning, providing a mutual comfort to affected social groups (Ptacek, 2015, p. 77). As Misztal (2003) explains, Durkheim identified a societal need for historical continuity, "the degree of group solidarity, created through remembering together, depends of the mythical properties of the group's memories, especially their ability to vitalize energy and arouse emotions" (p. 125). The mythic narrative of the "Last Capital of the Confederacy" is central to the Southern identity in the community, serving as an iconic, sacred symbol for moral positioning surrounding Southern loss of the Civil War. With the removal of the flag, a primary representation of the collective memory of the Southern identity group was changed, requiring the ceremonial comforting and mourning suggested by Durkheim. Fourteen substitutions for the flag were raised, each marked by celebrations and music. The response by Confederate heritage groups to install 14 massive Confederate Battle flags surrounding the city on private property appears to be a typology of collective remembering and mourning. The Confederate flags also serve as cultural drama indicating that the Southern identity group has not yet processed and accepted the trauma of their own loss or the

traumatic claims regarding the legacy of slavery and White supremacy in Danville. Paralleling federal mandates forcing racial equality and integration in the 1960s and ’70s, the decision to remove the Confederate flag from the Danville City Museum in 2015 appears to have increased polarization and inhibited sociological processing of trauma.

Positive incremental changes, however, appear to be occurring. The 2019 apology of the Danville police chief for the violence against Civil Rights demonstrators in 1963 may be predictive of future movement toward community participation in the necessary sociological processes to resolve such trauma (Crane, 2019).

Trauma-Informed Intervention Strategies: Merging Theory and Practice

Recognition of the cycle of trauma and violence in sustaining generations of conflict within the Danville community prioritizes the need for a trauma-informed resolution approach theoretically and practically. Acknowledging the environmental, historical, structural, and sociological effects of trauma in creating and sustaining conflict in Danville is key to reducing ongoing conflict spirals. The Danville case study appears to confirm the need for trauma-informed community assessments documenting traumatic indicators and identifying incomplete trauma processing. Of great importance in such a trauma-informed community assessment is quantifying environmental, structural, and social factors preventing sociological and social trauma processing. As Alexander et al. (2004) describe, impediments to the acceptance of a trauma narrative are largely structural. As religious, legal, scientific, media, governmental, bureaucratic, or societal stratifications such as racism and classism employ power to negate or weaken a carrier group’s attempts to broadcast their trauma narrative, new waves of structural violence

and trauma are experienced in traumatized communities, weakening social networks and diminishing resilience.

Practically, an intervention plan resulting from this case study should offer a community-managed, phased implementation approach. The plan should acknowledge recommendations made by respondents during data collection regarding the need/desire for expert-facilitated discussions. As described by respondents, these experts can help desperate groups within the community reflect on the meanings and purposes of the vastly different historical interpretations attributed to Confederate symbols in Danville. Based on the multigenerational entrenchment and high levels of polarization represented in narratives, basic training in communication skills such as active listening and emotional de-escalation could be a prerequisite for deeper levels of facilitated discussions.

Central to such a plan should be an assessment protocol which can document incremental changes allowing community mediators to assess readiness for advancement within the plan phases. Existing trauma models based on Alexander et al.'s (2004); Graham's (2017); Pinderhughes et al.'s (2015) theories of cultural, moral injury, and community trauma; and Audergon's (2004) experiences with grassroots community forums; as well as theories of public memory could be integrated with practices used in public health and social work. For example, combining theories of change and motivational interviewing models used in substance abuse disorders to design community-based facilitations could prove helpful. Using theories of change models to document preintervention trauma levels and to determine the stage of community change

readiness following interventions could help insure positive outcomes prior to facilitations.

Empathetic stance in mediating trauma processing. Based on the results of the Danville case study, the development of an empathetic stance between conflicted social groups appears critical to mediating changes in group collective axiology which could reduce polarization, fear, and threat perceptions between groups and resolve moral injury trauma. The need for more empathy was consistently recognized in both the racism/hate and empathetic other primary narratives. According to the study data, the most rigid axiological perceptions and highest level of collective generality were represented in the narratives of Southern identity and racism/hate. Focusing on the empathetic other narrative—represented by only three respondents in the interviews and no citizen speakers during the 2015 City Council meeting—in intervention design appears critical. Formulating and integrating strategies to increase and measure empathetic growth into models predicting readiness for change could mediate trauma processing in Danville. As outliers in the data collection, those representing the empathetic other narrative appeared to develop such feelings through a transformational personal experience. Within these respondents, a continuum of empathy development seems to exist. At the far end of the continuum a respondent who might be characterized as fully empathetic reports feelings of shame, guilt, and embarrassment concerning treatment of people of color by Southern Whites including his own family and ancestors. In the midrange of the continuum, a respondent who could be characterized as empathetic expresses interpretations of Confederate symbols that represent both the Southern identity/heritage and pride and

racism/hate narratives. For this respondent, understanding the negative impact of Confederate symbols has created a motivation to find a solution to the conflict. As she describes, “the flag is a trigger for what I can do to resolve these issues.” At the early empathetic range is the third respondent, an African American male, who describes “feeling sorry for” flag supporters, adding, “no true communication is currently taking place.” Describing the need to “create empathy,” his responses indicate burgeoning feelings of empathy and willingness to talk. Simultaneous with these indicators, he continues to interpret Confederate symbols as “preserving the ideas of the Confederacy that Black people should be slaves.”

In research on gender inequality, Miron, Branscombe, and Schmitt (2006) found that collective guilt is correlated to in-group beliefs regarding the legitimacy of out-groups’ experiences of inequality and justice (p. 174). According to Iyer, Leach, and Crosby (2003) group-based empathy rather than collective guilt is a more general predictor of White support for African American affirmative action policies (p. 117). Further, empathetic feelings for out-groups appear to be predictive of support for social equality but not of compensation for out-groups’ experiences of historical harm (p. 117). The results of this research should be considered. As mechanisms for developing a collective capacity for both guilt and empathy are identified, they could be helpful to supporting sociological processes in Danville necessary for resolving unprocessed trauma.

As networks and relationships between conflicted social identity groups are restored, facilitations discussing historical interpretations surrounding Confederate

symbols are likely be more effective. In particular, resolving moral injury trauma through accelerating empathetic stances within conflicted social groups appears likely to mediate the processing of cultural trauma resulting from historical perceptions of violence, both direct and structural.

Expansion of public memory sites. Based on recent advances in public memory theory, Danville could benefit from a shared public landscape incorporating representations from traditionally marginalized groups regarding slavery, Confederate ideology, and the Civil Rights movement. As Ross (2007) describes, this approach was implemented in Richmond, Virginia, formerly the capital of the Confederacy, with seemingly beneficial results. According to Dwyer and Alderman (2008), adding to rather than removing symbols from public memory sites may mediate "working through" contradictory memories rather than precipitating a "forgetting" or denial which impedes trauma processing (p. 11). Building on Blair's (2004) suggestions, competing commemorations of traumatic events may allow for a restructuring of public space, decreasing conflict. Similar suggestions were made by interview respondents regarding public commemoration in Danville of African Americans making positive contributions to the community.

Representation of historical narratives in Danville's educational system. Of interview respondents, regardless of social group membership or narrative represented, 64% viewed historical representations in educational systems as flawed. As part of a conflict intervention strategy, it may be helpful to form a diverse citizen committee within Danville to review history education materials used by the public school system.

Offering multiple perspectives to new generation in Danville may mediate the development of a master narrative incorporating multiple perspectives and historical interpretations, aiding in the processing of trauma.

Preliminary Model of Trauma-Informed Community Conflict Resolution

Based on the results of the Danville case study, a preliminary model for a trauma-informed community conflict resolution (TICCR) is provided below. The TICCR model is envisioned to be iterative, agile, and phased. In each phase, interventions are evaluated for efficacy. As Gamaghelyan (2017) suggests, from a conflict resolution perspective avoiding the reduction of conflict to a confrontation between two polarized sides is critical in intervention design (p. 251). To be effective, the TICCR design must allow the opportunity for all community stakeholders to have a voice and participate in resolving conflict surrounding interpretations of Confederate symbols. Rather than an imposition of solutions by outside experts, the TICCR model will provide a framework easily implemented and sustained by stakeholders in the community who have interest in resolving the conflict. Data from measurements and assessments is immediately integrated into the model in a flexible feedback loop. The typologies of trauma—cultural, moral injury, and structural—evidenced in the case study could be used as a baseline for development of trauma-informed intervention strategies. These strategies should include mechanisms for development of collective guilt and empathy. Importantly, the model is to be community-driven. This may require capacity building within Danville although numerous nonprofit organizations are currently working within the community to

improve quality of life. While phases are suggested in the model, it remains fluid rather than compartmentalized.

Figure 4. Preliminary Trauma-Informed Community Conflict Resolution (TICCR) model.

TICCR Phase 1. Phase 1 is devoted to assessment, design, and skill development. Assessments to identity typologies and levels of trauma, stage of readiness for change, and baseline of communication skills feed back into program design and implementation. Skill development would be repeated until readiness for change measures indicate a likelihood of successfully transition to Phase 2. Basic and advanced skills training in reciprocal conversation, active listening, and difficult conversations are combined with trauma-informed education. Barbara, Galtung, and Perlman (2017) offer many insightful suggestions for what they characterize as training and socialization in reconciliation (p. 179). Among those applicable to the Danville context are training in reconciliation, as well as political, cognitive, emotional, relational, and strategic maturity (Barbara et al., 2017, pp.181-182). Evidence in the present study reflects the need for skill development and mediation of readiness to change among divided groups in Danville prior to beginning interventions such as facilitations.

TICCR Phase 2. Phase 2 of the intervention would focus on reduction of the trauma typology appearing the most deleterious to community functioning based on Phase 1 assessments. Facilitations involving historical experts guiding representatives from diverse social identity groups through discussions of historical interpretations of Confederate symbols would occur in Phase 2. Facilitations would be sequenced to address nominal to most contentious issues. As in Phase 1, stage of change and trauma assessments would be used to quantify readiness for advancement to Phase 3.

TICCR Phase 3. Phase 3 of the plan would focus on conflict transformation through traditional forms of mediation such as facilitations and on mediating trauma

processing and implementing of trauma-informed training within structures and systems to reduce structural violence and resulting trauma. In addition to more traditional forms of conflict mediation, innovative participatory concepts could be implemented, such as narrative mediations, community arts projects, and the theatrical-reliving approach, a narrative-based technique for reliving history suggested by Barbara et al. (2017). Finally, citizen committees would be formed to address approaches to developing and implementing master community narratives including additions to public memory sites representing alternative perspectives and history education within public schools. Importantly, suggestions made by respondents in the study for reducing conflict would be prioritized.

Limitations and Future Research Considerations

Based on the evidence from the current investigation, sources of unprocessed trauma continue to create conflict and divisiveness with the Danville community. While the city's brand "Reimage That" holds much potential, introducing trauma-informed practices into systems, organizations, and neighborhoods within Danville appears to hold promise for reducing conflict around historical experiences and interpretations of symbols. In the four years since the Confederate National flag was removed from the Confederate memorial at the Danville City Museum, data collected from the present research suggests that little reconciliation has taken place between polarized groups. Mediating a revised solution regarding the display of the flag removed in 2015 as well as entering into facilitated discussions regarding the disposition of very large Confederate flags throughout the city may help the "Reimage That" campaign achieve its goals. Using

the TICCR model, additional research aiming toward validating the model's efficacy in reducing trauma, violence, and conflict surrounding historical interpretations of Confederate symbols is recommended.

Limitations/validating the model. The preliminary TICCR model developed from the present study was based on a limited number of participants using a qualitative case-study methodology not intended to be generalizable. Further, although results confirmed trauma both as resulting from and contributing to violence surrounding historical interpretations of Confederate symbols, this finding is limited to the present case study context. Verifying these results within the larger Danville community population using quantitative methodologies such as questionnaires or surveys conducted through random sampling is necessary.

Future research. Two critical components of the case study findings are moral injury as an inhibitor of cultural trauma and empathy as a mitigator of moral injury trauma. Future research to validate these findings is necessary. Evidenced-based research identifying existing methodologies and/or the development of new methodologies for increasing collective empathy and collective guilt are also recommended. Existing training/skill development programs for prerequisites to community facilitations may be available but must be surveyed and assessed for possible use. Likewise, building on both the present study and the work of Pinderhughes et al. (2015), assessment tools for identifying community typologies of trauma must be developed and evaluated. Conflict surrounding historical interpretations of Confederate symbols is occurring in many communities, primarily but not limited to the Southern region of the United States.

Future studies aimed at validating the usefulness of the TICCR model in communities experiencing similar conflicts seems waranted. Additionally, communities experiencing unprocessed trauma emanating from other historical sources such as colonialism may prove a profitable research environment in which to test/apply the current model. Future research which obtains data regarding perceptions of children and youth regarding Confederate symbols may help guide intervention strategies. Data generated from the present study was largely based on older adults, many of whom lived through historical experiences of trauma in Danville. Incorporating perceptions of younger persons may suggest alternative approaches to processing cultural and moral injury trauma resulting from historical events. Additional research surrounding trauma created through structural violence would also be beneficial. Mechanisms for transmission of structural trauma by systems and organizations must be identified and validated for use both in the Danville community and in other environments experiencing community traumatization.

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Biography

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