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**The Hallowed Grounds Tour: Revising and Reimagining Landscapes of Race and Slavery at the University of Alabama**

Hilary Green

“And on April 3, 1865, the Cadet Corps composed wholly of boys, went bravely forth to repel a veteran Federal invading foe, of many times their number, in a vain effort to save their alma mater. Its buildings, library and laboratories from destruction by fire, which it met at the hands of the enemy on the day following.”

-UDC Boulder plaque (May 13, 1914-June 9, 2020)[[1]](#footnote-1)

“Until 1865, it also housed the University Drum Corps, which was composed of rented slaves. One of the few University buildings not destroyed by Union forces when the campus was burned in 1865,…”

-The Little Round House, historical marker[[2]](#footnote-2)

In 2014, two campus commemorative memorials left an indelible mark during the author’s campus interview at the University of Alabama. The first was expected and unsurprising in the landscape of race and slavery. Placed on the Quad, the bronze plaque on the UDC Boulder praised the students, alumni, and townspeople who “loyally and uncomplainingly met the call of duty, in numberless instances sealing their devotion by their life blood,” but intentionally failed to mention the enslaved campus workers forced to labor at an institution in the short-lived Confederate nation committed to sustaining their perpetual enslavement. The Lost Cause interpretation of the Civil War and wartime campus destruction aligned with the hundreds of similar monuments erected in public spaces by the United Daughters of Confederacy (UDC).[[3]](#footnote-3)

The second marker convinced me that I might have a place in the University of Alabama community. The Little Round House historical marker represented an attempt to reconcile the institutional complex racial past. Its text included: “Constructed as a guard house for the Alabama Corps of Cadets during the early 1860’s, the Little Round House provided shelter from inclement weather for cadets on sentry duty. Until 1865, it also housed the University Drum Corps, which was composed of rented slaves. One of the few University buildings not destroyed by Union forces when the campus was burned in 1865,…” Sparking my intellectual curiosity, I wondered who were the enslaved drummers? What were their Civil War experiences? The University seal conveyed a subtle but important message. The campus community decided on the placement of the marker and its text. Unlike United Daughters of the Confederacy crafted text on the other monument, the UA community intentionally and accurately characterized the drummers’ status as “rented slaves” instead of using servants or another euphemism for enslaved campus laborers. This reconciliation attempt conveyed how much the University had transformed into a welcoming space that seemingly embraced its history of slavery and its legacy. The UA community chose to confront this past and not erase as it had been previously done on the UDC Boulder. A student comment raised in my Spring 2015 19th Century Black History course revealed otherwise.

“But, Dr. Green – slavery did not exist here,” said an African American male student.

His comment and implicit questioning of the course content shocked me. Almost a year earlier, a historical marker for the Little Round House/Guard House helped convince me to accept a position at the University of Alabama. When I read the marker text, I knew that the campus had made progress since mob violence blocked Autherine Lucy’s 1956 desegregation attempt and George Wallace’s infamous stand at Foster Auditorium in June 1963. Like the Civil War campus defenders, these segregationists had committed themselves to keeping African Americans out of the ranks of students, alumni and administration.[[4]](#footnote-4) His comment, though, made me painfully aware that the Little Round House marker and other post-desegregated campus additions had done little to change campus myths regarding slavery and the Civil War. Instead, the built landscape encouraged whitewashed, self-congratulatory narratives. The UDC Boulder and the Lost Cause campus commemorative landscape of race and slavery continued to shape UA students, even those students of color.

This chapter examines the process of recovering and sharing the underappreciated history of enslaved people and their descendants on the Hallowed Grounds tour at the place of my employment–the University of Alabama. As a scholar committed to amplifying the lives and experiences of ordinary Americans over the long nineteenth century with specific focus on people of African descent in the United States and Atlantic World, the recovery process and resulting race-cognizant tour reflects “rigorous and responsible creativity” for exploring the campus’s past, present, and future.[[5]](#footnote-5) At its core, the student’s comment and failed institutional attempts undergirded the research, tour design, and tour stop narratives. As a result, the Hallowed Grounds tour has changed how campus stakeholders understand the built landscape, contemplate possible revisions grounded in the archival record for dislodging the UDC project and promote current institutional values of diversity, equity and inclusion. By revising narratives of race and slavery one tour at a time, current campus stakeholders are reconceptualizing, revising, and re-imagining the University of Alabama as a landscape with a deep and complicated racial history.

***Filling Historical Voids in UA Hallowed Grounds***

Oral tradition supported by deep archival work became my vehicle for revising Lost Cause and self-congratulatory post-desegregation myths embedded in the campus landscape. To gain legitimacy, I had to convince a University community in a state with a motto proclaiming “We Defend Our Rights” while fully understanding who constitutes the “we” and the “our” has been defined by race, class, gender, ability, and historical power hierarchies. As an untenured faculty member, I accepted the challenge by limiting my early research to archival materials contained at W. S. Hoole Special Collections before expanding to UA Library digital collections, UA subscribed library databases, and accepted published campus histories. In short, I intentionally built the Hallowed Grounds tour using sources readily obtained on campus.

The recovery process has been a multi-pronged and multi-year deep archival effort. I began by exploring sources previously underappreciated by most scholars. Previous scholars have over-prioritized and in turn, overused the diaries of Basil Manly, the second UA president, enslaver, and Confederate chaplain.[[6]](#footnote-6) Scholarly overuse of the popular digitized resource posed as a major obstacle. Early skeptics felt that I would neither add new insights nor locate additional enslaved people’s names and experiences not already identified in Manly’s diaries or published scholarship. Instead, I purposefully mined both the digitized and non-digitized early University Administrative records (RG 1), early faculty meeting minutes, Civil War era Quartermaster ledgers, and the transcribed letterbooks of the last President overseeing slavery at the University. I then tracked formerly enslaved campus laborers into freedom. For exploring their afterlives of slavery and post-emancipation influences in Tuscaloosa, I used UA paid database subscriptions to Ancestry.com, Newspapers.com and other digitized collections, various Digital Humanities projects and other primary and secondary sources. My goal has been to acknowledge their humanity by learning, documenting, saying their names, and telling their histories to tour participants and other willing audiences.

In this recovery work, I am mindful that the archives were not designed for my efforts of historicizing the experiences, activism, and collective memories of African American men, women, and children. When exploring the racial history of one’s employer, the Jim Crow era archival project of white supremacy is no longer an abstract concept read about only in the scholarship. When confronting the campus landscape of race and slavery, W. Fitzhugh Brundage’s assessment reverberates. “Through decisions about the appropriate focus of archives, museums, and historical agencies, white historians and their allies effectively removed competing groups and historical alternatives from the region’s past,” he argues.[[7]](#footnote-7) “Although couched in terms of promoting civic spirit,” UA’s role in the southern archival impulse “impeded any inclusive or democratic understanding of southern history. The region’s archives and museums, reflecting the ‘highest stage’ of white supremacy, were, for all practical purposes, for whites only.”[[8]](#footnote-8) The consequences of this archival project explaining “white racial privilege as the inevitable and proper consequence of history” grounded the myths circulating on the campus and influenced current students understanding of UA’s built landscape of race and slavery, curriculum, demographics, and race relations. It becomes one’s everyday experiences.[[9]](#footnote-9) Here, I have turned to the recent work of slavery scholars and Digital Humanities scholars who seek the expansion of the archives and digital tools for exploration without merely replicating the history of early archival practices. Moving beyond written documents included in the archives, they encourage the creation and use of multidisciplinary and multidimensional methods and tools. The scholarly provocations raised by Marisa Fuentes, Tara McPherson, Moya Z. Bailey and Jessica Marie Johnson, though, convinced me to be brave and intentional in developing the Hallowed Grounds tour as an untenured faculty member.[[10]](#footnote-10)

Using this deep archival research, I purposefully looked for men, women, and children connected to the surviving antebellum buildings and buildings later named after enslavers, pro-slavery apologists and segregationists. In the process, I rediscovered enslaved campus laborers, both previously acknowledged and unacknowledged, essential for developing narratives at the various tour stops. Beyond learning their names, I had adequate research materials to make visible the diverse enslaved campus experiences for twenty-first century audiences.

Time and the built landscape influenced the tour design. The in-person Hallowed Grounds tour can be completed within a 75 minute course period. Beginning at the first building erected at the University, students and tour participations walk on the ADA compliant walkways to the following sites in this order: Gorgas House, Little Roundhouse/Guardhouse, the Mound, the President’s Mansion and outbuildings, Smith Hall, and slave cemetery. Navigating the UA walkways, participants encounter en-route the now-removed UDC monument, Morgan Hall (renamed the English Building in September 2020), Barnard Hall and Tuomey Hall. Weather permits an immersive understanding of enslaved experience. Whether in the Alabama heat or light showers, participants gain a deeper appreciation and empathy for the men, women and children who toiled without respite in all types of weather. At each locale, participants learn about a few enslaved laborers connected to the site of memory and commit to memory several names by saying them in a call and response format and begin to view the campus from the perspective of enslaved.

More importantly, the tour connects the archival research, the built landscape, and intended goal of unsilencing the historical voids of UA’s slave past and complex legacy. Each locale showcases the historical research in a manner that engages participants with the complex institutional racial past and encourages further conversation by telling fuller and inclusive histories. The remaining sections sheds light on the research and application during every Hallowed Grounds tour.

***Enslaved Civil War Drummers and the Little Round House***

As I worked in W. S. Hoole Special Collections, the narrative for the second tour stop became apparent. Despite having a historical marker, the names and experiences of enslaved University Drum Corp members remained absent. The transcribed letterbooks of the third university President, a Civil War Quartermaster ledger, and other Civil War documents of the early administrative records easily revealed their names and campus experiences. Gabe and Neal, the first two drummers, were enslaved by Judge Watson and Mrs. Watson of Montgomery. A surviving transcribed pass granted them permission to visit family in Montgomery and Mobile while the cadets were on break. Mrs. Watson, moreover, rebuffed President Garland’s attempt to purchase the drummers and then increased her rate for their subsequent hire.[[11]](#footnote-11) The surviving Quartermaster ledger showed how they were paid for using the “Music Fund” and not the “Servant Fund” employed for other slave hires.[[12]](#footnote-12) They also were not impressed like the thirty-eight men used in the construction of earthenworks between December 9, 1863 and January 18, 1864.[[13]](#footnote-13) The Little Round House/Guard House was built after their arrival in early 1861. Other enslaved people constructed this site. Officials boarded them off-campus until the structure was built.[[14]](#footnote-14) In 1864, Crawford replaced Neal per President Garland’s request.[[15]](#footnote-15) Gabe and Crawford stood on the surviving steps and alerted students of the approaching Federal forces as ordered on April 3, 1865. The drummers participated in the retreat from campus. Their post-retreat fates remain unclear. Yet, the ease of discovery of their names and insights into their campus experiences raised questions regarding the slave cabin built during the Civil War. Why and how did the University of Alabama erase the names of the three drummer while simultaneously employ the site for the promotion of the Lost Cause memorial landscape and ideology before desegregation? [**Image of the 1961 Corolla cover**]

While the institution repurposed Little Round House/Guard House, the *Corollas*, the UA yearbooks, revealed the role of intentional erasure for sustaining a pro-Confederate campus culture. The structure became a regular building feature in student organization photos, visual surveys of campus life, and adorned the cover during significant Civil War anniversaries.[[16]](#footnote-16) The 1912 *Corolla* encapsulates the primary role of the site for the Jim Crow era campus. Incorrectly captioned as the “only remaining building of the old university,”[[17]](#footnote-17) the wartime slave cabin recalled the Old University destroyed on April 4, 1865; and like the phoenix, the modern university emerged out of the ashes. Students and the campus community chose forgetting the names and presence of Neal, Crawford and Gabe. Instead, they promoted Ed Gould and Dan Spencer as representative loyal Civil War-era slaves who maintained their fidelity to the University after emancipation.[[18]](#footnote-18) Likewise, they would uphold and defend the Lost Cause by keeping the institution an educational space where African Americans could only retain subservient roles as low-waged employees. They found comfort in sustaining these myths over remembering the three enslaved drummers who labored in and around the Little Round House/Guard House until meaningful desegregation forced them to acknowledge a new reality.

***Enslaved Women and Children at the President’s Mansion***

The President’s Mansion, on the other hand, employs the surviving outbuildings, Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) and second University President’s diaries for showcasing the experiences and spaces inhabited by enslaved women and their children. Faculty purposefully limited the campus geographies of enslaved women. According to the Faculty By-Laws determined at the first Faculty Meeting in October 1831, section nine specified: “Resolved – That no female servant be permitted for any reason whatsoever, to enter any of the College buildings; and should any student be found countenancing in any way a violation of this regulation, he shall be dealt with as the nature of the offence [sic] may require.”[[19]](#footnote-19) This prohibition limited institutional liability but meant women appear as the victims of sexual violence or in the households of the Presidents who brought and utilized their own enslaved property during their respective administrations. As a such, the second University President carefully noted all births that occurred on campus by Mary, Lydia, and Sabra who worked in kitchen, well/washroom, and the Mansion while rearing their families in the two surviving slave quarters. Collectively noted as Slave Cabins 1-4, the HABS of the President’s Mansion allows for debunking the post-desegregation sanitized characterization of these buildings as garden sheds, garage, and facilities breakroom.[[20]](#footnote-20) Tour participants learn the unvarnished truth of these women’s experiences, the names of the children born on campus, and the spaces where they worked and played. [**Image of HABS of one of the four slave cabins**]

When the children reached a particular age, tour participants also learn how Manly separated them from their mothers using the hiring-out system. Before her tenth birthday, Manly hired out Binkey to a local merchant’s household as a domestic servant. Separated from her mother and community, she rebelled and quickly returned to campus. Manly remained undeterred by her act of resistance. He hired her out to several households in Tuscaloosa and as far south as Mobile.[[21]](#footnote-21) Upon reaching adolescence, other children born at the campus shared similar fates. Manly hired out Julia as a domestic in a local household. Interestingly, Manly hired out William and Archy together to initially to a local farm and then a Marengo County, Alabama plantation. Based on the surviving hiring contracts, Manly sought educating the young boys for lives as docile and non-resistant agricultural laborers. From birth to adolescence, these enslaved children benefitted from the extended community behind the President’s Mansion. They did simple campus chores, played, and experienced a brief childhood before profit margins forced their separation from mothers, parents and the University slave community.[[22]](#footnote-22)

Collectively, these archival sources have allowed me to convey one enslaved mother’s grief to twenty-first century audiences. When her son William “Boysey” died on campus, a close reading of Manly’s diary entry demonstrates Mary’s role in urging her enslaver to conduct at funeral sermon conducted at the President’s Mansion before the enslaved community interred him in the University Burial Grounds. Other enslaved people died but Manly rarely delivered their funeral sermon, even for his own enslaved property.[[23]](#footnote-23) In this instance, a mother who had labored in the President’s Mansion after arriving from South Carolina with a toddler in tow, mourned the loss of her son. Participants leave this tour stop by understanding how motherhood shaped Mary’s experiences and campus geography beyond the President’s Mansion to the campus cemetery where her son was buried. Although her son is better known to current campus community, the slavery apology marker continued the erasure of the enslaved mother’s name, grief, and gendered campus experience.[[24]](#footnote-24)

***Enslaved Laborers’ Soul Value in Postbellum Buildings***

Faculty minutes and Manly diaries for understanding the relationship of Sam and Moses with two faculty members who had buildings named after them in the Lost Cause landscape. Owned directly by the institution, bills of sales note the enslaved men’s monetary value, but other archival documents reveal their “soul value.” Historian Daina Ramey Berry defined soul value as the “intangible marker that often defied monetization yet spoke to the spirit and soul of who they were as human being. It represented the self worth of enslaved people.”[[25]](#footnote-25) As such, their campus experience differed greatly than enslaved women who labored in the President’s Mansion and faculty households. These men also differed from the individuals hired out occasionally or even for the unrecorded names of teams of men and boys hired for the cutting and maintenance of the grass, trees, and landscape. Since unknown remains the largest category of enslaved people who labored on campus, these men stood apart.

Sam and Moses had soul value. Intimate relationship with faculty, students, and the administration afforded them with opportunities to define and even negotiate their worth. Sam arrived on March 11, 1839 and departed on February 18, 1851.[[26]](#footnote-26) After his arrival as a gift from the Alabama governor, subsequent diary entries and faculty meeting minutes reveal Sam’s use in the classroom as an assistant to Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard, but also his frequent acts of resistance. In terms of Sam’s soul value, his numerous acts of resistance, thwarted sale attempts and final departure as the purchased property of Mr. Connerly showed that “no monetary value could allow them to comply with slavery.”[[27]](#footnote-27) The profits netted from Sam’s sale, moreover, facilitated the purchase of Isaac, according to Manly’s own notation. Purchased for $1300 dollars, Isaac’s assessed monetarily value was comparable to market value prices placed on men of his age and assessed physical and mental condition. Yet, his soul value is not as well defined as the individual whose sale enabled the purchase by UA faculty.[[28]](#footnote-28) Michael Tuomey employed Moses in his state geological research as an able field assistant for two months and invoiced the institution for the costs incurred. He also performed other work for the professor around campus.[[29]](#footnote-29) Despite this faculty connection, Moses often found himself under attack by students. These incidents prompted investigations and often disciplinary action. Moses’s soul value embodies the ways in which enslaved individuals “weakened by enslavement, negotiated certain levels of commodification to survive their experience.”[[30]](#footnote-30) The postwar naming of two buildings for Barnard and Tuomey allows for deeper discussions of these faculty connections to institutional slavery, the experiences of Sam and Moses, and naming practices as part of the construction of the Lost Cause commemorative campus.

***Afterlives of Slavery at Smith Hall***

Yearbooks, newspapers, student publications, African American periodicals and a historic African American newspaper published in Tuscaloosa facilitates productive discussions of memory and the legacy of UA’s slave past. Promotion of the faithful slave narratives contrasted sharply with development of an African American educated middle class, faculty, students, and alumni at Stillman College, a Presbyterian HBCU, and other black Tuscaloosa residents. Outside of Smith Hall, the second to last tour destination, these materials permit discussions of racial exclusionary practices of the campus, introduction of the afterlives of known campus laborers as educators, politicians, institutional builders, and community members, and conclude the discussion of the mob violence contributing to the failed desegregation attempt of Autherine Lucy Foster. By standing on the grounds outside of Smith Hall, tour participants are forced to grapple with how the slave past informed the gathering of a mob and the violent journey of Lucy from her classroom to safety where they stand at this locale.[[31]](#footnote-31) [**Image of the 1956 mob in front of Smith Hall during the day**]

Collective forgetting remains within the institutional DNA of the built campus landscape. Slavery, race, and its malleability over time still remains present. The introduction of a significant African American student body after Lucy’s failed attempt and 1965 graduation of the first African American student, however, has enabled the placement of new markers and structures to the landscape, specifically the Little Roundhouse historical marker, Autherine Lucy clock tower, the Malone-Hood Plaza, Autherine Lucy Foster historical marker, John England Jr. Hall (a residential dormitory) and the slavery apology marker. These additions tend to promote self-congratulatory institutional narratives more than reflection, reconciliation, and opportunities for meaningful learning from the institutional racial past in the building of a more diverse present and future.[[32]](#footnote-32)

***Slavery Cemetery, Apology Marker and Reconciliation Attempted***

All Hallowed Grounds tours end at a cemetery marked by the 2006 slavery apology marker. The remaining fragment of the original University burial grounds lies nestled between the Biology building and the Transportation Center on the campus of the University of Alabama (UA). The small marker in front of the iron fencing marker notes the names of two enslaved campus laborers and a UA student who were originally interred. The surviving headstones offers insights on the institutional relationship with faculty member’s widow who regularly hired out her enslaved carpenter to the University for several decades and her relatives in the landscape. When combined with Manly’s diaries, Faculty Minutes, and media coverage, this cemetery and slavery apology marker deepens understanding on slavery, foundational institutional role, and later reconciliation attempts.

Following the death of a student, Basil Manly initiated the series of events contributing to the establishment of the University burial grounds. The death of Samuel James perturbed the second University President for the institutional lack of infrastructure for such occurrences. Despite providing medical care, Manly secured James’s last requests including the distribution of five dollars to enslaved campus servants and dying words to his mother. He died on October 20, 1839.[[33]](#footnote-33) Manly immediately appealed to Governor Arthur P. Bagby and other university trustees. They quickly granted his request. James became the first internment on the designated land “just East of the college enclosure” on October 21, 1839. The cemetery was appropriately fenced. Although unclear of the reasons, the family later disinterred James from the campus cemetery.[[34]](#footnote-34)

Although created out of necessity, the enslaved inhabitants made the cemetery noteworthy.Jack Rudolph became the first documented enslaved person interred. Enslaved campus laborers were either interred in a city cemetery or transported to their enslavers for interment.[[35]](#footnote-35) Enslaved by President Manly, the normal procedures did not apply. He extensively noted the elderly enslaved man’s death from “bilious Pneumonia” in his May 5, 1843 diary entry: “He was an African, a member of the Methodist Church, honest and faithful, did as much and as well as he knew how.”[[36]](#footnote-36) William Brown, a seven-year old who labored alongside his mother Mary on campus, became the second documented enslaved person interred. Manly detailed the young boy’s nickname, nature of his death, and the funeral service conducted before having “him buried in the University burying ground.”[[37]](#footnote-37) These detailed entries framed the later twentieth and twenty-first century reconciliation efforts at the University. Following the 2004 institutional apology, text of the slavery apology marker showcased Jack and William Boysey, their death dates and causes of death as justification for the apology and placement of the marker. The use of the surnames, however, assuage institutional guilt over their active participation in slavery and silencing an accurate narrative of its slave past. Like fine art, Manly ascribed surnames of previous enslavers before Jack and William came into his possession. Rudolph and Brown merely denoted provenance and ownership and not family genealogy. By placing the surnames of the marker text, the UA community continued the violent practices of slavery in an attempt to make the apology marker more palatable. These later efforts encouraged a self-congratulatory narrative of atonement for Jack and William while simultaneously silencing the other enslaved individuals interred on campus.[[38]](#footnote-38)

While never solely employed for enslaved campus laborers, a color line existed. The surviving cemetery fragment contains several members of the Pratt family. Horace S. Pratt was an early faculty member who regularly hired out William, an enslaved carpenter sometimes assisted by Edward, an enslaved apprentice to the University.[[39]](#footnote-39) Following his August 1840 death, his widow Isabel Pratt maintained a relationship with the University until her 1864 death. She and her sister Mary Drysdale continued the practice of hiring out several enslaved laborers, including William, a master carpenter responsible for constructing the dome of present-day Maxwell Hall, furniture, and other carpentry work for the next two decades.[[40]](#footnote-40) Her stepson attended the school and eventually joined the faculty. Her son enrolled at the University but died before completing his degree. He was buried in the campus cemetery.[[41]](#footnote-41) As a close friend of Manly and her husband’s role at the University, Isabel Pratt requested the title of the land where her relatives were buried from the Board of Trustees in 1854. The Board granted the request with a provision of reverting the land back to the University if the Pratt family abandoned the cemetery. Thus, Isabel Pratt, her sister, her son, and her stepdaughter secured prominent places in the burial grounds and cemented it as yet another visible reminder of the University’s complicated slave past in the built landscape.[[42]](#footnote-42) [**Image of 1950 Slave Cemetery**]

Although surviving the April 4, 1865 campus destruction, the cemetery shrank as the University expanded into a modern research university. Much of the old cemetery, including the majority of students and enslaved people originally interred, lies hidden under concrete parking lots, buildings, and new green spaces. The surviving fragment consists of the Pratt family cemetery; however, University lore, archives, and a 1953 official campus history interchangeably remembered the site as a slave cemetery, University cemetery, and the Pratt cemetery in photographs, ephemera, and genealogical materials.[[43]](#footnote-43) The 2001 arrival of a UA law professor contributed to its current designation marked by the slavery apology marker with the problematic text for Jack Rudolph and William Brown.[[44]](#footnote-44)

Al Brophy, a Harvard University trained intellectual historian with a law degree from Columbia University, embarked on a multi-pronged campaign toward the embrace of the enslaved inhabitants.[[45]](#footnote-45) Focusing on the archival record of Basil Manly, the Law School professor publicized his research findings and engaged the entire university community. His efforts garnered the support of faculty, student groups, and community activists.[[46]](#footnote-46) Vocal critics also responded. Skeptics questioned the value of the apology which reopened “old wounds.”[[47]](#footnote-47) Hostile critics derided Brophy and his growing number of allies as part of an “imported intelligentsia” engaged in “the most ridiculous example of political-correctness run amok.”[[48]](#footnote-48) Others likened Brophy to a terrorist who waged “cultural genocide.”[[49]](#footnote-49) Media coverage amplified this opposition and generally characterized the movement as a one-man show that railroaded the University into the debates over slavery, reparations, and the fate of the cemetery.[[50]](#footnote-50)

Ultimately, Brophy and his coalition secured an institutional apology described on the slavery apology marker. Brophy presented the drafted resolution for consideration at the March 16, 2004 meeting. It was referred to the Faculty Life Committee and brought to a final vote at the April 20, 2004 meeting. In a 36 to 1 vote, the Faculty Senate concurred with Robert Witt’s April 15, 2004 apology. In approving the resolution, Senators ignored the sole dissenter’s prepared written statement regarding the futility of apologizing “for something that happened so long ago.”[[51]](#footnote-51) The movement achieved a milestone. The final resolution, however, issued the apology, approved a new historical marker, and yet edited out the creation of a truth and reconciliation commission that Brown University and later schools implemented. [[52]](#footnote-52)

Days before the second anniversary of the apology, the University erected a historical marker in front of the cemetery. The plaque text draws directly from Manly diaries and accepted university histories. The plaque, though, does not include the names of the other known students (Samuel Jones and Horace S. Pratt), the other unnamed enslaved people interred in the burial grounds, the Pratt family, and other uses of the original cemetery.[[53]](#footnote-53) [**Insert image of marker text**] This rewriting of history, including the apology process, carried forward into the *Tuscaloosa News* coverage of the dedication. The preservation of the cemetery also never resulted in the desired rebalance of campus history. The marker, though, forever enshrined the site as a slave cemetery marked with the slavery apology marker.[[54]](#footnote-54)

The preserved cemetery and new historical marker did not immediately contribute to the desired reconciliation. For cleansing identity,” as Clarke and Fine argue, “apologies, along with material and ideological support for those apologies are essential.”[[55]](#footnote-55) The University completed three of the four essential components of apologies used for reconciliation with the 2006 erection of a historical marker. Yet, the fourth component–“a commitment, explicit or implicit, to reparation”–remained unfulfilled.[[56]](#footnote-56) Rather, the emergence of a ‘we gave them a marker’ culture prevented meaningful conversations and a university-wide suppression of this bold acknowledgement. In 2008, Brophy joined the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The efforts of a few professors and the occasional *Crimson White* articles on the cemetery proved incapable of moving the campus toward meaningful reconciliation.[[57]](#footnote-57) From 2006 to 2015, the slavery apology marker and cemetery remained hidden in plain sight of the ever-expanding university.

Since 2015, I have walked the campus with over 4,900 individuals on the Hallowed Grounds tour and end at this final destination. Tour participants learn the complicated history of the cemetery; but they also say the names of the two known enslaved inhabitants. They often find the cemetery’s existence, the marker’s text, and the University’s bold 2004 leadership striking. Instead of being shamed as the original apology critics feared, these current beneficiaries of the complex slave past leave empowered and better equipped to engage in the ongoing process of reconciliation. Most importantly, participants are more well-versed in the complicated history of slavery embodied in the cemetery at the University of Alabama. Moving beyond the problematic building names, tour participants question the lack of institutional progress since the 2004 apology and how might they be part of reconciling this silenced history in the built landscape defined by slavery and the Lost Cause ideology.[[58]](#footnote-58) Above all, they have wanted a more central role for the cemetery, slavery apology marker, and other Hallowed Grounds tour stops in defining the campus’s present and future.[[59]](#footnote-59)

***Toward a Revised University of Alabama Landscape: A 2020 Post-Script***

In response to the 2020 George Floyd murder amid a global COVID-19 pandemic, University of Alabama (UA) officials paid heed to the demands made by African American stakeholders and their diverse allies for a revised campus landscape defined by slavery, the Lost Cause and Jim Crow segregation. On June 8, 2020, UA removed the UDC Boulder plaque and two other Confederate memorial plaques and announced a UA system commission tasked with reconsidering problematic building names. The following day, more importantly, a facilities crew hoisted the 110-year old UDC Boulder off its pedestal and removed it from the centrally located Quad to an undisclosed location.[[60]](#footnote-60)

University officials accepted the first of two UDC Confederate memorials in May 1914. Placed in the center of original Rotunda, the original monument rested on a small mound surrounded by a concrete border memorial financed by the Class of 1912. The unveiling of the UDC Boulder attracted former Confederate veterans, students, faculty, and townspeople. As part of the festivities, UA held a graduation ceremony for the surviving Civil War cadets and their families Morgan Hall auditorium. Like other Lost Cause symbols, the UDC Boulder featured prominently in yearbooks and daily campus activities. This Lost Cause monument, however, excluded the names and service of University Drum Corps, the hired out laborers using student fees and impressed individuals who built campus fortifications during the winter of 1863-1864. The UDC Boulder stood sentry on the Quad for over one hundred years.[[61]](#footnote-61)

On the grounds where these Lost Cause memorials and buildings honoring certain heroes and heroine towered over the landscape, campus admirers, whether in the Jim Crow era or present diverse student body, rarely consider the workers who make it possible. "The hard truth," South African historian Jonathan Cane reminds us that these underpaid and often people of color "were (and indeed remain) anonymous, nameless, faceless, history-less. The workers are a part of the background."[[62]](#footnote-62) Like the enslaved individuals incorporated in the Hallowed Grounds tours, their names, exploited labor, and histories of the predominantly African American facilities workers are forgettable parts of the background unless purposely recovered and resurrected by historians and scholars committed to telling fuller and inclusive campus narratives. If this persistent and unacknowledged legacy of UA's slave past is not addressed, neither removals or new additions will be adequate in achieving meaningful reconciliation of the campus landscapes of race and slavery.

The removal of the UDC Boulder, though, has provided University with a significant opportunity to deal with its built landscape. The June 2020 removal has forestalled one difficult campus conversation of when the walkway of football captains and co-captains would have collided with the former Lost Cause memorial. As the Alabama football team is predominantly African American, the collision of modern tradition with the Lost Cause tradition would have prompted uneasy and difficult conversations where the college sports industries as neo-plantations analogy advanced by sports journalist Kevin B. Blackistone have been at the forefront.[[63]](#footnote-63) By eliminating that hard conversation, UA administrators and current stakeholders can now imagine a different built landscape where a large scale public art installation can facilitate repair, reconciliation, and a pathway forward. The addition and removal of markers alone has proven inadequate. Education, new narratives, and sites of reflections are mainstays for promoting sustained dialogue throughout an ever changing campus community. Here, UA can draw upon several models for dealing the history exposed by the Hallowed Grounds Tour and the archival work undergirding the public history project. The professionally commissioned examples of the enslaved memorials at William and Mary and University of Virginia as well as memorials to modern wars, genocide and American lynchings are possible in the space now devoid of a massive stone monument. Or, they create a piece using the talents and expertise of its faculty and invite the entire current campus and Tuscaloosa communities in the process.

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