The Burden of the University of Alabama's Hallowed Grounds

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"But Dr. Green, slavery did not exist on our campus." This comment, raised by a male African American junior in my second semester at the University of Alabama (UA), launched my research into the campus history of slavery, the experiences of the enslaved, and their legacies. His comment revealed how this history and enduring legacy continue to shape all who encounter the space. Institutional forgetting and exploitation are imprinted onto the campus DNA. It still permits many to refuse to see the complete campus even when tailgating on UA's Quad. Beginning with the Fall 2020 football season, tailgaters may no longer see the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) Boulder, a Lost Cause memorial erected in 1914; yet other sites of slavery and its aftermath will remain in their purview.[1] Official campus tours reinforce the erasure of enslaved African American labor and experiences through the use of "servants" instead of "slaves," while pointing out to future campus stakeholders buildings honoring enslavers, proslavery apologists, and segregationists without mentioning their namesakes' past. The popular slogan, "Built by Bama," has obscured for the UA community the enslaved men, women, and children who actually built the university. The few markers and vague language on existing markers and plaques hides rather than reveals the history hidden in plain sight.

The University of Alabama has had plenty of opportunities to reconcile its slave past. The post-civil war campus could have followed the University of South Carolina's lead, as shown by historian Tyler Parry, and accept Black students. But such soul-searching would not occur until the failed 1956 desegregation attempt by Autherine Lucy. Mob rule even stymied those efforts until the federal intervention that followed the 1963 stand at the schoolhouse door. The campus community did not attempt any sincere reconciliation of its slave past and its legacy until the early

1 Stephanie Taylor, "University of Alabama Removes Confederate Monument," *Tuscaloosa News*, June 9, 2020.

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2000s.[2] Spearheaded by UA law professor Alfred L. Brophy, a coalition of faculty, students, and concerned individuals began a truth-telling process, secured an institutional apology in 2004, and erected a slavery apology marker in 2006. Yet the lack of sustained efforts and a well-connected vocal opposition allowed for the reemergence of collective forgetting regarding the institutional slave past. As a result, the initial campus coalition failed to secure the hoped-for repair and reconciliation.[3]

Author discussing the Little Round House marker on a February 2020 Hallowed Grounds tour. (Photo by author)

2 Tyler D. Parry, "The Radical Experiment of South Carolina: The History and Legacy of a Reconstructed University," *Journal of African American History* 105, forthcoming 2020; Ellen Griffith Spears and James C. Hall, "Engaging the Racial Landscape at the University of Alabama," in *Slavery and the University: Histories and Legacies,* ed. Leslie M. Harris, James T. Campbell, and Alfred L. Brophy (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2019), 301–5, 309–10; B. J. Hollars, *Opening the Doors: The Desegregation of the University of Alabama and the Fight for Civil Rights in Tuscaloosa* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2013), 26–33, 86–96. For an overview of early attempts of institutional reconciliation efforts, see Leslie Harris, "Higher Education's Reckoning with Slavery," *Academe* 106 (Winter 2020), https://www.aaup.org/article/higher-education's-reckoning-slavery#.Xq9cSS-z06U.

3 Brophy, "The University and the Slaves," 118–119; Clarke and Fine, "'A' for Apology," 97–102; Spears and Hall, "Engaging the Racial Landscape at the University of Alabama," 299. 304–305.

Recognizing the limitations of earlier efforts, since late January 2015, I have developed an alternate campus tour, offered lectures based on the tour, and presented it in various formats (guest, public, and invited lecture) to almost five thousand individuals. Additionally, I have created accessible Adobe Spark and printable PDF tour versions, developed a preliminary digital history presence, presented the work at other campus communities, and authored several short publications. I have discovered allies among students, faculty, staff, and alumni. I became part of a new campus movement toward a full reckoning of UA's slave past and its legacy that has sought to overcome the limitations of the earlier push to confront the legacy of campus slavery. In all of this work, I have confronted, and remain troubled by, a legacy of erasure of the labor of Black women from slavery to the present.

In a 2018 collection of essays, Rochelle Riley and the assembled contributors demonstrated the burden posed by the enduring legacy of slavery, one carried disproportionately by African Americans. This burden is physical, emotional, and often invisible to others who have the privilege to ignore the plight of African Americans and other marginalized communities. This burden ought not be minimized as it cannot be ignored by those who experience it. Slavery and its legacy are, as Rochelle Riley put it, a "wound that has not been allowed to heal. You cannot heal what you do not treat. You cannot heal what you do not see as a problem."[4] This festering wound still infects not only the nation but African Americans who matriculate, visit, and work at institutions built by the labor and profits of enslaved African Americans. Student athletes, including members of Crimson Tide football team, bear the additional burden of grappling with sports industries as neo-plantations, an analogy advanced by sports journalist Kevin B. Blackistone. This burden will "continue to color our journey—darkly," unless, as Riley contends, "we [the nation] put the burden down."[5]

Since the political is personal, in this essay, I hope to shed light on the burden of one individual who feels how the University of Alabama's slave past and its legacy continues to haunt current campus stakeholders. I regularly traverse the campus's hallowed grounds. As a Black woman, I acutely feel how the legacy of University of Alabama's slave past, the experiences of enslaved African American women, and African American women's postbellum labor shape my own campus experiences. I am fully cognizant of the burden placed upon my shoulders. The decision whether to reject or embrace the burden is one required of all African American campus stakeholders. As a scholar-activist, I accepted the burden foisted upon me but on my own terms. This is the burden shared by the other contributors laboring at other institutions attempting to reconcile their slave past. By reclaiming UA's

4 Rochelle Riley, "Introduction," in *The Burden: African Americans and the Enduring Impact of Slavery*, ed. Rochelle Riley (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2018), 6.

5 Kevin Blackistone, "Sports Industries as Plantations," in Riley, *The Burden*, 65–68. Riley, "Introduction," *The Burden*, 3.

hallowed grounds, I hope that the present campus community and the Tuscaloosa descendant community might fully shed the burden and move to a better, more inclusive and healthy future.

Under normal circumstances, the recovery process of early African American history is difficult. It forces an individual to cope with the unvarnished truth of violence and acceptance of institutionalized white supremacy while piecing together the archival traces of those who lived, loved, cried, and survived. This work has been and remains hard, tireless, and unpaid. I have not received a course release, additional compensation, or been credited towards expectations for tenure and promotion—this work is on top of my normal teaching and research expectations. It is not even counted as university service; I still am expected to serve on committees. It has meant dealing with the threats of possible tenure denial and burnout while navigating the written and unwritten tenure and promotion process endured by faculty of color.[6]

Every tour is physically and emotionally taxing. My voice becomes strained while sharing the diverse narratives to audiences ranging from thirty-to-fifty individuals. A portable microphone has lessened the damage to my vocal cords. My feet are tired. I am often drenched in sweat from the Alabama heat, glistening from exertion under comfortable weather conditions, or damp on areas not shielded by an umbrella during light showers. Of course, it is not nearly as tough on me as the people that I am discussing who labored under the same sun and humidity. Still, emotionally, the narration of slavery and experiences of enslaved people also takes its toll. I regularly have to cope with the emotional feedback given by tour participants and attempt to answer satisfactorily their questions. I patiently refer participants to books, articles, and other sources for additional self-exploration after the tour. As a result, I am usually exhausted by the end of every tour. Occasionally, I maintain my energy until I return to my office for an hour respite. Often however, it is a ten-minute break as I rush to teach another class.

Despite the difficulties, it has been rewarding. Campus conversations have changed. My undergraduate and graduate students are introduced to the archival record through library visits and course assignments. African American descendant communities make use of the digital history materials. Several African American alumni, including some Alabama football-turned-NFL legends, have sent e-mails of encouragement for telling this history. The student who first questioned the existence of slavery at UA has graduated and joined the staff while pursuing his master's degree and regularly encourages students of color to learn the history by taking my tour.

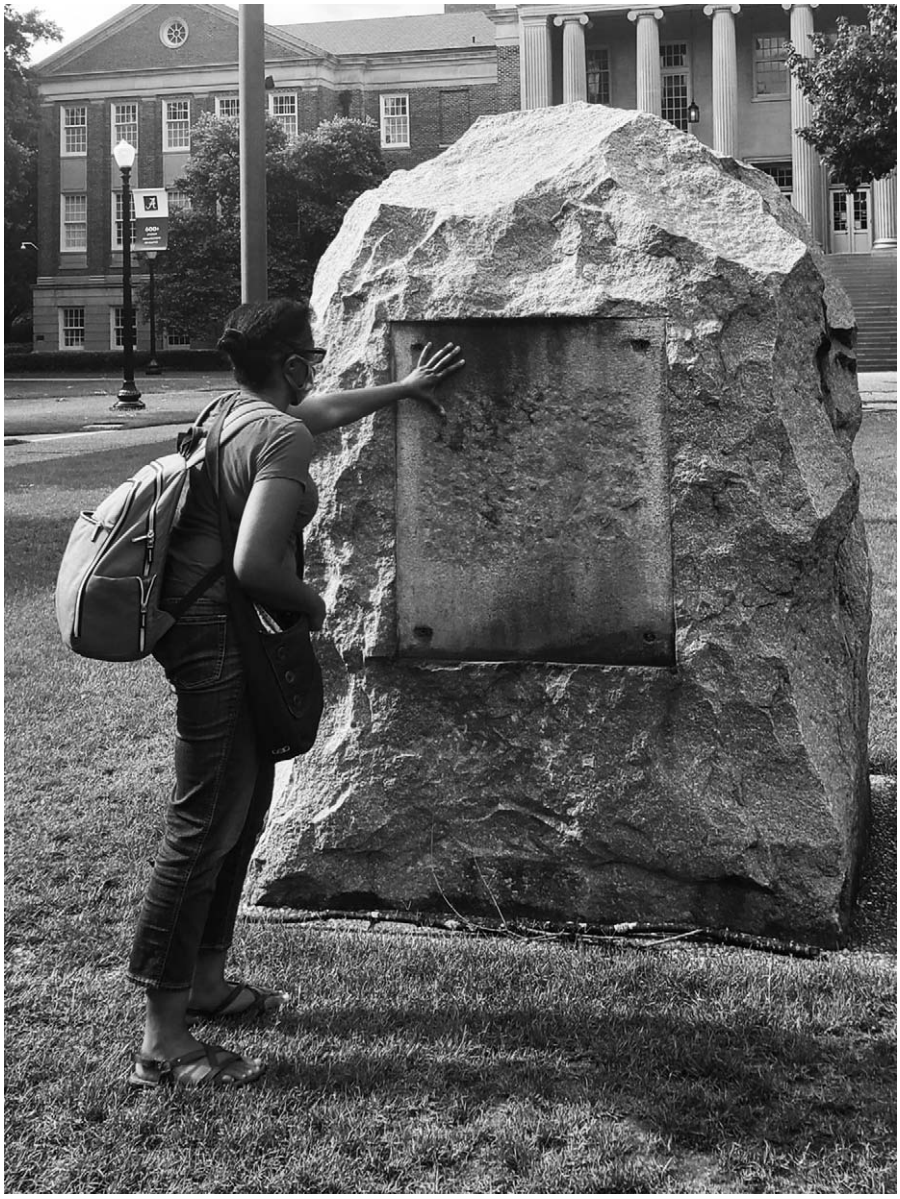
6 The challenges of tenure and promotion and invisible labor endured by faculty of color are numerous and documented in several edited collections. See Deborah Gray White, *Telling Histories: Black Women Historians in the Ivory Tower* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), Gabriella Gutiérrez y Muhs, Yolanda Flores Niemann, Carmen G. González, and Angela P. Harris, eds., *Presumed Incompetent: The Intersections of Race and Class for Women in Academia* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2012), and Patricia Matthew, *Written/Unwritten: Diversity and the Hidden Truths of Tenure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

Further, the university seems more willing to engage in its history of slavery. In response to the 2020 George Floyd murder amid the global COVID-19 pandemic, UA officials paid heed to decades-long yet increasingly amplified demands to revisit our landscape of toil in bondage. On June 8, 2020, UA responded to a petition drafted by students by removing three memorial plaques from the Gorgas Library and another from the UDC Boulder and also announced a UA systemwide committee charged with reconsidering problematic building names. Within minutes of receiving an administration e-mail communication announcing the changes, I stumbled upon the removed plaques and captured an image of the UDC Boulder sans the Lost Cause plaque with my cellphone. I stood awestruck at the sight. The following day, the UDC Boulder disappeared from the Quad, relocated to an undisclosed location.[7] Since students had a role in this development, I like to think that their demands drew from my five-year effort of telling the fuller story and resisting the Lost Cause and Jim Crow campus landscape. They firmly understood the burden of UA's hallowed grounds.

In a now widely shared photograph, I relished the moment of being present and forever linked to campus history. Yet, doubt soon crept in. Would a "we removed two markers and a monument, so we solved racism" culture emerge and stall the implementation of systemic change? Will the names of the enslaved men, women, and children again become subsumed by institutional collective forgetting and self-congratulatory narratives?

The burden on myself and other faculty of color has not diminished. Rather, nominal success has brought new challenges. The recent campus history has been repackaged by the university administration in order to avoid angering certain, predominantly white, constituents while simultaneously claiming credit themselves for advancing institutional diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives. Skeptics and critics persist, though few in comparison to supporters. In an e-mail sent to the administration and forwarded to me, one individual has accused me of dishonoring the reputation of a long dead faculty member who profited from the campus services, both physical and sexual, performed by his enslaved property. This e-mail did not surprise me. It arrived after the student newspaper featured a front-page, full-length photograph of me discussing the experiences of enslaved women in front of the President's Mansion on the Hallowed Grounds tour. Its tone and content echoed the attacks levied against those, especially law professor Al Brophy, involved in the early 2000s movement that resulted in the institutional apology. The insulting language about my race and gender, and the purposeful misclassification of

7 The University of Alabama System Board of Trustees, UA President Stuart Bell and Chancellor Finis St. John, "Joint statement regarding plaque removals at UA and formation of Building Names Review Committee," June 8, 2020, University of Alabama System Office, Tuscaloosa, AL, https://uasystem.edu/news/2020/06/joint-statement-regarding-plaque-removals-at-ua-and-formation-of-building-names-review-committee/; Taylor, "University of Alabama Removes Confederate Monument."



Author in front of the revised UDC Boulder on June 8, 2020. (Photo by author)

my status as a student and not a faculty member, served as the primary difference between this e-mail and earlier critiques principally targeting Brophy, a white male.[8]

8 "FW: Concerns Regarding UA's Walking Tour on Slavery," e-mail, February 26, 2019; Jessa Reid Bolling, "Teaching the Truth," *The Crimson White*, February 19, 2019, 1; Alfred L. Brophy, "The University and the Slaves: Apology and Its Meaning," in *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past,* ed. Mark Gibney, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud, and Niklaus Steiner (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 114–17; Max Clarke and Gary Alan Fine, "'A' for Apology: Slavery

We must therefore be cautious that removal is not seen as the end but beginning of the process. When I began my research, I became part of the renewed campus movement along with some members of the faculty coalition created in 2004. They secured a new Faculty Senate resolution and a university committee has been formed. Headed by the Vice President and Associate Provost for Diversity, Equity and Inclusion, the university is again moving in the direction of seeking to repair and reconcile. Yet the committee's work, its charge, and final outcomes remain distant. The 2006 slavery apology marker has, for some, foreclosed the necessity of sustained engagement. As one white male STEM faculty member informed me: "We gave them a marker." With some official recognition, it seems easier to deny the institutional history, promote a false belief that new markers and removals alone absolve the burden, and even expect others to do the heavy lifting. The original promise made in 2004 and restated in 2006 remains unfulfilled as the expected labor disproportionately falls on the shoulders of a few committed individuals.[9]

Why do we persist? Why do we continue to bear this burden?

For my part, I now occupy the long history of African Americans on the campus. Without the labor of enslaved men, women and children, I would not be at the University of Alabama in an office in a building named after Basil Manly, a major enslaver. As a faculty member in the Department of Gender and Race Studies, and as an historian, I cannot let students, especially African American students, enter my classroom, graduate, and sustain the myths and silences of campus slavery and the enslaved laborers' experiences. As a Black woman, I regularly confront the institutional history of enslaved women's experiences and their enduring legacy when I enter my office and walk UA's hallowed grounds. With every step, the burden is not an abstract, forgettable historical artifact. It is my everyday reality.

One way I have confronted this legacy directly is by recovering the voices of enslaved women themselves. Basil Manly, the second and longest serving UA president, created an extensive archival record that unintentionally offers insights onto enslaved women's diverse experiences. Scholars, until now, have focused on one enslaved woman—Luna. Enslaved by Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard, a UA

and the Collegiate Discourses of Remembrances–the Cases of Brown University and the University of Alabama," *History and Memory* 22 (Spring/Summer 2010): 97–102.

9 Ruben Tarajano, "Our University Must Further its Recognition of the History of Slavery," *The Crimson White*, February 19, 2018, https://cw.ua.edu/42828/opinion/our-university-must-further-its-recognition-of-the-history-of-slavery/; Faculty Senate, "Proposal to establish a Commission on Race, Slavery, and Civil Rights at The University of Alabama, October 16, 2018," http://facultysenate.ua.edu/news/proposal-to-establish-a-commission-on-race-slavery-and-civil-rights-at-the-university-of-alabama/; Faculty Senate, Minutes, November 13, 2018, http://facultysenate.ua.edu/the-senate-2018-19/meetings/; Desi Gillespie, "Campus Memorials Tell a One-Sided Story," *The Crimson White*, December 5, 2019, https://cw.ua.edu/57071/top-stories/campus-monuments-memorials-tell-a-one-sided-story/.

faculty member who became the antebellum chancellor of University of Mississippi and postbellum president of Columbia University, Luna has captured scholarly attention. Often reprinting the specific diary passage detailing the violent nature of her experiences in full, historians have made Luna the symbol for all enslaved women who labored at the university. Under the diary entry title "Disorder," Manly wrote in clear nineteenth-century script: "This boy, Morgan, acts as a Pimp to get out Barnard's women–especially the younger Luna; whom they use in great numbers, nightly."[10] Though brief in nature and given as an example of rambunctious student behavior, Luna serves as an ugly reminder that sexual trauma did not escape the antebellum campus's pristine ivory towers. Scholars use Luna's plight to shock readers instead of understanding how Luna might have coped with this campus experience. Morgan's role, at the bequest of Barnard, reveals the underbelly of campus life while privileging the experiences of white men at the expense of a Black woman. Readers' gazes remain on the enslaver who profited from the sexual exploitation, Manly whose complicity allowed for the sustained practice, and the students who found pleasure and power in the sexual assault.

Yet, Luna was neither the only enslaved woman at the university nor did her experience represent the totality of all enslaved women's campus experiences. As I regularly counsel student survivors of campus sexual assaults, my own emotions run the gamut when I pass the building named after Luna's enslaver, or encounter her in the archives, scholarship, and campus lore. I am (and have been) both disgusted and disappointed by the scholarly and archival abuse, as well as saddened by the pain suffered by Luna and other enslaved women. How do I move beyond treating Luna and other enslaved women as historical subjects caged in a scholarly menagerie designed for campus stakeholders' voyeurism? Since Luna's experience remains a common experience for countless campus women, how does one discuss her in a way to help present-day survivors who are trying to reconcile this unfortunate legacy of UA's hallowed grounds?

Historian Deborah Gray White demonstrated that enslaved women experienced the institution differently than enslaved men. She showed the complexity of their experiences and pushed against the stereotypical Mammy and Jezebel portrayals. Since the publication of *Ar'n't I A Woman?: Female Slaves in the*

10 Basil Manly, ""Disorder," June 22, 1850, Diary number 4, 1848–1855, Manly family papers, W. S. Hoole Special Collections, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama (hereafter W. S. Hoole Special Collections). For scholars use of this entry, see James B. Sellers, *History of the University of Alabama, volume one, 1818–1902* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1953), 236; Kenneth H. Wheeler, *Cultivating Regionalism: Higher Education and the Making of the American Midwest* (Dekalb: University of Northern Illinois Press, 2011), 73; Alfred L. Brophy, *University, Court and Slave: Pro-Slavery Thought in Southern College and Courts and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 148; Hannah Eyob, "A History of Barnard College: Frederick A. P. Barnard and the Afterlives of Slavery," Columbia University and Slavery Project, 2017, https://columbiaandslavery.columbia.edu/content/history-barnard-college-frederick-ap-barnard-and-afterlives-slavery.

Plantation South (1985), scholars of slavery have deepened our understanding of the diversity of enslaved women's experiences. This scholarly work has required piecing together a new archive of enslaved women's experiences, traumas, resistance, and survival tactics.[11]

Enslaved women appear in the campus regulations restricting their movement.[12] The papers of Presidents Manly and Landon Cabell Garland, his successor, document their arrivals, sexual assaults, illnesses, deaths, and acts of resistance.[13] Financial records contained in the early administrative records note the money exchanged for their post-purchase transportation from Virginia to Alabama.[14] Sadly, these are rare in comparison to those of enslaved men and even rarer among the voluminous archival records detailing the centrality of slavery to UA's growth, finances, and institutional prestige. This scanty record reflects a long discounting of Black women's invisible labor at the Capstone. I constantly ask myself, how do I recover these voices while coping with this troubling institutional legacy?

My sensitivity to and knowledge of this scholarship has forced me to confront these more uncomfortable aspects of campus slavery. The traumatic nature of the subject requires me to adopt a scholarly distance for reading the casual references of sexualized violence and abuse. I regularly limit my research time and remind myself of life in the present after such sessions in the archives. But, again, the burden to tell fuller stories and push against the continued scholarly, archival, and campus violence of promoting Luna as the quintessential enslaved woman compels me. The burden is not one that can be ignored as a Black woman navigating UA's hallowed grounds.

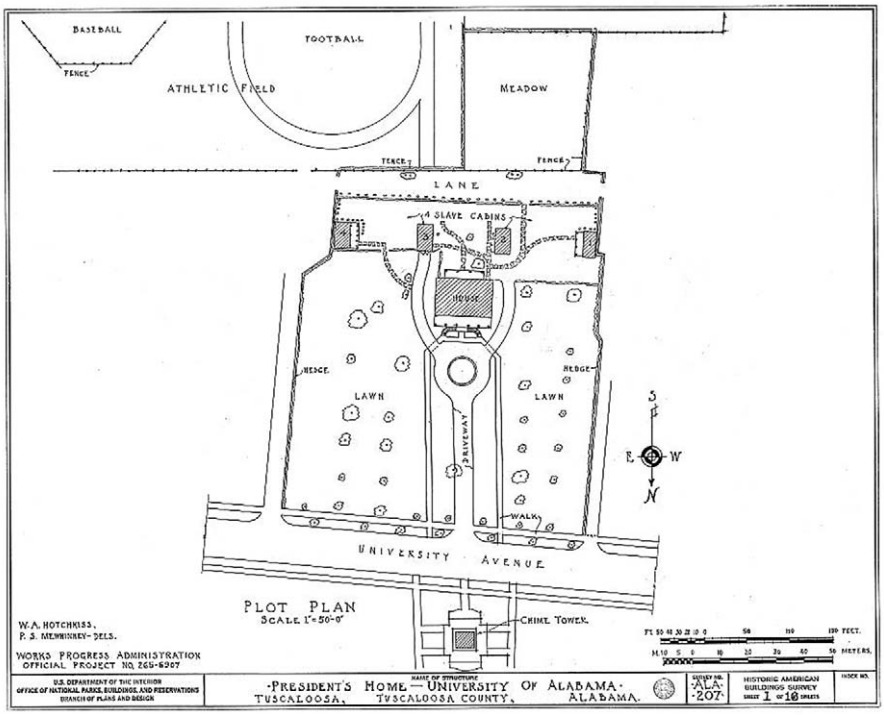
It has meant providing alternative voices. For example, as domestic servants, Mary and Lydia labored inside the President's Mansion, while Sabra prepared meals in the detached kitchen. They received medical treatment from local physicians whenever necessary. To assist other women when an injury proved serious or in instances of advanced states of pregnancies, they would have performed additional

11 See Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I A Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co, 1985); Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Sasha Turner, "The Nameless and Forgotten: Material Grief, Sacred Protection and the Archive of Slavery," *Slavery & Abolition* 38, no. 2 (2017): 232–250; Jessica Marie Johnson, "Markup Bodies: Black [Life] Studies and Slavery [Death] Studies at the Digital Crossroads," *Social Text* 137 (December 2018): 57–79.

12 Faculty By-Laws, Faculty Minutes of October 3–4, 1831 Meeting, volume 1, in Faculty Minutes, 1831–1854 (RG 154), W. S. Hoole Special Collections.

13 See Diary number 2, 1834–1846, Diary number 3, 1843–1848 and Diary number 4, 1848–1855, Manly family papers; Letterbook of Landon Cabell Garland President of University of Alabama, 1855–1865, volume III, pt. 2, 1863–1864, Landon Cabell Garland letters, W. S. Hoole Special Collections.

14 "Letter from Robert Lumpkin, Richmond, Virginia to Landon C. Garland, May 17, 1857," folder 90c, box 3, Early University of Alabama Administrative Records, W. S. Hoole Special Collections.



As the faculty intentionally restricted campus spaces, Sabra, Mary, Lydia, and other enslaved women's labor primarily occurred behind the President's Mansion, in faculty housing, and clandestinely in the dormitories. (Courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, HABS ALA, 63-TUSLO, 3B-2)

work.[15] These women birthed and raised a new generation.[16] They mourned the loss of children and other enslaved campus community members.[17] They would have cared for Luna and other enslaved women brought to campus by students for sexual purposes. Above all, enslaved women forged a community in the shadow of the big house at the University of Alabama.[18]

15 Historic American Buildings Survey, creator and William Nicholls, "Plot Plan" and "Slave Cabin No. 2" in *University of Alabama, President's House, University Boulevard, Tuscaloosa, Tuscaloosa County, AL: Drawings from Survey HABS AL-207*, Tuscaloosa, Tuscaloosa County, 1933, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; Basil Manly, "Mary Broke Arm," December 4, 1840, Diary number 2, 1834–1846, Manly family papers.

16 See Basil Manly, "Sabra's Child," February 25, 1840; "Birth," January 15, 1842; "Birth," August 3, 1844; and "Birth," October 31, 1846 in Diary number 2, 1834–1846, Manly family papers.

17 See Basil Manly, "Death of Maam Lydia," January 31, 1839, "Death—Jack," May 5, 1843; and "Death—(Boysey)," November 22, 1844 in Diary number 2, 1834–1846, Manly family papers; Turner, "The Nameless and Forgotten," 232–238, 245.

18 Before Luna, the kidnapping of an unknown enslaved woman caused the temporary closure of the University. Even Sarah Haynworth Gayle, wife of former Alabama governor, noted the incident in her journal. See Minutes of March 16, 1835, March 19, 1835, March 20, 1835 and April 3, 1835, Faculty Minutes, volume 1 (1831–1835) and Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins and Ruth Smith Truss, eds., *The Journal of Sarah Haynsworth Gayle, 1827–1855: A Substitute For Social Intercourse* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2013), 306.

Of the children born at the University of Alabama, Binkey remains my favorite. President Manly simply recorded her birth: "This morning, at half past four, our servant Mary was delivered of a female child—named Binkey."[19] Mary, and not her enslaver, named her daughter; she did not receive a Greco-Roman name. Rather, Mary asserted her right as a mother to give her daughter a name of personal significance and one distinct from Manly's other enslaved property. Her subtle act of resistance becomes clear when read by someone seeking the recovery of campus enslaved experiences and unsilencing of a history hidden in plain sight.[20]

Neither Binkey's childhood nor specific campus experiences is evident in the archival record. Before her tenth birthday, the record does show how Manly separated her from her mother by hiring her out to households in Tuscaloosa and as far away as Mobile.[21] Mary, however, instilled a sense of dignity in her daughter. She connected her to a women's network that included Sabra and Lydia. Mary and these other women prepared her to resist whenever and wherever possible and to strive for freedom. A brief opportunity occurred when hired out to John Boyle. Her contract ended within a few weeks because of her "stealing and fighting" according to an April 1, 1850 notation."[22] While the precise date remains unclear, Binkey moved to the Walnut Bluff, Manly's Tuscaloosa plantation, after he resigned from the UA presidency. She became a mother, bided her time, and articulated her claims of freedom in 1865.[23]

Confederate defeat ended the institution of slavery. In overturning antebellum racial hierarchies and master-slave relationships, new relationships emerged. Basil Manly struggled to grasp the effects of emancipation on his Tuscaloosa County plantation. His former enslaved population expected different labor conditions and other rights of freedom. They also had the backing of federal troops and the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (also known as the Freedmen's Bureau), a federal agency designed to assist with freedpeople's post-emancipation transition.[24]

On June 20, 1865, the former UA President offered labor contracts to his newly emancipated Tuscaloosa County plantation laborers. For those who had not fled

19 Basil Manly, "Birth," March 23, 1840, in Diary number 2, 1834–1846, Manly family papers.

20 Manly, "Birth," March 23, 1840.

21 "Binkey hired," December 22, 1849, "Hire of Binkey," November 24, 1851, "Binkey hired," January 23, 1852 and "Binkey home, May 17, 1853," in Diary number 5, 1847–1857, Manly family papers.

22 "Binkey hired to Boyle," March 22, 1850 and "Addendum to Binkey hired to Boyle," April 1, 1850 in Diary number 5, 1847–1857, Manly family papers.

23 After hiring servants in SC, he returns to Tuscaloosa and only brings back with him two female enslaved domestics. Binkey is not included. See "Resignation of President," n.d., "Servant," July 12, 1856, and "Journey to Ala.," October 6, 1856 in Diary number 5, 1847–1857, Manly family papers. Fuller, *Chaplain to the Confederacy*, 263–66.

24 Basil Manly, "Gen'l Lee Surrender, +c," no date and "Yankees gone," May 23, 1865, Diary number 6, 1858–1878, Manly family papers; G. Ward Hubbs, *Searching for Freedom after the Civil War: Klansman, Carpetbagger, Scalawag, and Freedman* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015), 144–45; Michael W. Fitzgerald, *Reconstruction in Alabama: From Civil War to Redemption in the Cotton South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2017), 50–54, 113.

Walnut Bluff, the men, women, and children agreed on the terms as noted in their signatures or "X" marks. Some of the individuals had labored at the university during his tenure. Some, like Binkey, had been born into slavery on the University of Alabama campus, survived the institution, and made decisions upon freedom for themselves and respective families. Despite the labor agreements, problems soon arose as Manly learned that his power over his former enslaved property was no longer absolute.[25]

Binkey rebelled. A hired overseer attempted to physically reprimand her for an alleged act of arson in late August 1865. She fought back. She immediately departed the plantation with her children in a borrowed wagon. In the process, she left a loveless relationship with her children's father who desired to form a household with another African American woman and found refuge with her mother in Tuscaloosa.[26] Her decision, moreover, opened a flood. Twenty-four freedpeople followed Binkey's lead. By September, Manly mourned the loss of his labor force who had "taken their freedom, under the late military order of the U.S. authorities." By year's end, Manly rented the plantation including the mules and hogs to three white men. The discovery of Binkey's bold articulation of post-emancipation freedom has given me joy and has strengthened my resolve to cope with the burden and to continue the research.[27]

As did the discovery of Zadie Jones in the *Alabama Citizen*, an African American newspaper published in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. This descendent of Jeremiah Barnes, a pioneer in African American education during Reconstruction, inspired civil rights activists in their campaign for dismantling Jim Crow. Her two-part biographical sketch of her forefather, the former enslaved property of Judge Washington Moody, enslaved playmate of Frank Moody, and occasional enslaved and postbellum campus laborer fueled the community's efforts to name the last African American high school after him. Although city officials rejected their choice, Barnes's successful work after his experience of campus slavery reached new ears because of a Black woman's efforts to remember what UA opted to forget.[28]

Because of this legacy, I shoulder this burden. Binkey, Sabra, and other survivors require me to speak their historical truth. The burden of doing so should not be mine alone. It should not be my, and a handful of others', responsibility to bear the weight of the emotional, intellectual, and invisible labor required in the

25 Basil Manly, "Agreement with my negroes," June 20, 1865, Diary number 6, 1858–1878, Manly family papers.

26 Basil Manly, "Trouble on the Plantation," August 26 and 29, 1865 and "Andrew," August 26, 1865, Diary number 6, 1858–1878, Manly family papers.

27 Basil Manly, "Negroes Leaving," September 2, 1865 and "Renting the Plantation," December 28, 1865, Diary number 6, 1858–1878, Manly family papers.

28 Zadie Jones, "Life Story of Pioneers of Negro Education Is Told By Relative," *Alabama Citizen*, February 27, 1954; Zadie Jones, "Barnes Story, Continued From Last Week," *Alabama Citizen*, March 6, 1954; "A Name for the New High School," *Alabama Citizen,* February 21, 1953; "Long live the Druid High School Dragons," *Tuscaloosa News*, July 5, 2009, https://www.tuscaloosanews.com/opinion/20090705/long-live-the-druid-high-school-dragons.

reconciliation process. It should not be unfunded. The difficult work should not continue to fall disproportionately on Black women's shoulders at UA and other institutions studying their slave pasts. Community-based solutions, with full institutional support and sustained financial commitments, must do the heavy lifting of institutional repair and reform at the various universities and colleges studying slavery. Without this support, I fear that the in-person tours will eventually cease. I am only one person. I will not, though, entertain any attempt to institutionalize the tours that exploits student tour guides. It is unfortunate that I have to regularly insist on all tour guides receiving payment for making the Hallowed Grounds tours sustainable. To not do so would be to have tours about slavery be given, most likely by Black students, without payment—while predominantly white tour guides recruiting another generation of students in formal campus tours are compensated. In the meantime, virtual tours provide a sustainable alternative. I also remain cautiously hopeful that the current institutional reconciliation attempt might correct earlier failures. It will not, however, be my responsibility to fix this institutional past alone.

Nevertheless, I will persist. At its core, those student's words, the work of Black women at other institutions and a James Baldwin's quote inform my work—"To accept one's past—one's history is not the same thing as drowning in it; it is learning how to use it. An invented past can never be used; it cracks and crumbles under the pressures of life, like clay in a season of drought."[29] Trying not to drown under the weight of this history, the burden of this Black woman continues toward an institutional reconciliation process that will acknowledge its own hallowed grounds.

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29 James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (1963; repr., New York: Vintage International, 1993), 81.