



Project:	BOT Meeting – Saunders Hall Discussion
Speakers:	Alston Gardner – Board of Trustees
	Chuck Duckett – Board of Trustees
	Taylor Webber-Fields – The Real Silent Sam Coalition
	Dylan Su-Chan Mott – The Real Silent Sam Coalition
	Omololu Babatunde – The Real Silent Sam Coalition
	Frank Pray – UNC College Republicans
	Dr. Al Brophy – UNC School of Law (via video)
	Dr. Jim Leloudis – UNC Department of History
	Dr. Deborah Stroman – Black Faculty and Staff Caucus
	Professor Eric Muller – UNC School of Law
	Arch Allen – UNC Alum
	Sam Fulwood – UNC Alum

INTRODUCTIONS

A. Gardner: Last spring a group of students, the real Silent Sam Coalition, gathered 800 names on a petition calling for the removal of William L. Saunders' name from Saunders Hall. We invited the group to present their petition to the board in May of 2014 at the University Affairs Committee. Since then, Trustee Duckett and I have been busy studying the issue over the last several months. Today we will do three things. First we will share with the committee and the board and the public what we have learned, what we've been doing. Secondly, as part of the Chancellor's Carolina Conversations Initiative, we will lead a conversation on race and place at UNC. We'll hear from eight speakers with a variety of viewpoints, including several students. At the conclusion of the speakers, we will announce a community-wide online forum to collect additional comments, input and proposals on how we might address those issues. Let me say that we applaud the passion and the leadership on this issue from our students. We encourage political activism. We have a long tradition and history of that in Chapel Hill. In some of the public statements, some minority students have questioned if they belonged at UNC so let me start by saying, or let's say be very direct, clear and unequivocal: you belong here. This is as much your university as any other student, any other alumnus of the



University. You are a critical part. If we admitted you to UNC, you are part of our family; you are part of our community. So, if there is any one thing I think the students and the board can agree on is this is the time to face the issues of race and place. We embrace the discussion and we believe the university is a fantastic venue for that, much better than Starbucks in a 45 second conversation with your barista. It will require active listening and that's what we intend to do today. Our charter as an institution reminds us that our duty is education of our students. We are not a political organization. Instead, we are going to focus on education and we're going to approach the discussion with a bias towards teaching. We have three objectives in this discussion. First is, we want to be responsive to the key constituents in our community, not only the students but also the faculty and the alumni. We will hear from faculty and alumni today also. Second, we want to make sure we teach our complete history, not a white washed version of our history, not mythology but a history based on facts, based on evidence with historical context and multiple points of view. Most of our history is good. UNC has a great story to tell about social justice, about education, but it's not perfect and frankly some of it is bad. For many of you, this may not be comfortable having this conversation, but it is not the role of the university to provide comfort. Just the opposite, it is our job to challenge our students, our faculty and our alumni and our society to do better. Our third objective, in fact we believe it is our job to prepare our students to be more effective in an increasingly diverse and global society. That belies the demographic reality of North Carolina. It is an economic necessity and it is a moral imperative. Our strategy in this discussion is to develop a comprehensive solution. The names of buildings are just one part of that puzzle. We believe there are many ways to address the issue and we're seeking your input and your help in finding those solutions.

C. Duckett:

We've spoken with numerous people regarding this issue since May of 2014 and in doing so we've followed the goal of approaching this with respect and an open mind. We understand anyone interested in this issue has personal feelings that are important and I want to stress that we are not here to tell anyone



how to feel about this. Feelings about this are complex and we're here to explore all aspects. This slide shows our guiding principles, our approach as a board to both the process involved and the potential parameters of any solutions involved. You can see from this we're looking at multiple points of view. We want this to be civil and respectful. We want to be careful not to impose today's social norms on the past and cover up our history in the process also while seeking consensus where possible. So that leads to potential solutions and they should be grounded in evidence and research. They should be pure. They should be evergreen for future students and faculty so that all people know in the future what we've done and why we've done it and it should be available. It must be practical and implementable. So it's got to have clear responsibility for the execution of whatever we do and include ongoing support. And our activity census was brought to the board last May, we've spent hundreds of hours on this effort. And I do mean hundreds of hours. Alston and I have spent more time in Wilson Library than we did when we were here in school. It is a great place and we do have incredible resources at this university and that's been very helpful. Part of this issue, if you're looking at it, it's true. We've researched the issues. We've reviewed a lot of the policies that are involved with these issues. We tried to frame the problem and define our objectives and our objectives are everybody's objectives, we hope, which is find the solution. We listened to various arguments and proposals and actually we've conducted 200, plus one on one interviews and meetings and phone calls and conference calls and things like that with people. Importantly, as we look at this, the process, it included conversations with lots of UNC ties, the current leaders, former UNC leaders, alumni, faculty and national experts and they include discussing the issue with every member of the Chancellor's Cabinet and numerous deans at the University. We talked with former chancellors, provosts, former trustees, distinguished alumni and chancellors at other institutions. We've met and spoken with a wide range of students via help from the Student Body President Andrew Powell. Thank you, Andrew. We met with leaders of The Real Silent Sam Coalition numerous times. We also reached out to the UNC Young Republicans, the UNC Young Americans for Liberty and others. We talked with



numerous alumni leaders including current and former leaders of the General Alumni Association, the current and past members of the Board of Visitors, members of the Alumni Committee on Race and Ethnic Diversity and alumni members of the Sons of the Confederacy as well as others. We've had dozens of conversations with UNC faculty including the Faculty Executive Council's Diversity Committee and the faculty event on such topic at Hyde Hall. I want to be clear on something. We are blessed, and I'll say it again, to have some of the nation's and even international experts on race and place not only here but in this country, in residents at UNC. That is amazing. You don't have to go far to find somebody that really knows what they're talking about and we're proud of that. This page really shows some names of contacts with experts in the fields that pertain to this topic. We've broken it out into three fields to have various approaches and ways of adding to the discussion. The first group we covered were history experts, both regarding North Carolina and public history more broadly. Our history department here at Carolina has been incredibly helpful. Also Michael Hill from the State Archives has been wonderful to us. UNC alum and decorated author Taylor Branch who wrote the trilogy book about Martin Luther King was wonderful and we even brought in a Duke friend and professor Tim Tyson to help. Number two, in communications and communications is important to this, we met with Carole Blair and Bill Balthrop from the Communications Study Department, Elizabeth Olson in our Geography Department has taught us that these buildings, monuments and even the landscapes really are communication devices for this fine university. We regard to public policy, and this is very important as well. We spoke with a large number of true experts that range from our own Al Brophy that will speak later via video and has worked with numerous universities on this particular issue to Dr. Bernard Herman who is involved with the US Park Service when they were interpreting George Washington's home which included both his family and slaves. We spoke to other experts in various universities regarding how they have dealt with their history and specifically about renaming requests and their decisions around their requests.



A. Gardner:

This is clearly a national phenomenon. It's not just happening at Chapel Hill. Recently an MIT professor, Craig Steven Wilder, wrote a book on race, slavery and the Ivy League, fascinating reading to find out how great institutions like Brown University and Harvard and Princeton are dealing with this same issue. We provided the links for you here and we encouraged you to discover how this issue is being handled at other universities around the country. Kind of the output of that conversation, I'd like to offer maybe a few preliminary observations. First is about our campus. Something I think that Fitz Brundage in the History Department mentioned to me, the UNC campus is the most densely memorialized real estate in the state of North Carolina, more so than Raleigh, more so than Salisbury and some of the... more so than Winston-Salem. The second thing I'd say about our institution is many memorials as we have, we don't do a particularly good job of curating our buildings and our monuments and our places so that's something that we would seek ideas on how to do that better. Secondly, I'd like to talk about our community. This is a picture from recent memorial service that we had on campus for the tragic loss of life and I'm really proud of the reaction of our students and our community. But our community is transient. That is, every four years we wash one group out and four more years we wash the next group out. Many students don't really know what has been done in the past to memorialize African-Americans at UNC. So in the appendix of the handout, and it's also online, we've included some slides to help you understand some of that history. This issue of Saunders Hall is not new. The first date that we've been able to uncover when it came up was 1999. In chatting with former Chancellor Moeser, he said literally the very first week he was the new chancellor a group of students took him down to see Silent Sam and Saunders Hall and explain their position on this. On the bigger scale, I think most of our community and most people in general in North Carolina are unaware of a pretty grim time in the history of the United States. From 1865 to 1965 is kind of a blur for a lot of people. A lot of ugly things happened in this state. Reconstruction was not an easy process. The only governor who has ever been impeached in the state and removed from office was in 1870. Did I get the date right? I get an A in your class, I hope. The Jim Crow Era in North Carolina



was an era that not a lot of people really want to deal with and I think when we start talking about some of the names and places on this campus and in other campuses in the UNC system, we're coming directly head on into that history. I think there are some national activities and events that are also making this whole issue of race and social justice more salient. Every time there is another event like what happened in Ferguson or what happened in Staten Island, it makes our students more aware and more conscious of their surroundings. The good news is that attitudes about race and social justice have evolved since most of these buildings were named. Finally, I talk a little bit about North Carolina history and the only graphic I could find was Professor Powell's book on our history of our state. UNC has been at the forefront of progressive social change in North Carolina in this country but the history is not well known, even for those who are, I think, still required to take that in seventh grade. Our efforts to teach our history have been inadequate and more often, we perpetuate mythology about our campus rather than a critical look at the complete story both good and bad. Our history is complex and some of those who have been honored in the past are problematic by today's standards.

C. Duckett:

I think when you look at this, one of the considerations we have to take and study carefully and understand is there are relevant sections of the UNC policy on naming and renaming or taking a name off of a building or place. I'm not going to bore you by reading this but that is policy that is in place and it's our duty to understand and do the best that we can to remain true to that policy. I would like to say though that in not taking the time to read this page to you, it is available in the handouts and the website and links information if you want to understand it and read every word of it. It's important to state though that there are existing written policies that pertain to both naming and revocation of a name, specifically we need to point out that the revocation of a name and any subsequent renaming are separate and distinct policies and with different processes for change. So, we've finally come to what this is all about. I'm going to cover a bit of the historical record. We've done a ton of research on Colonel William Saunders. This is what the building is named after and I want to talk about the history. The



points that you read here, and I'm going to expand on some of the points, is there are no primary documents or written evidence that Saunders was ever a member or leader of the KKK. When you take a look at that though, there is some understanding and context that goes along with that. It's not surprising that there's no evidence. It was a felony to be a member of the Klan during this period of time and a felony to take the Klan oath. It was the Klan oath specifically forbade any discussion of the organization publically. So Saunders rarely spoke in public, ever, about anything hardly and we've been unable to find any record of Saunders ever having spoken about his role in the KKK, about white supremacy or any racial issues. Saunders was never charged with a crime related to his reputed KKK involvement and he publically stated he never committed any crimes. Congressional leaders though, however, and investigators identified Saunders and the head of the North Carolina KKK. Saunders was subpoenaed multiple times by the US Congress and their Joint Select Committee to inquire into the condition of affairs in late insurrectionary states. Finally, he was forced to appear on September 23, 1871 before Congress. Saunders refused to answer any questions about the Invisible Empire or acknowledge that he was the reputed leader of the Invisible Empire. He did not confirm or deny that that statement was true. So he did not answer the question whatsoever.

A. Gardner: I think he was the first person to ever invoke the Fifth Amendment in appearance before Congress.

C. Duckett: Correct.

A. Gardner: It's actually engraved on his gravestone.

C. Duckett: Many Democrats and disenfranchised southerners consider these hearings to be a partisan political exercise by Congress. However, reputable historians have identified Saunders as the head of the KKK. Noted historian Joseph Hamilton for whom Hamilton Hall is named identified Saunders as the head of the Invisible Empire in his book *Reconstruction in North Carolina* that was published in 1914. Hamilton was a member of the Dunning School of



Reconstruction History that was sympathetic to the clan and the white supremacy movement and we see no apparent reason for him to impugn Saunders. Much of the book is based on Hamilton's primary research completed when many of Saunders contemporaries were still living. John Hope Franklin also identified Saunders as head of the KKK in his book *Reconstruction After the Civil War* published in 1961. Importantly, very importantly, the UNC Board of Trustees identified Saunders as the head of the KKK, the official record that UNC listed Saunders' leadership in the KKK as a qualification for naming the building in his honor. In this slide, which you can't really see, is a photocopy of the minutes of the Board of Trustees from, I believe it's December 1920, that we have in the archives.

A. Gardner:

So you haven't really lived until you've read the testimony of someone before Congress during Reconstruction. It was scintillating. Thanks to Chuck for doing that work. There's also been a lot of discussion about McCorkle Place, over the years many protests about the Confederate Memorial Statue. In our discussion with faculty member and public historian Anne Whisnant, she gave us a framework for thinking about memorials as they really address three periods of time. The first is the time period that is memorialized. In the case of Silent Sam, as it's known, it recognizes the 321 alumni who lost their lives in the Civil War and the thousand-plus North Carolina students who fought on both sides during the Civil War. In fact, North Carolina where there was little of the war fought contributed 113,000 troops more than any other state in the Confederacy. So that's really what the monument tells us about 1861 to 1865. The second time period was 50 years later when the monument was erected. It was one of hundreds of Civil War monuments paid for by the United Daughters of the Confederacy during the heyday of the white supremacy movement in a period when white leaders in the South were trying to reposition the Civil War away from a secessionist political rebellion to a struggle for freedom from northern oppression. At the unveiling of the statue, Julian Carr, a local businessman for whom Carrboro is named, gave a speech in which he described the Civil War as a battle for southern honor and the purity of the Anglo-Saxon race.



He ended his speech with a personal anecdote citing his pride in having “horsewhipped a negro wench until her skirts hung in shreds” nearby the monument. This was for the daring insult that this woman put forth to a southern lady. Not a pretty story. The third time period in which this monument comments is when visitors are viewing the statue. There is not much explanation of the current monument so the current day viewer must create their own narrative to explain the monument and it’s quite amazing some of the stories that people have created about this monument. One being about the virtue of a North Carolina female undergraduate which has no basis in history whatsoever. Just for those who still believe that myth. The question is before us, what do we do about Saunders Hall? What do we do about McCorkle Place? What do we do about educating our new members of our community about UNC’s history? We’ve asked eight speakers, two students, four faculty and two alumni, to share their thoughts. We have a slight change in the chart. We will have three speakers from The Real Silent Sam Coalition. They promise me they’ll stay at six minutes. We’re going to try to keep this going so we have enough time. The first of the speakers from The Real Silent Sam Coalition is Omololu Babatunde, who is a senior from Newark, Delaware. Omololu, you’re on. While she’s coming up here, she will be followed by Taylor Webber-Field, a senior from Fayetteville and Dylan Mott, a senior from Suches, Georgia. Thank you for being here. We appreciate your efforts. I know there was some concern about holding this meeting at Rizzo Center. This is the second time that the Board of Trustees has met at this part of campus and I hope everyone on your... clearly the students did find it, we arranged buses so that there would not be any lack of representation of your group here. So let me turn it over to you.

T. Webber-Fields: Thank you so much. Thank you for having us today. Thank you for providing the transportation that you did. Just thank you for meeting us halfway. We really do appreciate it and we do want to acknowledge that this has been an effort on both sides, both students and leadership. I would like to acknowledge the hard work of the students that have... that you’ve already acknowledged but I’d also like to acknowledge it as well. We’ve toiled against the



already demanding curriculum of UNC as well as taking on this issue. We've listened to students. We've organized and we've mobilized around this issue. Your presentation gave us a very pretty picture of Carolina and student's experiences. That's great to hear but it doesn't represent 100% of the students' experience here. So we're going to speak to that issue. So thank you. Last May, we, The Real Silent Sam Coalition, humbly came before this board to present our concerns and grievances about the building Saunders Hall. Not only did we grieve but we offered a rational and attainable solution to the issue. The overwhelming presence of anti-blackness and racism that pervades the campus is not isolated to this site yet we felt that it would be most appropriate to engage with racialized geography in the geography building. That aside, we feel more than ever that the time is now to take a stand and reflect the moral character and intellectual maturity of UNC students and leadership. Our nation is wrestling with the demons that Saunders loosed on the southern part of heaven. We are accomplices to the racist Greek culture that runs rampant on our campus as well as NC State, the University of Oklahoma. If we choose to keep Saunders Hall as a marker of UNC's character, we will find ourselves ultimately on the wrong side of history again.

D. Su-Chan Mott: This campaign, this movement is about more than just renaming a building. This movement is about the future of this university. It is about facing the violent, racial history of UNC Chapel Hill, of the State of North Carolina and of the United States. This is about power. This is about a struggle over who belongs at this university and who gets to make decisions about what happens here. It is about this institution actually taking action against racism and violence so that we, as students, as faculty, as staff, as people choosing not to side with historical and present racial terror and violence being afflicted on people of color.

O. Babatunde: The late Yanni Chapman wrote in his dissertation that "diversity without justice is not enough." If you are asking us to be your diversity, then we are demanding justice. We are calling for our Board of Trustees to recognize that its student body has changed and thus the environment must reflect that. What is in a name?



Who are you serving? Are you serving your present day students whose welfare depends on you? Or are you serving the white supremacist architects of the past whose vile deeds have blueprinted the subjugations of those who live today?

- R:** The following statements are brief facts about the individuals whom UNC's buildings are named after. The following statements will be posted on Yik Yak. Yik Yak is an anonymous social media platform that is based on (inaudible). The UNC Yik Yak has been consistently used by means to voice racist comments such as the following.
- R:** The Daniels Building is named for Josephus Daniels who used his position at the *News and Observer* to campaign for white supremacy and the disenfranchisement of blacks.
- R:** Response from Yik Yak: 50% of my tuition goes to paying that of blacks students. That is true oppression.
- R:** Spencer Dorm is named for Cornelia Phillips Spencer who worked under Saunders and other white supremacists to reopen the University after the defeat of Reconstruction.
- R:** Yik Yak says, "I really hate blacks. I'm going home to where there aren't any."
- R:** Cameron Avenue is named for Paul Cameron who at one time was the state's largest slave holder.
- R:** Response from Yik Yak: The way blacks are acting right now, it kind of justifies the slave race.
- R:** (Inaudible) so many buildings on this campus were built by slave labor. They were not memorialized until 2005, with the construction of (inaudible 0:29:37.0). It is now commonly viewed (inaudible 0:29:40.3).
- R:** Response from Yik Yak: Blacks, get off Yik Yak.



D. Su-Chan Mott: And remember these responses from Yik Yak are coming from our fellow students who are also students of UNC and who seem to believe there is really no reason why they shouldn't express these sentiments behind the mask of anonymity online. This is the culture of racism that exists on this campus and what we are asking for is for the University administration to take a stance to challenge that institution.

T. Webber-Fields: Our call for a name change is not based on the abstract idea that Saunders and the KKK were and are racists. It is based on the specific and real acts of violence the Klan committed and the structure of white supremacy it acted to uphold and which is still upheld. This violence does not speak merely to bodily harm but a normative white culture that seeps deep into the minds of people of color. A violence that implicitly states, "We do not belong here." A violence that is backed up by the actual words of the peers we sit beside in class, live with in our dorms and houses and walk by on our way to classes. Are we your diversity statistics? Do we absolve you from institutional racism by throwing our faces on admissions brochures?

D. Su-Chan Mott: We are not here today to sit and argue about whether or not the KKK was and is a violent, white supremacist, terrorist organization. It is. You have acknowledged this in your presentation. We are also not here to debate upon whether or not Saunders was a part of that organization. There is a lot of information saying that he was. The fact that there is not a primary source document does not change our feelings about this subject. We are tired of having to prove to you what violence is when we can see and feel the effects of this violence in our community. Saunders was recommended for the naming of the new building by the Board of Trustees in 1920, as you said, and they chalked up his position as the head of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina as one of the main reasons why. The fact that the Board of Trustees at the time believed that that was an emeritus act is for us evidence enough that Saunders' building needs to be renamed. What more proof do you need than this office's own documents?



- O. Babatunde:** We have heard arguments that to remove Saunders' name from this campus would eliminate an opportunity to teach about white supremacy. Maintaining Saunders' name would not serve to teach anyone. To use the public maintenance of a white supremacist to teach about white supremacy is a form of violence and hypocrisy. It is at the expense of the identities of those who are targets of this violence. Wouldn't it be better to teach about Saunders through the decades of struggle and resistance that it took to get his name removed?
- R:** Hamilton Hall is named for J.G. de Roulhac Hamilton, a Republican (inaudible) reconstruction in North Carolina. He honored the Ku Klux Klan for "restoring political power to white people."
- R:** Yik Yak: We are white and proud.
- R:** Aycock Dorm is named for Charles Aycock who supported segregated schools and the disenfranchisement of black people.
- R:** Yik Yak: A large majority of this tuition increase is to pay for black tuition. That (inaudible 0:33:22.6) is true institutionalized racism.
- R:** Mitchell Hall is named for Elisha Mitchell who believed slavery was beneficial to black people because they were a "race of inferior, moral and (inaudible 0:33:34.2)."
- R:** Yik Yak: Y'all love to check off that minority box on college applications. That's why blacks on average have lower SAT and ACT scores but still get into or beat out white kids.
- R:** So let's (inaudible 0:33:48.2) way. How many buildings are named for slaveholders?
- R:** Yik Yak: Don't let black racists in this school.
- O. Babatunde:** This fight to rename Saunders is not a new thing. People have been organizing around this site and the legacy of white supremacy that it reflects on and off since 1999. You ask us what would it



mean to rename Saunders. We ask you, what would it mean not to? What would it mean to generations of incoming students to continue to enter an environment that endorses racial violence? What does it mean to generations of students to know that despite our vocalized dissent, attacks against our personhood continue to go unchallenged? We are all UNC students and we will continue to mobilize until our campus environment reflects that. Thank you.

A. Gardner: Before you run off, do we have specific questions by our committee members?

R: Can you see us now? (Single voice)

R: Can you see us now? Can you see us now? Can you see us now? (Chanting)

A. Gardner: Questions? Kelly? Phil? Andrew?

C. Duckett: I have a question, if you don't mind. I don't profess to know a lot about Yik Yak. The anonymity of any board bothers me because it's not known why people are doing what they're doing, if they're provoking because they're unknown, if they really feel that way. I understand that. I make the assumption just like you do that they mean what they say and it's hurtful. You've given us many great examples of things that are wrong with that but is there no defense by people for these purely crazy statements or stances? I mean, does nobody come back and if somebody says that this tuition raise is paying for black people to go to school here and it's oppressive, serious does nobody get on there and say, "You're being a fool?"

O. Babatunde: Yes. People do address the situation to kind of get continuously harassed. As someone, we speak about anonymity but regardless of the anonymity of the person speaking, to continue to have to defend one's personhood to someone who just continues to defile it, is a very laborious activity. So it's not something that I like to participate in but students do take it upon themselves to do that because we do want to try and uplift the student body. But it's not just anonymous comments to (inaudible) Yik Yak. People who do,



like you say, address topics to kind of expand upon certain type of racialized...different issues of race on campus like Nikhil [Umesh] for example, he publishes, he has a great column in the DTH where he addresses these issues very, micro-aggressions on campus. He did a great article about yoga and how that becomes a form of cultural appropriation and Nikhil's name was ran through Yik Yak, like he was named personally. Another fellow, Ishmael Bishop who did a lot of speaking about different concerns that students had about the student body president election, his name was completely targeted through Yik Yak. So this is an anonymous site but it is a site that reflects the sentiments of our students and sorry, to go back to what your question was, yes. We do. Even though it is very laborious and very exhausting and very painful to have to constantly defend one's personhood, we do try to engage our students, our classmates on Yik Yak.

C. Duckett:

Dylan, you made a couple of references to racial terror and violence and clearly the Klan in 1870 was about as bad as a terrorist organization can get. Can you talk about that in a present day context? Are there, are you aware of, racial violence on campus today?

D. Su-Chan Mott:

The current, present iteration of The Real Silent Sam Coalition activities have kind of followed and been overshadowed by wider instances of targeted violence against bodies of color address this state and against this nation. I'm thinking of some of these high profile murders that we have seen but I'm also thinking of those murders of the three here in our own community. I know there are differences of opinion on whether or not those were hate crimes but I do say that many of us who are students at your school do believe that they were. Moreover, I think here at the school, not only are there anonymous comments and threats on Yik Yak, some of those comments that we mentioned before have taken the form of threats. But there have also been... how many times have we been out at a rally or how many times have we been out doing something and a group of people walk by and they'll yell things at us? I've been at rallies where other UNC students try to pick fights with us. I've been in many instances like this. In terms of the kind of level of



violence that the Klan symbolizes, I think that those kinds of instances tend to go unconnected, meaning they'll happen here. They'll happen there. They'll blame it on some crazy with a gun or some fluke, some bad cop or something like this. What we are saying is all of these instances are indicative of a wider cultural paradigm that does not problematize racism. It simply says, "We're over this. Our way of thinking has evolved." What we're saying is no it's not. It's simply changed. It's grown more nuanced with the times and it's adapted to a different set of circumstances but it's just as racist.

A. Gardner: Thank you...

C. Duckett Do you feel like social media and the way it's changed with people communicating plays a role in this? In actuality, with the way the world is changing there are becoming pockets of segregation via schools...does that have a role in it?

D. Su-Chan Mott: I really think that the present fixation on social media is probably a distraction. I think social media, like any other form of communication, influences our lives. But as y'all's presentation said, a campus, a physical environment can be a form of communication. I think this form of communication, how you curate the buildings, how you name them, what plaques you put on them, the kind of tours you give of those buildings, that is probably a far more significant form of communication than social media is. I think social media is really kind of small fry.

R: Thank you. Phil?

Phil: Thanks so much for the presentation. I have, through the discussion over the last several months, learned a lot about the university that I did not learn even though I took a course on the history of the South since 1865 when I was a student. My question is this: If the name were changed, let's say that's step one. What would you imagine to be steps two, three and four? What would be the difference on this campus next year, the year after that and so



forth? I'll ask the same question of others. I'm interested in sort of "what next" in this.

T. Webber-Fields: Thank you for your question. First, the debate has already sparked some very great changes on campus. The recently introduced Carolina Conversations, I think is a product of the hard work of these students before you now. I think that's an upward trend in Carolina's campus and I think that making a bold statement such as changing the Saunders Building will keep that momentum going. I like the direction that... well, speaking for myself personally, I like the direction that the initiatives that the school is taking and this goes in direct... it aligns with the goals of the school that are coming forward now. This is a first step but it's a great step. It's a bold step, a bold step that needs to be taken. It's a form of action. Conversations are great but action is really where it counts.

O. Babatunde: Just to speak to you quickly on your question, when we're speaking about renaming the building, we're not speaking about just completely changing the name and no reference to Saunders will even be made. In part of our demands, we asked that a plaque that states that Saunders was the original person that occupied this space is put on there so that students have a conversation to think about, "Wow, what does it mean that my school has looked at its history, confronted it and has decided to act in a way that recognizes the multitude of different people that inhabit its space?" I'm very grateful to your comments, Mr. Gardner, that you all understand and accept us as students but it is very painful to have to, on a daily basis, navigate a landscape that the architects of that space wouldn't have wanted me to even be in. For years, students have said this not just because this man had certain politics, but because they're implicated in his politics and his politics are informing today. I think that this shift, this name change, to get back to your question, would show that all students of Carolina have the ability to change their environment, have a claim to this space and that this space does reflect them as well.

R: Further questions?



R: Thank you for your presentation. What role do you see The Silent Sam Coalition playing (inaudible)?

T. Webber-Fields: Thank you for your question. Silent Sam, first and foremost, is an organization that does create, that does acknowledge the history of the school. We do work in educating students about... a lot of the information you presented today is work that Silent Sam does on a regular basis — informing other students about the racialized and historical context of all the buildings and stuff on campus. So The Real Silent Sam has already been instrumental in educating. That's a huge component of the organization. We also tackle issues outside of campus. We use the issues on our campus to connect to larger issues. So The Real Silent Sam has been very much... and we've informed the leadership on this campus. We've met with leaders on campus to inform them of the issues that students are having. That's educational. We do good work in education. We do. Yes. We've been instrumental and I think we'll uphold that tradition going forward.

C. Folt: ...confirm that and I think what you said earlier, it is absolutely true that the Carolina Conversations and so much more have been directly and very positively, 100 percent, positively influenced by (inaudible) and the ones talking to us right now so we do really appreciate that.

T. Webber-Fields: Thank you Chancellor Folt.

A. Gardner: We have, unfortunately, five more speakers. Thank you so much for your time. Dylan, it's our university, not my university. Thank you very much.

[Applause.]

A. Gardner: Our next speaker is Frank Pray, President of the UNC Republicans. I did not have a chance to meet Frank before this. I apologize. Frank, when you come up here, would you tell us what year you are, where you're from, what your major is so we have some background?



F. Pray: Yes. Thank you. I'm a sophomore. I'm from Charlotte, North Carolina. My major is a double major in political science and public policy.

A. Gardner: Thank you. This time, I'm not going to cut you off but I want to make sure that we stay on track.

F. Pray: I'm keeping it short and sweet. Members of the Board of Trustees, fellow Tar Heels and fellow North Carolinians, thank you for taking the time today to come here together as one Tar Heel family and discuss an issue of great importance to our campus community. Over the last several months, the issue of renaming Saunders Hall has come to the forefront of campus dialog, mainly because of the history of its namesake, William L. Saunders. Although Mr. Saunders is commonly known as the man who created the most complete history of the state of North Carolina up to that date — an accomplishment that should be remembered as beneficial for the academic community of our state — there is an unfortunate, darker side to his story that also must be taken into account. Saunders was also the leader of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina, one of the vilest terrorist groups to have ever existed in the United States. Herein lies the reason that warrants his name be stripped from Saunders Hall. Saunders was not simply a man who held prominent racist beliefs of the time period. He was a man who took those beliefs and translated them into horrible actions that most individuals, even during that time period, knew were unacceptable. The actions carried out by the Ku Klux Klan, of which he was an integral part, can only be described as acts of terrorism against fellow Americans. When looking at the chancellor's policy on naming university facilities and units, Section E, duration and modification of namings Part 6, revocation of naming approval or conferral, it states that "if the benefactors or honoree's reputation changes substantially so that the continued use of that name may compromise the public trust, dishonor the university's standards or otherwise be contrary to the best interests of the university, the naming may be revoked. However, caution must be taken when, with the passage of time, the standards and achievements seem to



justify a naming action may change and observers of a later age may deem those who confer to naming honor at an earlier age to have erred. Naming should not be altered simply because later observers would have made different judgments.” The UNC College Republicans believe that Saunders’ involvement with the Ku Klux Klan certainly constitutes a change to his reputation that both compromises the university’s public trust and dishonors this university’s standards. The Klan’s use of terrorism was clearly something that is not only considered unacceptable in modern standards, but was considered equally negative during the time period in which he lived. This is the key factor that makes the naming of Saunders Hall objectively different from the naming of other buildings on campus such as Spencer and Aycock. While those buildings’ namesakes held racist beliefs and voted discriminatory measure into law, there is no credible evidence to show that they engaged in the same acts of terrorism that Mr. Saunders did. The College Republicans and conservative students across this campus, who are proud of their heritage and of the history of the old north state, will not support the renaming of those other buildings or any other changes to The Silent Sam Memorial due to that fact. However, Saunders’ involvement with the terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan vastly changes that story. Therefore, the Executive Board of the UNC College Republicans has concluded, after much talk with our members and conservatives around campus, that the Board of Trustees should move to strike William L. Saunders’ name from the hall on Polk Place. We would like to caution that any striking of Mr. Saunders’ name should be accompanied by a commitment to placing a plaque on the building about its history, detailing why it was originally named after Mr. Saunders and why his name was later dropped. In addition, we believe that a healthy conversation should be had before we consider who should be given the honor of a new naming of Saunders Hall. Thank you for your time and interest in this matter. God bless you all and God bless the State of North Carolina.

R:

Thank you. I appreciate your comments. Questions from the committee?



- R:** One of the parts of the presentation that Alston and Chuck presented called for consideration of memorials and naming in three different timeframes, the original act or event, the original meaning of the monument created and the view that would be held by current observers. What is your reflection on that in light of your group's view?
- F. Pray:** In regards to...?
- R:** ...making the distinction between Saunders and McCorkle Place.
- F. Pray:** In regards to McCorkle Place and Silent Sam in particular? First of all, it is our belief that The Silent Sam Memorial is a memorial to the brave North Carolinians who were defending their home state at the advance of the Union Army who was literally raping and pillaging their way through North Carolina on their march to the sea. We're not saying that the Civil War was a good war that should have been fought in the first place but we're saying that the men who died, our ancestors, did not die in vain. There was a reason that they died. They died protecting their homes when the Union Army was advancing. To change the monument in any substantial way that would disrespect that memory and disrespect our ancestors is quite frankly an insult to us and their memories and therefore we can't let that stand.
- R:** Other questions?
- F. Pray:** Thank you for your time.
- R:** Thank you very much. Appreciate it.
- [Applause]
- R:** I'm going to introduce the next speaker that you're not going to ask questions because he's not here.
- R:** I wonder if he knows he's got a really embarrassing picture of himself up there.



R: We can take a screenshot and mortify him.

R: Somebody take a screenshot of that and let's send that to Al.

A. Gardner: Tell Al that's how he showed up here today. I'm pleased to introduce Dr. Al Brophy. Al is the Judge John J. Parker distinguished professor of law at the UNC School of Law and importantly Al has written extensively on race and property law. His work includes books on Reconstruction and the pros and cons of reparations. He's published articles on the history of slavery and the law and the morality of building renaming. He has published articles in numerous places and has worked extensively with Brown, Alabama, U Va. and other universities on their approach to their history. He authored the University of Alabama's public apology for its ties to slavery. He is speaking via recorded video today because he is a guest lecturer at Western Kentucky today as we speak. I asked him to do this video in one take in order to be like our speakers today. There is no editing and he had to do it just like you did. So I'd like to introduce Dr. Al Brophy.

Dr. Al Brophy: Hello members of the Board of Trustees and people attending the Board of Trustees meeting. Thanks for letting me participate remotely in this discussion. I'm really sorry I can't be there in person and I'm really looking forward to reading about this in the Daily Tar Heel. Let me say first off, I applaud the work of those who have recovered the history of William Saunders and what he means and what his legacy was at the 19th and 20th Centuries and going into today. Because of you, we know much more about our university's history and why that is important and how that continues today. You've taught us that less than 100 years ago a key figure in North Carolina's fight against Reconstruction was honored here, at least in part because people believed he was a Klansman. Like many other universities, such as the University of Virginia, William and Mary, the University of Georgia, the University of Alabama and in the North, Harvard, Brown and Princeton, our university was built on money made from enslaved people. We educated the sons of the slave owning class. Our faculty taught that



slavery was right. Unlike many of those schools, however, UNC also had faculty, students, alumni and graduation speakers who took brave stands against the institution of slavery. I believe it's much more important than a name on a building is how we present our history, how we build upon it and overcome the past. I hope we will have a project that puts William Saunders into context so that we will learn about him and his ideas and the ideas that set back the course of racial progress for decades. But I hope we will look at that alongside people like William Gaston of the North Carolina Supreme Court who spoke against slavery in 1832 over in Gerard Hall, as well as the enslaved people whose labor helped build this school and to sustain it and how in the 20th Century this school sometimes supported Jim Crow and at other times opposed it. The University of North Carolina, once build by slaves, is now dedicated to a very different mission. So a building name by itself can't present the complexity and chaos of our history, in which the labor of enslaved people, who would never see this institution, funded it and many generations later we become known for our role in excellent education for everybody without regard to race and we're known especially for opportunities for students of modest means. Only a comprehensive history can do that. Universities truck in ideas and knowledge. This is what we specialize in. The studies of slavery that have lasted for decades now at Brown and that are ongoing at U Va. and William and Mary and Emory and that are emerging at places like Princeton and other schools have gone on... they're not a yes/no, rename/not rename decision. They have focused on understanding their institution's history without trying to hide the negative and to understanding who we and they are and how we're working every day to achieve those ideals. One example of such changes over time, I think, is the Edmond-Padas Bridge in Selma, Alabama — named for a leader of the Alabama Klan and a former Confederate General. It is now one of the best known symbols of the Civil Rights Movement throughout the world. It's my belief that learning that takes place in Saunders Hall is the best repudiation there can be for the violence associated with the end of Reconstruction in our state. But I'm opposed to renaming Saunders Hall, in addition, because I believe that facilitates forgetting our connections that Saunders represented and to the violence of the



post-Civil War era. My favorite example of this kind of forgetting comes from Yale University where a few years ago they took down a portrait of their benefactor Elihu Yale, which had for many decades hung in the room where the trustees met. They took it down, not because... Elihu Yale was being waited on by an enslaved child and they took it down, not because it was a sign of white supremacy but because in the words of a Yale administrator, "It wrongfully implicated Elihu Yale in slavery." It was thus part of the administration's whitewashing of their history. So I hope we're going to have an ongoing and comprehensive history and a discussion around the meaning of that history. This should be an ongoing, difficult dialog, not a one-time event. Thank you for letting me participate in this. I'm really looking forward to hearing the rest of the discussion and from learning from you.

C. Duckett:

I want to thank Dr. Brophy. Obviously there are no questions so I'm going to introduce the next speaker. I'm excited about this as well. It's Dr. Jim Leloudis. Jim is the Associate Dean of the Honors Program at Carolina. He's a professor of history and is the Director of the James M. Johnson Center for Undergraduate Excellence. He's an expert on the history of the modern South, the Jim Crow Era and importantly — very importantly — is an expert on the history of the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill. Jim.

Dr. J. Leloudis:

Thank you, Trustee Duckett and other members of this committee and the entire Board. Like everyone else here, I appreciate this opportunity to examine the history of race at Carolina and the ways that it connects, as we've heard, to very important issues of memory and identity and inclusion in the life of the University today. I also want to say "thank you" to the students, and I'll come back to you in just a second, the alumni, faculty, townspeople who over the years have been quite insistent in their request, their urging us to undertake this kind of self-examination. I'm especially grateful for the students who are here today. I admire your determination. I admire your impatience. I admire your moral courage. I am an alumnus of this institution, as you will soon be. You make me very proud of this place. I know I don't speak only for myself but I speak for fellow faculty members when I say you're the



reason we think there could be no better place than Carolina to be on the faculty. So thank you very, very much. As others have said, this University was born of a slaveholding society and the wealth that sustained it until the time of the Civil War was derived primarily from the labor of black men, women, children who were held as human chattel. North Carolina born historian Edward Baptist in a powerful new book argues that pretty much the same holds for the nation as a whole in this era. If you've not seen the book, you should pick up a copy. It's titled *The Half Has Never Been Told* and in it, Baptist contends, I think quite persuasively, that a moral reckoning is long, long overdue. So for us today, the need for such a reckoning is thrown into a sharper leap by the question of what to do with Saunders Hall. Let me say at the outset, if the options were simply to remove the name or to leave it, I would vote in an instant to remove it for reasons you've heard today. There is no smoking gun to prove William Saunders' leadership in the Klan but that's hardly a surprise. And again, as you've heard, there is also no doubt that Saunders' contemporaries, the eminent historian of North Carolina, Joseph Hamilton who was a defender of the Klan and the trustees who named this building for Saunders in the 1920's celebrated his influence in that organization. Again, I just want to urge us to call the Klan for what it was: a terrorist insurgency that used murder and extralegal violence to overthrow democratically elected governments. So we mustn't, we can't ignore that history because to do so is effectively to absolve William Saunders of his crimes. But I also worry about the consequence of scrubbing Saunders' name and the history it represents from the landscape of this campus. That's why I'm drawn to a third option and that is the option to curate and to bring scholarship and to bring teaching to bear on Saunders Hall and other contested spaces across our campus. Let me say that that curation might well include removing the name and putting a plaque there to commemorate that decision but I think this curation, however it's configured, is vitally important because we can't let this historical moment evaporate. I've been on this campus long enough to see this issue come around and around and around again. Things are said. Things are done. There is no, kind of, ongoing legacy and engagement with these issues. I think we are a weaker institution



for that. Now I understand and respect the concern expressed by some members of the community that there might be a risk here of imposing modern day standards on actors who lived in a very different time and under very different circumstances. I understand that concern, but I also think it's misplaced for two reasons. First, if we're not to judge the past in the light of our own moral principles, then I wonder how we're to evaluate and learn from it. It won't do to say that Saunders and his compatriots engaged in reprehensive behavior and then to add that it's not our place to judge them because they were, after all, simply men of their time, a time in which virulent racism was commonplace. That strikes me as a rather unsettling form of moral relativism that leaves the past utterly unaccountable to those of us who live with its legacies today. And second, I think that concern about treating the past unfairly is grounded in historical inaccuracy. The fact of the matter is that the story of race in public life in North Carolina during the second half of the 19th Century is quite complex and quite remarkable. On two occasions, first in the late 1860s and then again in the mid to late 1890s, black North Carolinians and their white allies — about a third of white citizens — joined forces, forged powerful biracial political alliances and won control of state government. They did so in the first time in 1868 under the banner of the Republican Party and they gave us a new constitution, the constitution that for the first time in North Carolina's history mandated the establishment of a system of public schools and guaranteed universal male suffrage. We still live with that constitution today. Then in the 1890s, black Republicans and white Populists joined in what they called a Fusion Alliance. Together they won control of the legislature and the governor's office. Now this is important because this is the only time and the only place in the south where biracial politics were that successful. The Fusionists again ushered in an era of reform that included expanded investment in public schools, the founding of a land-grant college for African-Americans and passage of one of the fairest election laws in this state's history. William Saunders and the men of his ilk could not defeat those alliances at the ballot box so they turned to violence, violence perpetrated by the Klan in the 1860s and by vigilantes known as the Red Shirts in the 1890s. They turned to violence to silence their opponents. Blacks and



whites, whites whom they charged had acted as race traders. In 1900, white supremacists sealed their victory with a constitutional amendment that stripped black men and large numbers of poor white men of their right to vote. By doing so, they established the reign of Jim Crow, which continued until the Civil Rights revolution of the 1960s. Now as you saw in the presentation, and I'm reminded of this in the classroom, few people on this campus, and I dare say few people across this state know much at all about that history. Every spring semester, I'm still dismayed but I'm over being surprised when I walk into my large survey course, and I'm going to make clear it's not the students' fault, it's ours as educators, but I walk into my large survey course on North Carolina since 1865 and I begin a conversation of a group of 150 or more students. They are the state's best and brightest, and they know little or nothing about this tale. As you might imagine, they begin to engage it with amazement, their eyes increasingly growing wider and their jaws agape. That kind of ignorance leaves us morally and imaginatively impoverished. We fail to recognize that history is governed by contingency and choice, that people make history and that forces of inevitability do not determine its course. I suggest to my students that one way to understand that idea is to think of history as a roadmap cluttered with intersections and alternative routes. If we were to go back in the past and take a different turn at any of the major crossroads — the crossroads of the late 1860s, the crossroads of the late 1890s — we might well end up in a very different world today. For each path chosen, countless other alternatives are left behind. It's instructive to retrace the journey. We may look down some of those paths left behind and be very glad we never traveled down there. But down other paths, paths we knew nothing about, we might gain fresh insight into the pressing concerns of our own time, like those before us today, insights in the ways which our world might be remade. In that sense, studying history is as much about today and tomorrow as it is about yesterday. Knowing the story of William Saunders, recognizing why Silent Sam presides over McCorkle Place, remembering history's losers, those North Carolinians who in the face of organized terror resisted the rule of white supremacy, these things matter. They matter because they have remarkable power to expand our



imagination, to expand our awareness of our own roles as historical actors and of the ways our moral choices can shape the world we hope to create. And so that's why I think it's so vitally important to curate the contested spaces across our campus and to promote an understanding of the journey that brought us to where we stand today. I think we owe that to our students. I think we owe that to the people of this state. Thank you very much.

C. Duckett: Thank you Jim. (Applause) I'm reminded why you got all those A's in 1977 and I didn't.

Dr. J. Leloudis: We were history majors together. Don't believe a word he says. (Laughs)

Phil: Same question I asked others. You advocated for curating the University's history and there is good reason why that would be a good thing but what would you imagine to be the second and third step considering the comments students made about their fatigue at revisiting the sharing of their pain, which I can attest to since many of the things they've said were said when I was a student?

Dr. J. Leloudis: I have to say that is one of the things that stops me and that I wake up at night thinking about because I can talk about that at a cerebral level. I obviously do not walk across this campus and feel that pain. I think that's the first thing to acknowledge. I think maybe the other reason the curation is important is that perhaps we can relieve them of some of the burden of publically expressing that pain, living and reliving that pain by taking ownership of it as an institution and making it our job — not their job — our job to engage in this kind of conversation and the experiences that they've shared with us today. They carry a heavy burden. I think we should be lifting much of that. How we do that exactly, I think it's going to be really exciting to go forward thinking about that.

C. Duckett: Thank you Jim. It's always a pleasure. (Applause) The next speaker is Dr. Deborah Stroman. Deborah has taught in numerous schools at UNC including currently at the Kenan-Flagler Business School. She is involved in first year seminars, has been involved in



teaching Exercise Sports Science and other areas across this campus. A good explanation for Debby, if you know her is she's a mentor. She's a coach. She's an entrepreneur and a former basketball player at Virginia that has her PhD in Business and Leadership. Dr. Stroman is the Chair of the Carolina Black Caucus. Welcome.

Dr. D. Stroman: Thank you. The Black Faculty and Staff Caucus was established in 1974 over 40 years ago to address the challenges and institutional barriers to access that existed for African-American employees at that time. Today, because it's still necessary, we continue to advocate for respect and our inclusion. In addition, we celebrate our achievements and partner with other university administrators, faculty and staff who warmly share our enthusiasm and commitment to excellence. It is important that we publically acknowledge our decision to be a part of a predominantly white institution of higher learning. We chose this complex and amazing dynamic of southern hospitality, demanding workloads and public education. We selected UNC. We value the opportunity to lead, serve and inspire young people. To that end, we are very pleased that the Board of Trustees has decided to address this long-standing issue of the naming of campus buildings. It's quite obvious to most people studying or working within the UNC system that the history of North Carolina reflects the history of the United States. It is good. It is bad. It at times has been very, very ugly. Sadly, many can live most of their lives happily in America never really learning the real history of our great country. When one is presented the opportunity to gain knowledge, to become informed and to recognize the untold stories, it is critical that the opportunity is seized. Today, we, the University of North Carolina, have that chance. To move forward — to heal — we must be educators in this regard. I now read the statement that represents our position regarding the naming of the buildings:

The Carolina Black Caucus, also known as the Black Faculty and Staff Caucus, expresses our sincere interest in the ongoing dialog regarding the naming of buildings on the campus of UNC Chapel Hill. At this time, we are very clear in our deep support and



encouragement of student activism, that is we celebrate the discussion, engagement and collective action of the student perspective and public voice. In addition, we offer our fervent support of the immediate necessity of educational resources to further promote the understanding of the University's racial and cultural history. This occasion affords the University the opportunity to implement strategies and tools to educate and unite administrators, faculty, staff and students on the historical context of particular university donor and leader activities and the current status of blacks of UNC Chapel Hill. Lastly, we strongly recommend further data collection, transparency of findings, acknowledgement and recognition of those University pioneers who courageously struggled and protested to ensure the presence of black people at this university. Respectfully, Deborah Stroman Chairperson, Steering Committee members, Victoria Hammett, Ursula Littlejohn, Oj McGhee, Jackie Overton, Eileen Parsons, Kathy Ramsey, and Nakenge Robertson.

Removing a name will not erase, edit or change the history of the State of North Carolina. Someone once said, "Forgive others, not because they deserve forgiveness but because you deserve peace." We refuse to be a prisoner of the past. We forgive and we embrace peace. Thank you.

A. Gardner: Y'all have been awful quiet over there. Any questions?

R: I have one question, just to make sure I'm clear. So as a stance, obviously we need to curate this. I don't think anybody has stepped up here that says otherwise. Is it your belief, I think I heard you say but I just want to make sure I'm correct, that you don't necessarily support taking the name off the building but it's vitally important that we tell the history, not only of all of the people that are memorialized around here but also importantly people that are missing in this play in that the people that helped make a difference and may not have been recognized to date?

Dr. D. Stroman: Yes. I think everyone is very clear that education is very important around this but also we want our people to be celebrated and



acknowledged. To your question regarding the second and third steps, we talk a lot about micro-aggressions. I think that's a word that's clearly been defined and talked about in the classrooms and outside the classrooms a lot. But we're not talking about the macro-aggressions. What is the macro-aggression? That is institutional racism that exists here at UNC. So my second and third steps would be we need to focus on education but we need to educator our Chancellor, our Provost, our vice chancellors, our deans, our chairs and our full professors. We're talking about changing the climate on campus. We're talking about changing behavior. That means there needs to be some education and some interaction but we cannot just leave it on our students to grassroots this, which is important. We also need those who are leading this institution and leading this state to understand macro-aggressions and how institutional racism affects everyone.

R: I'm going to read something that's going to embarrass somebody but it's important. It was in an email to me. It said, "If everyone could just acknowledge our institution," meaning North Carolina UNC organizations, units, etc., "if we could acknowledge the ugliness and not take it so personal, we can move forward. I believe that even with our ugliness we are still loving, beautiful and caring people with encouraging potential to do great things. There just has to be a collective agreement that we want a better outcome for everyone and that outcome does not mean another person or group has to lose. That's where fear kicks in." That was important and it was written to me by you. I think that probably is one of the best summations of what the collective goal really is, so I want to thank you for that. It meant a lot to me.

Dr. D. Stroman: You're welcome.

R: Deborah, thank you very much. We really appreciate you taking the time.

[Applause.]



A. Gardner: Our next speaker is Professor Eric Muller. Am I pronouncing that correctly? Unfortunately we also didn't have a chance to meet prior to this. Eric is the Governor of Dan K. Moore Distinguished Professor in Jurisprudence and Ethics. He is published extensively on the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. He's won numerous teaching awards at the law school. And he now serves as the Director for Faculty Excellence, one of the centers, that thank goodness, the Board of Governors showed their wisdom to leave you alone. He's also heading up the study of Ruffin Hall. Perhaps you can share something about that in your comments. Professor Muller.

E. Muller: Thank you very much. I wanted to start as others have done by thanking you for the opportunity to speak to you this afternoon about this important issue. I appreciate your having mentioned that in my scholarship, I focus a great deal on how we think about and how we remember the wrongs of prior generations. I focus chiefly on the mass imprisonment of Japanese Americans during World War II, which is more of a concern out on the West Coast, often than it is here. But as you've noted, I've also written a fair amount about how we should think about Thomas Ruffin, the North Carolina Judge, slave owner, slave trader and author of the most virulent defense of slavery in a judicial opinion that probably ever appeared in any state law report in the antebellum period. And by the way, someone for whom another building is named on our campus. I want to suggest two things to you this afternoon. One, that we must do something to strip the honor from William Saunders that his grandchildren's generation conferred on him in 1922 by naming a building after him. And two, that the best way for us as a leading research university to do that, is not to remove Saunders' name but to make Saunders Hall into a site that teaches future generations the disturbing lesson that Carolina was built, not just on the excellence of a William Friday but on the ugliness of a William Saunders. So first, we must do something to Saunders Hall. We often hear it said about historical figures like William Saunders or Thomas Ruffin for that matter, that they were men of their generation and that it would be unfair to judge their deeds and their commitments from our vantage point today. To my way of thinking,



this argument misses two key points. For one thing, generations are not moral monoliths. Even within generations, there are those who distinguish themselves by bending the arc of history towards justice and those who distinguish themselves by bending it away from justice. We know that this is true in our own generation, right? We know that there is a rich range of ethical behavior and unethical behavior in our own generation. So, why would it not be true of a past generation? It means very little to say that William Saunders was a man of his generation. What's meaningful is what kind of a man of his generation he was and on that I think the evidence is clear. For a second thing, we in our generation have to remember that the naming of Saunders Hall was a retrospective honor conferred by members of our university community who were themselves two generations removed from Saunders himself. The generation of the 1920s, chose to use this building to celebrate not Saunders' commitment to white supremacy, but their own in the 1920s. So, why should our generation give that generation the last word on the subject. Now second, by simply renaming Saunders Hall, we might do a brief service to our own generation but it would soon be forgotten and we would squander the chance to educate ourselves and our children and our grandchildren about aspects of Carolina's history that many would rather forget. Saunders Hall could become a unique site on this campus. A place that surfaces the racism of those who defined and refined the mission of this university after the Civil War and a place that reminds us of how tenaciously, this institution still clung to white supremacy more than 50 years later. How would we alter the exterior and interior of Saunders Hall to accomplish this? I'm not an expert in design and in interpretation. But I have worked with experts in design and interpretation on the building of a museum at the site of one of the Japanese American internment camps. And I know that there are professionals out there who could propose dozens of creative ways to use the walls and the spaces of Saunders Hall to tell a story about Carolina's history that visitors would not just notice but that they would be forced in a sense to confront. Something more engaging and more interactive than a plaque by the door. This references of course this discussion about curation, which Jim Leloudis and others have already, I think very articulately



expressed. We've talked about lectures and presentations and conversation and what I'm adding to the conversation, I hope, is an insistence that we use also, the power of place and the power of that space to work against the instinct to cabin evil and injustice to the past. So, my argument is not to remove the name of William Saunders but to turn the building named for him into a site of provocation. A provocation to remember the ugliness and not just the excellence in Carolina's history. A provocation to reflect on how the advancement of our beloved institution was often entangled with human suffering. And a provocation to each successive generation, our own and future ones, to ask itself or ourselves the uncomfortable question of who among us deserves celebration and who does not. Thank you very much for your time. I appreciate it.

[Applause]

A. Gardner: Art [Inaudible], so we got to ask you a question now.

R: Actually, I think he answered my question so I appreciate that.

E. Muller: Thank you.

R: Thanks very much.

Thank you very much.

A. Gardner: The next speaker is a unique speaker here and he is a UNC alum. His name is Arch Allen. He is a retired attorney from Raleigh if I am correct? Isn't that right? He is currently the Chairman of the Board of the Pope Center for Higher Education. And importantly, Arch is a former trustee here at Chapel Hill and has been dedicated to this place for a long a time. Welcome, Arch.

A. Allen: Thank you for inviting me to speak. I speak personally and not for any organization and I'll just address the Saunders Hall issue. I know you have a couple of other issues on your agenda as well. I support removing his name from the building. I realize reasonable people can differ and you've heard a lot of articulation. I wrote



Chairman Gardner a letter last year setting forth my rationale. Real simply, it's that the Ku Klux Klan was a terrorist organization, not just racially motivated. It was a politically motivated organization as well. Not as erudite as some of the other speakers but in my opinion, murder was a crime in the 19th Century. We do not have to impose 21st Century attitudes on race, white supremacy and other matters to condemn murders that occurred in the 19th Century. The Ku Klux Klan murdered people, white and black —mainly Republicans who controlled the State after the elections of 1868. According to the histories I've read, much of the intimidation by murder and otherwise, by the Ku Klux Klan was politically motivated to suppress the vote in 1870 when the other party took control. I mean, it is really about that simple for me but you can make it as elaborate as you want and I commend you for the great process you're going through and for the history, the historical research you've done. And from what I've read, you've got it right on Saunders and the era. Dr. Clay, anticipating your question, I more recently than my earlier letter wrote Alston Gardner on the issue for whom the building should be renamed and I submitted the name of Governor William W. Holden who was the Governor elected in 1868 and who was impeached for his efforts to suppress the Ku Klux Klan violence that occurred in 1870. In my opinion, Holden would be the perfect antidote to the Ku Klux Klan violence and to the...in my opinion, mistaken naming of the building for Saunders in 1922. I think it is unquestioned that his impeachment was as a result of his efforts to suppress the Ku Klux Klan violence. He was vilified for many decades and I won't get into all that history. Jim's touched on some of it but he's been vindicated by modern historians. I mentioned his two biographies in the letter I sent Alston Gardner. And the North Carolina Senate in 19- ...in 2011, voted unanimously to pardon Holden posthumously, obviously, in a symbolic move. That's about what I have to say. I'll be a little briefer than some of the others, You've had a long meeting but I am happy to try and answer any questions you may have.

R: My question has been answered.



A. Allen: I had one thing about Holden I left out, I just dwelled on the Ku Klux Klan issue. He also delivered the commencement address at the university in 1869, before his impeachment obviously. In his commencement address, he spoke of the people's university and it was Holden, not Charles Kuralt, who originated that phrase. And he also publicly in his address opposed a recommendation from the trustees to create a new separate school for the newly emancipated black citizens of North Carolina and he spoke of their being *one* university, The University of North Carolina for blacks and whites. So Holden advocated admission of blacks to the university about a century before the courts ordered the admission. So thank you for letting me add that.

A. Gardner: I appreciate you coming over from Raleigh and thank you for your service as a trustee.

A. Allen: Thank you very much. Thank you for having me.

[Applause]

A. Gardner: Our final speaker on the agenda is Sam Fulwood who is also an alumnus of the university. He is a Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress. Prior to working at CAP, he was a journalist. He worked at the Cleveland Plain Dealer, The LA Times, The Atlanta Journal Constitution and the Baltimore Sun and I think the Charlotte Observer. Sam, am I...did I get that right? The Charlotte Observer? He's a frequent speaker on college campuses about national politics and race relations. He's an adjunct professor of journalism at Howard University. He serves on the Board of Visitors for the School of Journalism. So Sam, I was gonna say you get the last word but Cynthia gets the last word. I know that's how that really works.

S. Fulwood: Good afternoon. I want to begin my brief remarks with several notes of appreciation. First and foremost, my thanks go to Vice Chairman Alston Gardner who extended this invitation for me to speak before the University's Board of Trustees. Alston is my friend and as such, he knows well my love of this university and all that it



represents to my native state and to our nation. Thank you, Alston, for this opportunity to share my thoughts. I also want to say thank you to the Board of Trustees for taking this matter so seriously. I know that you didn't have to do so. As someone who has made his career out of talking to, writing to and sometimes to preaching to the unconverted on matters of race in America, I know that this is risky business and it is not for the weak-kneed or the thin-skinned to grapple with these matters. So fraught with peril, the scratchy subject of race is often described as a third rail issue, best left ignored or overlooked to avoid public detonation. I'm appreciative that my alma mater is going into this with eyes wide open and minds open and perhaps wearing black jackets. And finally, I want to express my sincere and heartfelt admiration for the students of the university for their activism in pressing the issue of race, history and community on our beloved campus. I am not so old as to have forgotten what it's like to be a student — a black male student — on this predominantly white campus. It wasn't always easy. I vividly remember during my freshman year here at Carolina that black student activists marched to Memorial Hall, circled the seated audience and shouted to drown out a lecture by the Klansman David Duke. What students are doing here today, I believe, is in the highest tradition and totally in keeping with the purpose of public institutions. They are speaking up and issuing challenges on matters they deem important to them, even when their voices make others uncomfortable. I applaud Omololu Babatunde for speaking here today and for her strong advocacy on behalf of the real Silent Sam Coalition. Let there be no doubt, that all of us came here today because we love the University of North Carolina. The question that grabs our immediate attention is rooted in a sense of caring concern about what is best for those of us who do indeed love this place. Love, real love isn't always easy to embrace. The bitter realities and inconvenient truths about subjects of our affection can lead us to wish away things that make us uncomfortable or unhappy. Such is the case, I fear, with the controversy surrounding Saunders Hall. The passions of youth and the desires of contemporary student activists to make this university a pristine place collide head first into ugly historical facts. We know by history, that the university honored William Saunders with a



namesake building. He was a graduate of our university. He was a Confederate Colonel in the Civil War. He was a notable state political leader and he sat on this very same Board of Trustees. Well, not this one but the Board of Trustees. And we know with a high probability of accuracy that he was a leading figure in the establishment of the Ku Klux Klan in the Tar Heel State. We know by logic and reason that Saunders was a man embedded into the culture and the morays of his time and his place. What's more we know that that time and that place denied humanity upon people who look like me or bear my ancestry. That time and place is no more, yet the building bearing Saunders name stands today. I strongly believe that it should continue to bear his name with the prominent explanation and historical contextualization as a single history lesson for future generations. Indeed, I am convinced the scraping his name from the façade of the building would represent a cowardly step towards erasure of our shared history. As unsettling and painful as that history might be, we owe it to future generations to understand why that building bears Saunders' name. In 1922, when the University named the history building for Saunders, his reputation was quite different than it is today. By present day standards, he isn't nearly as heroic as he was nearly a century ago. Saunders Hall stands a reminder of what once was valued on this campus. If viewed in the context of evolving attitudes on race and citizenship, on place and belonging, the history embodied by Saunders Hall stands less as an honor to a reputed Klansman and more of a marker of what we have overcome. That's how I viewed that building and others like it when I was a student here in the 1970s. Context is key. Left alone to stand without meaning and understanding, Saunders Hall makes a lie of the past and mocks current and future generations of Carolina students. I do not favor allowing the building to stand as it presently does. Rather there are lessons to be taught in and about Saunders Hall. Indeed, those lessons extend beyond the red brick walls of the building. Saunders Hall isn't only a building on our beloved campus with a sketchy heritage. Shall we mount a campaign to scrub all meaning and history from them as well? I think not. I have read that the mantra of the student movement to change the building's name is "kicking out the KKK." Some students have told me that offends



them to walk past monuments such as Silent Sam or to sit in classes in a building they associate with heroes of the Confederacy. I know how they feel and I remember having similar discussions with my black friends on campus nearly 40 years ago. Some things seem never to change. But a great many things have occurred since I was a student. The campus is far more diverse and welcoming to students of color than it was back in my day and I say this as someone — a black male student — who loved being on campus from my first day to my reluctant to leave graduation day. Indeed, the march of history proves that only change is constant. For the bulk of my professional life, I was a newspaper journalist, trained in our own school of journalism to seek and speak truth to power with accuracy and precision. It was a mission I embraced because I recognized that history had been unkind to people I most identified with, like my college educated grandparents, and parents. When I entered Carolina in 1974, I was well aware that I was doing something that my ancestors couldn't have done, I knew enough of my personal and state history to know that black youth of my parents' generation, if they were to attend college in North Carolina, were compelled to enroll in segregated, separate and very unequal institutions. This is, relatively speaking, recent history. The buildings on this campus spoke to me, affirming that my place was to be among them and to excel for those who had the ability but were denied the opportunity. I learned from practicing journalism what some call the "rough draft of history," that knowledge provides a baseline for sound public policy and civic decision making. My work today is an extension of that where I study the intersections of race on public policies. Over the course of my career as a journalist and policy analyst, I come to realize that so many mistakes made by politicians and community leaders rest largely upon their ignorance of what came before them. Noted sociologist Joe Feagin, a social theorist who has done remarkable research and scholarship on race and gender issues once told me, that it is impossible to have an intelligent discussion with the average American about racial issues because so few of them are well enough versed in the history of race relations. He said, and I quote, "You need to have three hours of history just to have a decent ten minute conversation." "Little wonder we are," as



Attorney General Eric Holder famously said, “A nation of cowards for our unwillingness to talk about race.” Sometimes as I go about my work, I despair because it seems to be a vast effort to sanitize our history, to remove the rough parts and gloss over the low points because...well, I suspect because it makes us feel better about a history that we seem powerless to change. Perhaps we can’t change the past, but the alternative is to make new history that stands alongside triumphantly with the misdeeds and the errors of the past. As we sit here today, there are politicians across the country seeking to purge the history books being used to teach high school students out of a misguided sense of correcting well-established facts. It is a lamentable trend that’s sweeping across the more regressive communities. In Colorado, for example, some legislators are demeaning that AP History courses become more patriotic and that teachers only teach lessons “depicting American heritage” in a positive light. And effectively to ban any material that could lead to dissent. Even here in North Carolina, there are politicians seeking to persuade the College board, a private organization that certifies high school AP courses for college credit to exclude any material with which those politicians deem to have ideological bias including evolution or black history. Renaming Saunders Hall falls in line with such thinking and I urge you to resist that temptation. Find ways to augment our knowledge but never subtract from it. Our history must be taught fully and accurately to all who crossed the portals on this campus. All who graduate from their studies here, must remember it and pass it along to those who follow. No one should be allowed to hide from or make it easy for others to forget the realities of that history. I’ll take your questions.

[Applause.]

S. Fulwood: I don’t have an answer for you. (Laughs). I’m impressed by something that I did hear one of the earlier speakers say. The idea of turning Saunders Hall into some sort of museum-like quality that really emphasizes the history; good, bad and ugly, appeals to me. And I think that that would be a next step, a way to approach this.

R: Thank you Sam.



Sam, thanks for driving down from DC. I really appreciate you being here. I hope your students you brought with you got something out of this. Thanks very much.

[Applause.]

[Side talk.]

A. Gardner:

So, where do we go from here? You've heard eight opinions by some very learned scholars and passionate students. Some wise alumni. We now want to hear from the rest of the community. So, I think as of 4:00 this afternoon, there is now a new tab on the Board of Trustees website, which is just off the main page that will allow you to submit your comments. It will be open for one month so let me tell you right up front, this is not Yik Yak. You've got to give us your name and affiliation with the University. We won't take your comment without it. If you have a proposal for us and we've heard several good ones today from our speakers. We'd like to hear more. If you've got some ideas for addressing this issue, give us the rationale for your ideas, the relevant facts and then how we might implement those ideas. We're excited about creating a solution that teaches our students our history and making our students feel welcome and belonging at University of North Carolina. Keep in mind that everything you submit will be subject to North Carolina Open Records Laws and will be published and all emails sent to members of the Board of Trustees are also I will remind you, are also subject to North Carolina Open Records Laws. I've received a number of them today. They are mostly very thoughtful just to let you know that. Thank you very much. Trustee Duckett?

C. Duckett:

Mr. Chairman I move that the University Affairs Committee go into closed session pursuant of North Carolina General Statutes Section 143-318 at 11-A1 to [prevent the disclosure of privileged information under Section 126-22 and the following and also pursuant to Section 143-318 11, 5 and 6.



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[End of audio.]