



# **Making a Zine, Building a Feminist Collective: *Ruptures I*, Student Visionaries, and Racial Justice at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill**

## **Feminist Geography Collective: FLOCK<sup>1</sup>**

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### **Abstract**

Generations of student visionaries have struggled for racial justice at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. *Ruptures I* is a zine produced by the feminist geography collective FLOCK, with contributions from collaborators, that highlights this history of struggle. This essay briefly introduces the process, themes, and motivations behind FLOCK's production of this zine and highlights how learning about UNC's history transformed the way we view our campus landscape and remade our relationships with one another. As we strived to illuminate the ways student activists teach us about our university, making the zine became an educational process for our evolving feminist collective. Further, as our collective has shifted and sometimes stalled in the years after we first printed it, the zine has travelled outside our circle and served as a pedagogical object for others. In the spirit of feminist praxis we reflect here on our collective commitments to creating and using the zine to subvert oppressive university hierarchies and also explore the difficulties in sustaining this collective work.

### **Keywords**

Racial justice, collective, zine, university

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<sup>1</sup> FLOCK stands for Feminists Liberating Our Collective Knowledge. The authors of this essay are: Banu Gökarkınel, Michael Hawkins, Christopher Neubert, Michelle Padley, Sara Smith, Pavithra Vasudevan, and Willie J. Wright. The *Ruptures I* zine included contributions from Francisco Laso (cover artwork), Stephanie Metzen (Hurston drawing), Sertanya Reddy (poetry), and the 3C's (reimagined campus map).

## Introduction

We inhabit a stately tree-filled campus in the oldest public university of the United States, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC-CH), where monuments, buildings, and street names honoring Southern culture and history populate the landscape. However, this landscape is a product of slavery, white supremacy, and racial and sexual violence that actively contributes to the oppression of people of color in the present. That's why students have made the removal of such oppressive symbols central to their broader efforts for racial justice on campus for decades. On August 20, 2018, returning students, faculty, and community members gathered to commemorate the anniversary of the Charlottesville attacks one year prior. Like activists agitating for decades before them, they demanded the removal of UNC-CH's own confederate monument, colloquially known as "Silent Sam." Silent Sam was commissioned by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and installed in the heart of the UNC-CH campus in 1913. While the statue ostensibly honors all those UNC students who died in the Civil War, the speech that local industrialist Julian Carr gave at its dedication makes abundantly clear the statue's glorification of white supremacy.<sup>2</sup> It was one among a wave of monuments installed in the post-Reconstruction South with the same purpose (Tyson 2015). On a campus that was segregated until 1955, Silent Sam existed as a daily reminder to students, faculty, and staff of color that UNC-CH is a historically white institution, with racist ideologies persisting in both spectacular and subtle ways. When doctoral student activist Emil Little doused the statue with her blood, mixed with red paint, she made this racist symbolism explicit, calling for the Chancellor and the public to "see him the way that we do, at the forefront of our campus covered in our blood" (Little 2018). In embodying the labor of historical contextualization that the administration had thus far refused, Little's intervention was *an act of pedagogy* that educated not only students but the general public, the administration, faculty, and, through media coverage, the nation. This pedagogical act built on the strategies of multiple generations of student visionaries who had struggled for a more just university.<sup>3</sup>

Student visionaries' pedagogical acts made it clear that Silent Sam was not a normal or neutral part of campus but one that was deeply controversial for upholding white supremacy. The statue had been left standing for 105 years by a university unwilling to acknowledge its perpetuation of racial oppression, shifting the burden of maintaining historical consciousness to those who knew that the statue was intended to exclude them not only from the university, but from the fullness of life itself. On the heels of the deadly white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, students held a sit-in on the first day of class in 2017. That academic year protests against Silent Sam continued, with added mobilization against Little's arrest on charges of defacing a public monument in early 2018. On 20 August 2018, during the protest held the night before the first day of school, the assembly chanted slogans, held up banners around the statue, roped the monument, and pulled it down off its stone pedestal. With Sam's face in the dirt, students cheered and took pictures with the damaged statue. The dethroning of the statue, following decades of student activism, presented a moment in which our predominantly white university

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<sup>2</sup> Carr also fought in the Confederate army and was awarded an honorary degree by the University in 1923. For his speech at the unveiling of the confederate monument see Carr, Julian. 1913. "Unveiling of Confederate Monument at University. June 2, 1913" Available at: <http://hgreen.people.ua.edu/transcription-carr-speech.html>

<sup>3</sup> The generations of student visionaries at UNC include The Black Student Movement and its magazine Black Ink (established in 1969), the Carolina Indian Circle (1974), Black Awareness Council, Students Seeking Historical Truth (1999), Campaign for Historical Accuracy and Truth, Black Cultural Center Movement, Freedom Legacy Project, On the Wake of Emancipation, and more recently, the UNControllables, The Real Silent Sam Coalition (formed in 2011), UNC Black Congress (2016), #StrikeDownSam (a labor action in 2018), and the groups involved creating the Carolina Latinx Center.

could no longer ignore the “controversy” of white supremacy at its heart: to restore “normalcy” would be to reinstall a monument to white supremacy. In December 2018, that is exactly what then Chancellor Folt<sup>4</sup> and the UNC-CH Board of Trustees recommended. Folt proposed to the Board of Trustees plans for a “high-security” facility to house a re-erected Silent Sam. It was estimated that this facility would cost \$5.3 million to build and \$800,000 a year to maintain. Additionally, the proposal called for the creation of a 40-person mobile police force to respond to protests at the cost of \$2 million per year. To prevent this plan from moving forward student organizers called for teaching assistants to strike by withholding final grades (Strike Down Sam 2018). The plan was withdrawn. University leadership would later stun activists and campus again when they announced not only the return of the statue to the North Carolina Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans but an agreement gifting this organization \$2.5 million of university funds to preserve and display the monument.<sup>5</sup>

The zine reproduced in this issue, created in 2017, before these more recent events took place, was part of a process of feminist collective organizing. Some two years before Sam’s toppling, we came together to form a collective we called Feminists Liberating Our Collective Knowledge (hereafter, FLOCK). FLOCK emerged in 2015 in the wake of heightened student activism demanding the removal of a Ku Klux Klan leader’s name from our Geography Department building (Knight 2015). UNC-CH Trustees denied student activists’ demand to give Zora Neale Hurston’s name to the building,<sup>6</sup> instead renaming it generically as “Carolina Hall” and instituting a 16-year moratorium on all renamings.<sup>7</sup> Here, we briefly introduce the process, themes, and motivations behind FLOCK’s production of a zine. We highlight how learning about UNC’s history transformed the way we view our campus landscape and remade our relationships with one another. As we strived to illuminate the ways student activists teach us about our university, making the zine became an educational process for us. It led to conversations and moments in which we sometimes addressed, briefly touched-on, or ignored tensions within our evolving feminist collective. Further, as our collective has shifted and sometimes stalled in the years after we first printed it, the zine has travelled outside our circle and served as a pedagogical object for others. In the spirit of feminist praxis, we reflect here on our collective commitments to creating and using the zine to subvert oppressive university hierarchies and also explore the difficulties in sustaining this collective work.

### **Envisioning the Break**

FLOCK’s founding was a time of success and defeat, of exhaustion, of knowing that change could happen but would be limited by institutional responses. We were motivated by the need to continue

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<sup>4</sup> Carol Folt parlayed her “handling” of the issue into the more lucrative position of President of the University of Southern California.

<sup>5</sup> The judge who initially approved the agreement later ruled that the Confederate group lacked standing to file its initial lawsuit claiming ownership of the statue and voided the deal (Levenson 2020).

<sup>6</sup> Hurston, the famous Black writer and anthropologist, attended seminars taught by UNC-CH faculty (but held off campus) in 1940 before the university was integrated. Students’ renaming of Hurston Hall was both poignant - only 4 UNC buildings at the time were named for women of color, 2.5% of all buildings (Rose-Redwood et al. 2015) - and prescient, foreshadowing the recent informal renaming of UNC’s building housing the departments of History, Political Science and Sociology for Pauli Murray.

<sup>7</sup> This moratorium was revoked in 2020 following renewed protests supporting Black Lives Matter.

to mobilize, to share past experiences, to connect people, and to form new visions. In creating the zine, we sought to research and document the decades of student activism for racial justice. We approached student-activists as knowledge producers who insistently discovered facts hidden in campus archives that had been dismissed or conveniently forgotten by administrators. We called these activists student visionaries to highlight how they used their knowledge to envision and labor for a more just university. With the zine, we aimed to celebrate the works of generations of student visionaries who suffused the landscape of our Southern institution with historical and political meaning, thus rupturing narratives that denied the active role monuments such as Silent Sam played in continuing racial injustice and violence. Hence, we called our zine *Ruptures I*.

The zine's emphasis on decades-long work of student visionaries continues to be significant today because it provides a direct counterpoint to the administration's depiction of student activists as "outside agitators" engaging in "illegal" activities. In researching and crafting the zine, we found such narratives consistently undermine and block student action for racial justice. When a step is taken towards addressing racial injustice on campus (such as removing the name of a white supremacist from a building), the university leadership claims it as its own and presents it as a benevolent action the administration has taken for the institution's "progress," entirely erasing the hard work of student visionaries for many years. In the case of Silent Sam's removal, the dichotomous framing of "outsiders" versus "our" students is inaccurate: the overwhelming majority of those present the night of the toppling were enrolled students. The contextualizing materials in the zine demonstrate that this narrative strategically dismisses the decades-long history of student-led activism for racial justice at UNC-CH. *Ruptures I* aims to bring the history of student-led activism to the forefront, center the work students do to produce historical knowledge, and position student visionaries as the drivers of change for a racially just future.

The activists responsible for finally toppling Silent Sam live and labor daily on campus and in the surrounding community. Far from exhibiting the mob behavior many accused them of, these activists instead tapped into and added to the rich tapestry of generations of students calling for racial justice at UNC-CH. Institutional racism produces a strange and dangerous irony at UNC-CH in allowing actual outsiders to occupy space on campus, as documented by multiple demonstrations - including the night of August 20th - in which white supremacist groups waving confederate flags have been protected on campus, while student activists are threatened and denigrated through their categorization as outside agitators.<sup>8</sup> Zine research, however, illuminated the insidious ways that the university has for decades reproduced these two poles: unrealistic, naive student radicals and vestiges of racism from which this seemingly progressive university has already moved on. The university leadership positioned itself as the body that could provide a sensible, enlightened resolution to demands from both sides while appeasing a Board of Trustees and Board of Governors mostly composed of profit driven, right wing, corporate ideologues.

With the monument now moved to an "undisclosed location," faculty and students were invited to provide feedback on where the monument should go, and this feedback overwhelmingly rejected installing the statue back on campus. In public op-eds, in letters to the editor, at court hearings for student activists, and behind closed doors, some faculty support student activists. However, both students and faculty find themselves operating within the confines of a hierarchical structure built to consolidate and

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<sup>8</sup> This narrative simultaneously erases the university's own role as an agitator when, for example, the campus police force deployed an undercover officer--disguised as a sympathetic working-class auto mechanic--to repeatedly surveil students participating in a sit-in at the statue in the months before it was torn down.

preserve power. While using the language of diversity to obscure problems of justice, the university simultaneously isolates individuals and turns those who voice frustration into the site of the problem. As Sara Ahmed (2017:37) said, “When you expose a problem, you pose a problem.” FLOCK was intended to respond to such challenges by bridging graduate student-faculty divides and creating spaces for knowledge production that were more open, collaborative, and non-hierarchical. However, we found ourselves deeply embedded within the institution, and struggled to consistently put collectivity, collaboration, and commitments to non-hierarchical relationships into practice. Through navigating this messy process while producing the zine we were able to better understand how we were positioned within the university.

In working through these challenges, we produced a zine that positions student-led activism for racial justice (and their support of campus workers’ organizing) as the lifeblood of the institution, performing the crucial labor of reframing the university as a racialized geopolitical space (Dimpfl and Smith 2019) that the institution resists or cannot afford to do without losing its political capital among donors and politicians. As student activist Omololu Babatunde often said at rallies to change our building’s name, by coming together to transform UNC-CH’s racialized landscape, students - predominantly students of color, queer students, and those inhabiting other marginalized identities - were building a critical analysis of the deep violence of the institution. Their actions, public demonstrations, visits to archives, and teach-ins intervened in and beyond the materiality of the landscape as they transformed how students, faculty, and staff understand campus histories, ongoing struggles, and their place in the world. The zine is intended as a testament to that vision.

### **Experimenting with Formations**

FLOCK did not initially set out to create a zine. We spent many of our first meetings sharing lunch, gossiping, and imagining how a collective might intervene to make our department a more inclusive place. The founding members shared commitments to feminism, racial justice, skepticism toward depoliticized campus campaigns for diversity, and an intentionality to intervene into Geography Department politics and structures. Our collective has been a generative space that is fluid, complex, and a site of tension. Though we envisioned a horizontal leadership structure, we faced the constraints of hierarchical power structures (for instance, faculty members being advisors and instructors to graduate student members) -- these differences are not so easy to overcome. Likewise, we repeatedly faced challenges in how to define our membership, and veered between our desires for greater inclusivity, and the need to draw boundaries in order to build trust. Was anyone who attended a meeting part of FLOCK? How might such a free-flowing membership work? Who was then responsible when there were deadlines? Who makes decisions, and how to do so with integrity without a clear structure of accountability? Would we open membership to new students entering the Department? How does a collective continue when its founding members graduate or leave for dissertation fieldwork? How do we labor together when the urgency of academic deadlines, health and material needs, or caregiving commitments shift the balance of life and work?

These uncertainties of collective formation may have reflected deeper ideological tensions that remain unresolved. The process of zine-making was accompanied throughout by the discomfort of engaging in solidarity work with Black-led student activism as a collective composed of majority white and non-Black people of color, with our own uneven and at times unspoken relationships to the institution and racism. While we began the collective with big picture visioning sessions, we never translated these into explicit operational guidelines by which we might formalize our aspirations to consensus and non-hierarchical relations. Furthermore, obtaining a grant to fund the creation of the zine and having a deadline to produce a creative venture led both to openings and unanticipated pressures and anxieties.

We found ourselves united toward the common cause of producing the zine, but the tensions underlying our collective formation re-emerged soon after the project's completion. And yet, despite the stumbling blocks, tensions, and our hesitations, in retrospect, we find ourselves changed by our involvement in this process -- not only in terms of our knowledge of the university, but in how we orient ourselves within the university, and by the relational possibilities of engaging the university as a space of politics.

We settled on the idea of doing a zine after exploring several options and holding a workshop with Zinesboro, a local zine library. We were drawn to zine-making because of its accessibility and disruptive and transformative potential (Velasco et al 2020), reflecting our grounding commitment to producing knowledge collectively in service of liberation from the racist and neoliberal structures of the university. Zines are “easy to make and inexpensive to distribute” (Downes 2013 cited in Bagelman and Bagelman, 2016, 366). They require no artistic talent, accommodate “mishap” art, and allow cutting, pasting, and repurposing images from the archives to combine visuals and texts to tell a story (ibid). The zine project pushed FLOCK into flight when we applied for an Institute for Arts and Humanities grant funding campus projects that used art to explore local activism. Creating the zine over two semesters served as a pedagogical process for us as graduate students and faculty members (see also Velasco et al 2020). Committed to highlighting the historical and contemporary campaigns of student activists we intentionally planned to use the zine as a way to move beyond anemic and apolitical institutional approaches to diversity that centered whiteness as the norm and fetishized the diverse campus as a metric or checkbox. In visiting campus archives, leading a series of workshops, interviewing past activists, and putting together each of the zine's forty pages, we deepened our own understanding of campus histories. Inspired by the long histories of student activism and angered by the tepid or outright oppressive institutional responses to their demands, the process of creating the zine has transformed how we think, teach and inhabit our campus landscape. We caught a glimpse at the potential of zines to “create opportunities to actively take apart hegemonic narratives, refuse elitist authority and knit together intimate relationships that serve to repurpose spaces – such as the neoliberal university” (Bagelman and Bagelman 2016, 370). The messy and sometimes flawed process of interacting as a collective, even in constrained circumstances and sometimes working more quickly than desired, resulted in a material and digital object that both created new connections through the process of interviewing activists and reading archives, and left traces and remains.

In April 2017 we organized a racial justice roundtable on campus and formally released our zine. We envisioned this event and the zine release as a way to foster conversation between campus activists across generations. We invited students from the 1960s, 1970s, 1990s, and 2000s whose names had emerged during our archival work, and we invited current student leaders and campus organizations. During the meeting activists from these eras shared stories of their actions, protests, organizing strategies, and demands for campus spaces, more diverse faculty, student bodies, and curriculums. Among the most generative moments from the day occurred when older activists spoke directly to younger generations to offer encouragement, advice, and strategies. Inspired by these vignettes of organizing across generations, we were also dismayed by the historic continuity with which campus administrators evaded student demands and deflected responsibility for addressing injustices on campus. Across these historical moments continuities emerged: repeated stories of broken promises from administrators, the dismissal of student activists as naïve young people unaware of how universities actually functioned, and the neutralizing of radical and progressive student demands into largely meaningless gestures toward diversity.

## Taking Flight

The zine has circulated within and beyond our campus networks. We have distributed zines at Annual Meetings of the American Association of Geographers and other conferences and workshops we have traveled to. We have given them out in our classes, to prospective graduate students and speakers visiting our Department, and deposited copies in campus archives. At the beginning of the 2017 school year, undergraduate students passed out zines at a campus event welcoming incoming first years. *Ruptures I* is now archived in the university library, and we see fragments of the images and content pop up in unexpected places: circulating as parts of activist flyers, distributed at first year orientation events by campus activist groups, featured in art exhibits about the university's history, and sold in the form of posters at protests to raise bail money for activists.

As a travelling pedagogical object the zine lives beyond our feminist collective, fostering conversations about campus activism even as it attests to the power of students to transform the university. We hope the zine inspires a questioning of the "normalcy" that universities seek to uphold or return to and encourages recognition of student visionaries as educators, knowledge producers, and laborers. Their generational work to analyze and respond to racial injustice on campus ultimately toppled Silent Sam despite the excuses, silences, and concerted efforts of administrators to maintain the university as a site of white supremacy's reproduction. By tracing the history of activism at UNC-CH through a zine, this project situates the power to transform university landscapes and histories among those student activists who hold the burden of remembering and reminding us of these injustices. The zine traces how such provocations emerge from collective grassroots efforts that collectively hold the university accountable for its investments in racial hierarchies.

## Acknowledgements

In addition to the listed authors, FLOCK included many more people in the past and continues with new members today. We are especially grateful to Stevie Larson for helping nurture FLOCK in our infancy, and to Altha Cravey for modeling the kind of generosity and radical intellectualism that we aspire to. Inspired by The Real Silent Sam Coalition's creative and performative organizing strategies, FLOCK's zine was one among a wave of efforts to build the UNC undercommons (Harney and Moten 2013) including The Whirlwind vol. 1 zine (co-published in 2014 by Willie J. Wright of FLOCK), and the Hurston Hall Collective for Critical Performance Ethnography (co-founded in 2015 by Pavithra Vasudevan of FLOCK). In particular, the insights of student visionaries Omololu Babatunde, Blanche Amelia Brown, Taylor Webber-Fields, June Beshea, Jayna Fishman, and Crystal Yuille shaped our work. We drew inspiration as well from the disOrientation Guides of the Counter Cartographies Collective. We were assisted in our research on student activism by UNC librarians Nicholas Graham and Sarah Carrier. Our archival sources included the Southern Oral History Project's interviews with activists and the student-run newspaper *The Daily Tarheel*.

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# ruptures vol. 1





## Who/what is FLOCK?

Feminists Liberating Our Collective Knowledge (FLOCK) was formed in 2016 by a group of geographers as an effort to sustain the momentum built by decades of visionaries in the movement for Hurston Hall. Our goal is to connect activist movements across campus, think seriously about how we can transform the deeply racialized landscape of UNC, respond to various administration efforts to memorialize student activism, and do so in ways that recognize the creativity of students who refuse to be limited by what is called 'possible' in this moment.

## On rupture:

"The act of confrontation **ruptures** western modernity's monolithic claim on the world. It challenges the dominant socio-spatial structure's power to define the 'othered' masses through its constructed 'knowledge', which presents these masses subjugation as the norm."

-Omololu Babatunde, 2015

Come forward  
and fly with us now:  
Let us be the keepers  
of an insurgent forest  
where care blooms  
into life  
with such power  
that even the cruel world  
will be brought to its knees  
for a moment.

-SR

# STUDENTS ARE VISIONARIES!

TOO OFTEN, STUDENT ACTIVISTS ARE DISMISSED BY UNIVERSITIES AS NAIVE, AND THEIR DEMANDS ARE FRAMED AS IMPOSSIBLE REQUESTS. IN REALITY, STUDENTS ARE VISIONARIES, AND THEIR IDEAS AND LABOR HAVE TRANSFORMED UNIVERSITIES OVER AND OVER AGAIN. NOTHING IS A GIFT FROM ABOVE - EVERY 'CHANGE' WE SEE ON THIS CAMPUS - THE STONE CENTER, THE RENAMING OF SANDERS HALL, BLACK AND BROWN FACULTY ON CAMPUS, THE FUTURE LATINX CENTER - IS THE RESULT OF HARD-FOUGHT STUDENT STRUGGLES.

## REJECTED.

To the Editor: I was proud of my State when I, one of its Negro citizens, received a letter informing me that I had been admitted to the first summer session of the University of North Carolina, and that I had been given a room assignment in one of its dormitories. I was proud because I thought that North Carolina at least was about to live up to the democratic ideals which are a part of the heritage of our great land.

I was happy when I arrived on the campus at Chapel Hill on the morning of June 11, when I was given a room in Dormitory C, and told that I was to stay in that building.

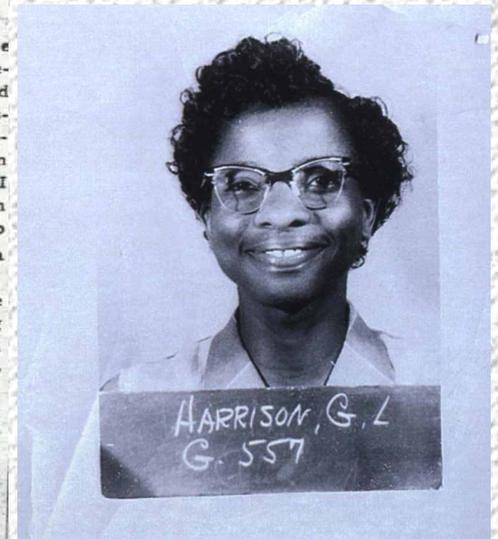
When I attempted to register, I was shunted back and forth several times from the Gymnasium to South Hall, the Administration Building. Undisturbed by what I felt to be simply routine registration procedure, I finally decided to leave my luggage at the dormitory before completing the process.

Still later, I was amused when I was told that there was a possibility of sending professors from Chapel Hill to North Carolina College at Durham to offer courses not now given there to any Negro graduate student desiring to pursue such courses. Although I appreciate any efforts made by my State to offer me educational opportunity equal to that offered to others of its citizens, I do not think that a PH D degree earned under such conditions would be comparable to one earned in a normal situation.

I am interested in earning a PH D degree in Spanish. The University of North Carolina offers such a degree. The trustees of the University have voted to admit qualified Negroes to the graduate school of that institution. Why, then, was I accepted by the University and then refused permission to register upon my arrival on the campus?

GWENDOLYN L. HARRISON.

Kinston.



Gwendolyn Harrison, the first Black woman admitted to graduate studies at UNC, and an early student visionary.



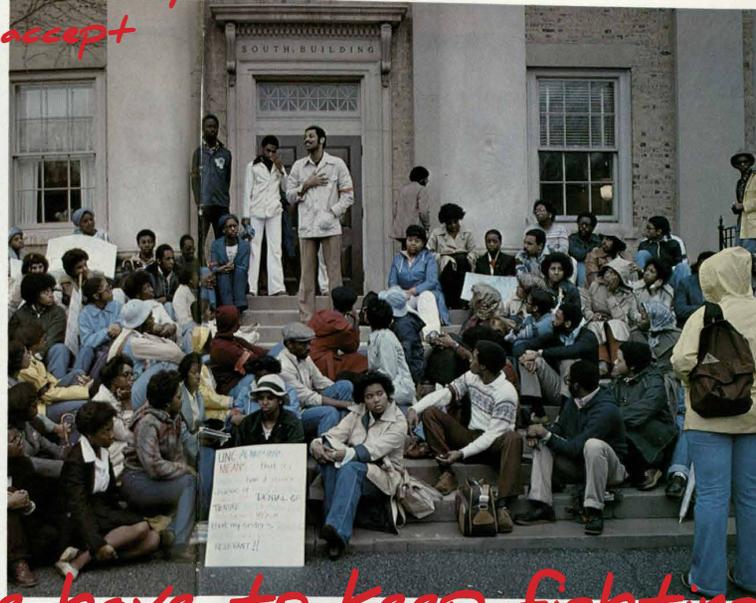
1979... 1997... 2017... Each generation has powerful demands, and the administration response is always the same: "you have no recourse but to accept administrative decisions."

On April 4, approximately 200 students marched on South Building to protest several policies of the University involving the presence of minorities on campus. Issues of debate included the denial of tenure to Sonja Stone (director of the Afro-American Studies Curriculum), the University's failure to establish an office of minority affairs, and the inadequate recruitment of qualified black students.

Protest marches have become a recognized vehicle for the Black Student Movement to demonstrate its demands concerning campus issues. When BSM was established ten years ago, it presented a list of 23 grievances to the administration. Since that time, members of BSM have staged demonstrations at University Day, at Campus Governing Council budget hearings, at speeches delivered in Memorial Hall, and most recently at a tour of the campus conducted by representatives of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Although some changes have been enacted, progress has been slow and minimal.

Prior to the march, members of the BSM

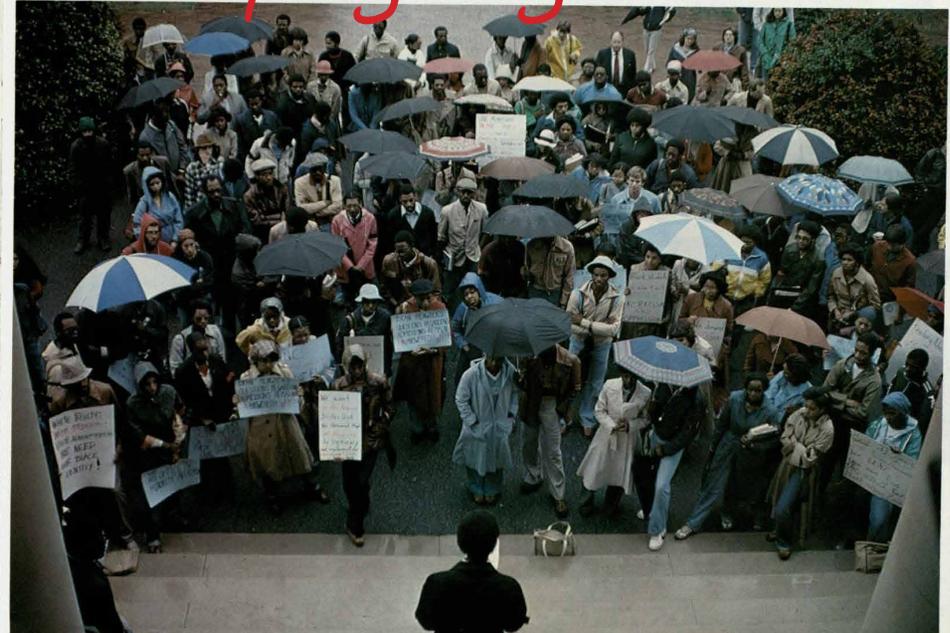
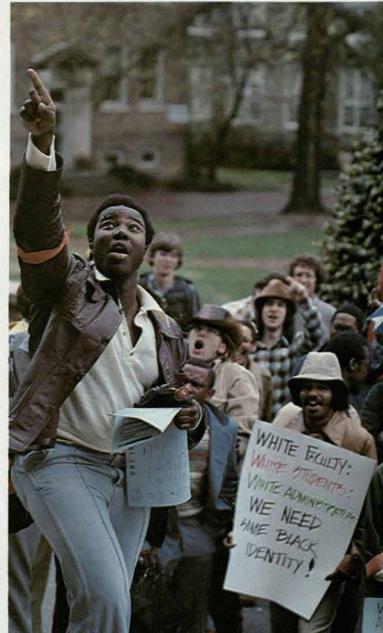
requested a meeting with Samuel Williamson, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. Williamson claimed he could not arrange a meeting before April 24. Provost Charles Morrow refused to address the crowd, although he did meet with two BSM leaders in his office. Chancellor N. Ferebee Taylor responded by telling members of the BSM that "as students you have no recourse but to accept administrative decisions," yet he defended their right to protest peacefully. Former BSM chairperson Allen Johnson explained one of the difficulties he faced in dealing with the administration: "Never could we get two principal administrators in the same room at the same time during this controversy. Dean Renwick was always willing, but the Chancellor was not." "This administration has a deaf ear toward the needs of not only black students but students in general," said William Bynum, current BSM chairperson. "I think that it is a shame that we should have to demonstrate our concerns in this manner . . . Due to the insensitivity of the administration toward our concerns, we feel that we have to fight."



## BSM March on South Building



...we have to keep fighting!



# STUDENTS OF COLOR HAVE BEEN DEMANDING SPACE ON CAMPUS FOR GENERATIONS. HERE WE PRESENT AN INVENTORY OF THOSE VISIONARY DEMANDS OVER THE YEARS

feature

feature

## The Original 22 Demands

In 1968, Members of the BSM marched onto the steps of South Building and made history when they presented the following demands to then Chancellor Sitterson

1. Black students be considered for admission on the basis of high school performance and recommendation and not by SAT scores, as they are based upon white middle-class standards.
2. Black students be granted substantial financial aid, preferably in scholarship and grants-in-aid rather than in loans.
3. A Department of African and Afro-American Studies be established which could eventually lead to a major in this area.
4. An exchange program with Black colleges and Universities be established on the order of the Toronto Exchange.
5. An exchange program with an African University be established. The BSM should be in charge of choosing students for this program.
6. A scholar-in-residence program be established to bring Black scholars into the University on a monthly basis.
7. A new office be created that would be responsive to the needs, aspirations and the academic and social welfare of Black students. The office should be entitled "Dean of Black Students" and be filled by a Black person.
8. Due consideration be given to the appointment of a Black person to the office of director of admissions.
9. Black persons be placed on the Board of Admissions.
10. Black persons be placed on the athletics coaching staff.
11. The Student Union director be fired and replaced by someone approved by the BSM because he misled the BSM on policies of the use of University facilities. The actions resulted in the loss of potential funds.
12. The Dean of Students be fired and replaced by someone approved by the BSM because he was responsible for the pigeon-holing of the Carolina Talent Search proposal of \$65,000 from HEW. This amount would have been used for the recruitment of minority students.
13. The funds appropriated to the Student Legislature received from the student activity fees of Black students should be given to the BSM annually, based on the fact that the Student Legislature is not representing the interests of Black students.
14. Either Black students have full jurisdiction over all offenses committed by Black students, or duly elected Black students from the BSM should represent our interests on the present judiciary courts.
15. The BSM be given \$7,000, the amount anticipated to be raised by admission charges for the Stokely Carmichael lecture.
16. The University begin working immediately to alleviate intolerable working conditions of the Black non-academic employees.
17. The University acknowledges its shortcomings in dealing with Black non-academic employees and immediately set up meetings with the employees and members of the BSM in order to outline and implement constructive action.
18. Athletic facilities be opened for Black youth. This should be done in cooperation with the Black community. A Black person should be hired to direct this function.
19. The Dental School set up a free clinic similar to the one set up by the medical school students.
20. The Law School set up a Legal Aid Clinic for the Black citizens in need of legal assistance.
21. The University use its influence to alleviate some of the problems in the Black community. 1) Housing: a.) indoor plumbing b.) Reduction of utility rates c.) Establishment of low-rent housing in cooperation with the Black community to be controlled by the Black community. 2) Health and sanitary conditions: a.) Garbage pickup b.) Unpaved streets.
22. The university use its influence to promote those activities of the Black community which will enhance the development of Black control of the Black community.



Photo by Ivor Dameron

## The New 22 Demands

The New list of 22 Demands submitted to Chancellor Hooker on November 14, 1997.

We the members of the BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT, demand that:

- 1) An Advisory Committee to the Chancellor on Minority Affairs be created and maintained.
- 2) A detailed report be given to the BSM explaining the title change of our faculty adviser, Harold G. Wallace.
- 3) Black admissions officers once again become the primary readers of Black students' applications.
- 4) Black faculty and students be represented on the Committee on Student Conduct.
- 5) There be a minimum of one (1) Black student to hear cases of Black students in Honor Court.
- 6) Homecoming Committee reserve a permanent seat for a minority student representative.
- 7) A minority student representative permanently sit on the Student Advisory Committee to the Board of Trustees.
- 8) The University more actively recruit minority professors.
- 9) The Academic Department, especially the English Department include more minority content in courses.
- 10) The Pogue Scholarship remain separate from all other merit based scholarship applications.
- 11) The Graduate School reinstitute scholarships targeted to Black students.
- 12) The University annually publish a report indicating how many Black students apply and are accepted into graduate programs and professional schools at UNC.
- 13) RHA's Racial Diversity Program become permanent, including more North and Middle campus dormitories; resident assistants in these dormitories be required to conduct programs promoting cultural awareness throughout the year.
- 14) Affirmative Action be placed back in the name of the Equal Opportunity/ADA Office.
- 15) The Office of Minority Affairs be relocated from the basement of South Building.
- 16) The University officially recognize Upendo Lounge as the Black Student Union; more office space allocated to the BSM, recognizing the organization as the second largest organization.
- 17) The University officially recognize the slaves which built the University in the form of a statue or monument; the University put pressure on the Town of Chapel Hill in the matter of repairing the broken headstones of these slaves in the Chapel Hill cemetery.
- 18) Chancellor Hooker himself meet regularly with the UNC Housekeepers Association as agreed in their original settlement.
- 19) Chancellor Hooker issue a statement to the entire University, surrounding communities, and UNC Alumni in support of a free-standing Sonja Haynes Stone Black Cultural Center which will serve as a tool of information concerning the progress of the building to date.
- 20) The University halt any possible intentions of renaming the current Sonja Haynes Stone Black Cultural Center or the future free-standing Soja Haynes Stone Black Cultural Center for publicity, fundraising, or any other purpose.
- 21) The BSM be notified in writing of any changes in policies at the University which have or will affect Black students and/or Black faculty and staff.
- 22) The Chancellor officially proclaim the month of November as Black Student Movement Month in recognition of the many accomplishments of the Black Student Movement at UNC.

*C. El  
Pu*  
The demands for space on this campus continue...



THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL  
Office of the Chancellor

Michael Hooker  
Chancellor

103 South Building  
Campus Box 9100  
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-9100  
(919) 962-1365 FAX: (919) 962-1647

November 19, 1997

Ms. India Williams  
President, Black Student Movement  
CB#5210

Dear India:

Thank you for your letter of November 14<sup>th</sup>, conveying the 22 demands of the Black Student Movement.

May I ask you to provide a rationale for each of the demands. Having this rationale would greatly facilitate my reflection and hasten my response.

**SAUNDERS**

Please let me observe that "demand" sounds less appropriate to an intellectual community than "request." Therefore, I would prefer to think of your 22 items as requests. It will be my pleasure to respond to each of them.

**Head of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina.**

I do not like to be held accountable for attributions to me by *The Daily Tar Heel*, so I will not hold you accountable. However, I would observe that my not being here last Friday to receive your requests is in no way an indication of my lack of concern. I was attending a long scheduled meeting of the Chancellors with the President at that time. As you know, I appeared at your noon time rally in the pit as an expression of my interest in your concerns.

**An ardent friend of the University and one of the master minds of North Carolina.**

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

MH:bl

HOOKER\BSM

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is a constituent institution  
of The University of North Carolina

To the administration of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,

It has recently come to our attention that the University has taken into consideration a proposal for the creation of a center for the Latinx community at UNC. As students of the University, we demand for the approval and advancement of the Carolina Latinx Center with deliberate speed.

While we are pleased that the proposal is being reviewed, our concern is rooted in a lack of Latinx representation on the committee that has been appointed to review the proposal, with nobody fully able to speak on behalf of our community's interests and grievances. This is especially troubling because while the Center is meant to support Latinx students, faculty, and staff on campus and the community, the proposal will be decided on without input from the individuals it seeks to represent. We feel the issue is a reflection of the greater lack of diversity within UNC administration. With the establishment of the Carolina Latinx Center, the University will be able to attract and retain Latinx-identifying individuals to serve in these roles and represent our community.

We understand the positive impact the Carolina Latinx Center would have on the University. A central location on campus designed with Latinx students, faculty, and staff at the forefront displays the University's commitment to inclusive excellence on the "premise that diversity and inclusion is woven into the core of the institution and is essential to institutions achieving excellence and successes and realizing the educational benefits of diversity." By creating a Latinx Center, the University will experience an increase in Latinx student admissions, further adding to the ever-growing Latinx population on campus, which now stands at 7.8% of the total undergraduate population. This will subsequently lead to an augmentation of UNC's Latinx alumni base that can contribute positively to the University's long history of academic excellence and financial donations.

However, the University has done little to uplift our communities or offer support in order to address the lack of resources, representation, or infrastructures offered to Latinx students at UNC. University-recognized Latinx-oriented programming such as Hispanic Heritage Month (HHM), Latina/o Mentoring Program (LMP), and the Latina/o Alumni Reunion (LAR) are under the full responsibility of a small group of undergraduate students who are awarded work-study with minimal administrative help. As it currently stands, the LMP is housed under the Carolina Latina/o Collaborative, and the monthly programming, management of student mentors and mentees, a total of 80 undergraduate students, is solely directed by one work-study student. Three seminar rooms in a residence hall on South Campus is not enough to serve 1,451 students.

The University cannot begin to offer to its students an explanation about its blatant apathy towards the wellbeing of our community. The University cannot claim to be at "the forefront of diversity and inclusive excellence," when other institutions, such as Duke University, have already created centers for its Latinx community. We have been told on numerous occasions that "it's not the right time for a center," and have been systematically ignored when we voiced our concerns. Enough is enough; we cannot and will not wait any longer.

It is our hope that the creation of the Carolina Latinx Center would address a number of concerns that we, as students, have perceived and experienced during our time at UNC. However, in order to ensure that our needs are addressed, we find it imperative that the committee responsible for reviewing the proposal meet with Latinx leaders on campus to discuss our vision of the Center and how it would best serve our community.

November 19th, 2015

UNC Chapel Hill

## A COLLECTIVE RESPONSE TO ANTI-BLACKNESS

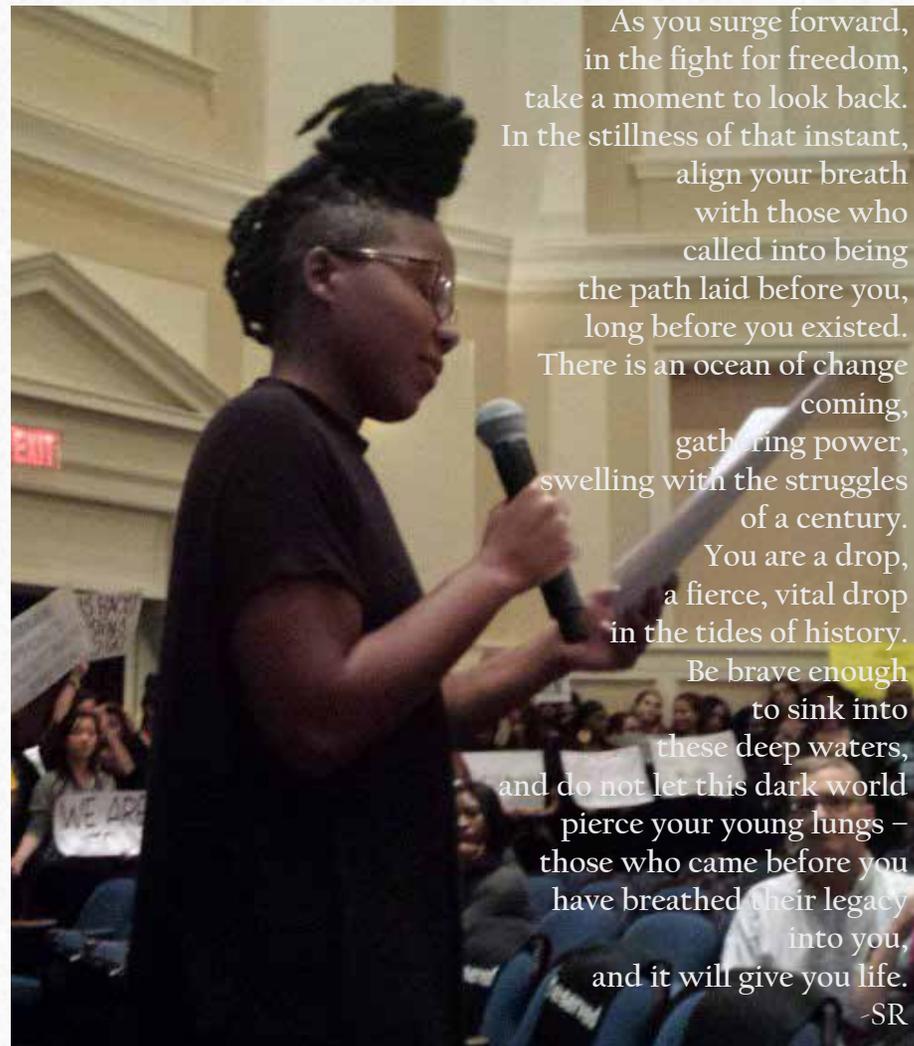
*To the UNC-Chapel Hill Administration, UNC-Chapel Hill Board of Trustees, UNC Board of Governors, North Carolina General Assembly, and other governing bodies:*

UNC Chapel Hill is an unethical institution. From massive labor exploitation across campus to the athletic industrial complex, treating Black and Brown people as less than is essential to the everyday running of UNC. In 1968 the Black Student Movement issued 23 demands to the University. Almost 50 years have passed, but if you look at the demands you realize we are still dealing with exactly the same issues: little has changed. There is no institutional will to enact a shift away from white supremacist, patriarchal capitalism. There is no institutional will to recognize the anti-Blackness that stains the very roots of this University.

You include Black and Brown bodies in the institution, and mark them with the words “diversity,” “inclusion,” and “multiculturalism.” You throw us on brochures and tout us in statistics. You do this to hide the way UNC would not function were it not for the mass displacement, exploitation, slow death, and genocide of Black and Brown people. We are not trying to integrate into a violent system, while others among our people are suffering both inside and outside the University.

For this reason, it is high time that serious structural alterations be made to higher education. Our aspirations are untainted: free tuition via a University open to all, abolition of the police and prisons, free and collectivized housing and food, and more. There are many smaller steps needed to realize this, so here we set out a program to lay the groundwork for this vision. Many of these demands are not new. Hence, we honor the workers and students in groups such as Student Action with Workers, Students United for Immigrant Equality, Sierra Student Coalition, and the Board of Governors Democracy Coalition, among many others, and reiterate some of their demands to the University, too.

Critically, this is a living document that will be modified and added to, evolving over time. We invite you to join us in visioning and rebuilding education for the better. Our demands are as follows.



As you surge forward,  
in the fight for freedom,  
take a moment to look back.  
In the stillness of that instant,  
align your breath  
with those who  
called into being  
the path laid before you,  
long before you existed.  
There is an ocean of change  
coming,  
gathering power,  
swelling with the struggles  
of a century.  
You are a drop,  
a fierce, vital drop  
in the tides of history.  
Be brave enough  
to sink into  
these deep waters,  
and do not let this dark world  
pierce your young lungs –  
those who came before you  
have breathed their legacy  
into you,  
and it will give you life.  
-SR

*Gone are the days where we **ask** for what is past due to us: we are here to take what is ours.*

***Tear it down, or we shut you down.***

**#WeDemandUNC**



# WHO SAID IT BETTER?

## Student Visionaries

"We don't just want for the building to be renamed and then that's it. (It's) a step in the right direction toward addressing these racial wounds that are open and bare."

- DTH April 2014

"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."

- March 2015

"The Real Silent Sam strives to denounce the invisibilized white supremacist narratives that undergird UNC...By instigating further conversation on alternative histories, we are attempting to address the collective historical amnesia we suffer from as a community."

- April 2014

"We created our own memorial to show what Saunders was: a murderer, a slave owner and the emperor of the KKK"

DTH October 7, 1999

"The building makes Saunders out to be a good humanitarian, but he was a white supremacist"

- April 2001, DTH

## University Admin

"We've got a history, and we're living with it," said Richard J Richardson, the university's provost. "But we're also moving beyond our history and heading toward an exciting and diverse future."

- Source: Chronicle of Higher Education, 1999

"We wanted a name that we could reach back to where we started, where we've been, where we are and where we are headed," board Chairman Lowry Caudill said.

- Chairman Lowry Caudill on Board choosing "Carolina Hall" in 2015

[Chancellor Carol] Folt refused to give an opinion on the ongoing discussion about renaming Saunders Hall.

"I wouldn't be doing my job if I were always stating my opinion."

- April 24, 2015 - Daily Tar Heel

Trustee Alston Gardner said though the Saunders controversy had swirled for years, it is appropriate to tackle it now.

"This is the time to face the issues of race and place," he said. "We embrace the discussion and we believe the university is a fantastic venue for that - much better than Starbucks and a 45-second conversation with your barista."

- The News + Observer  
March 25, 2015

# DON'T BE DETOURED!

University administration intentionally works to distract and deter students by obscuring their path and vision.

\*\*\*

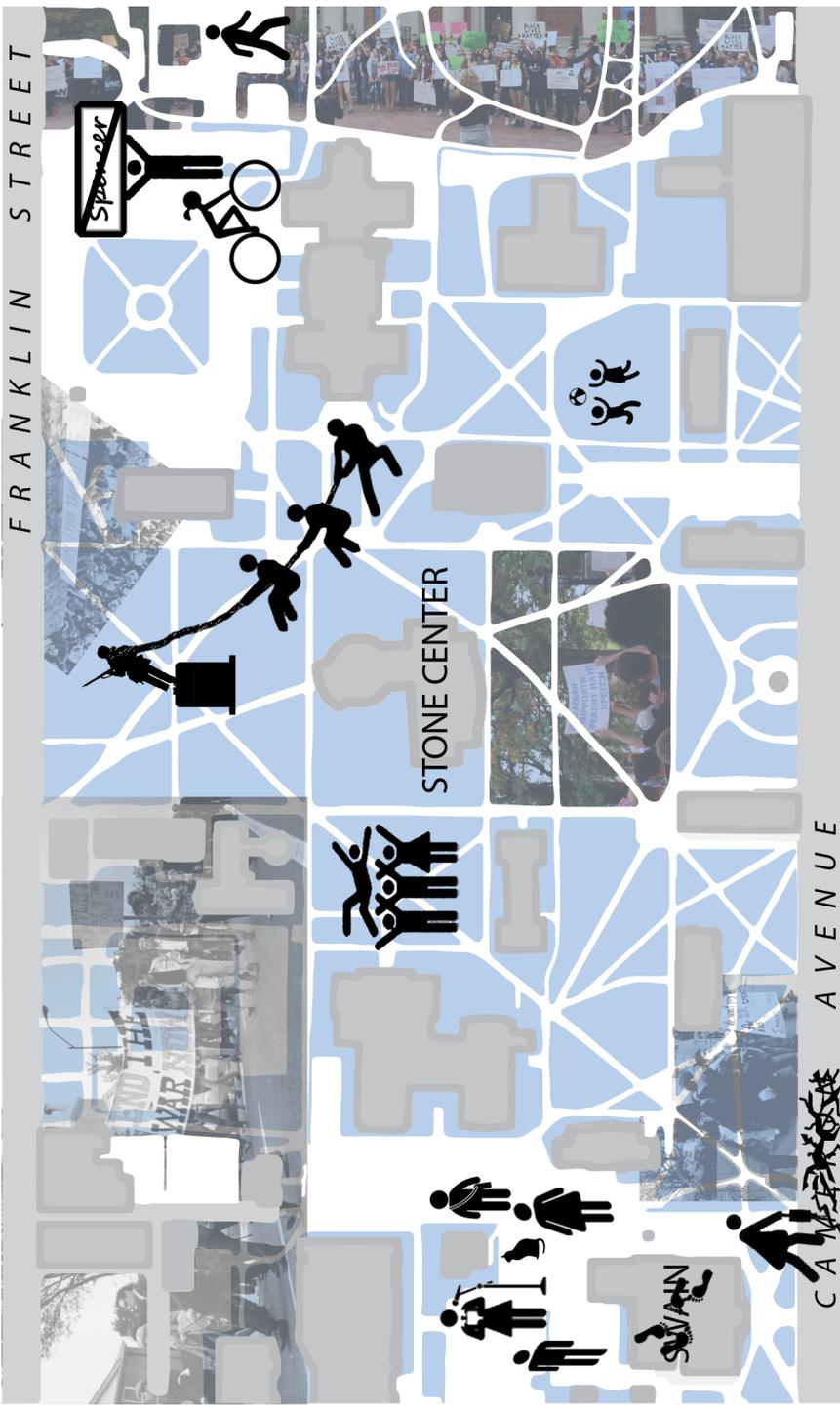
While they send them/us on detours - taskforces, 'special' meetings with deans, etc. - they intimidate and stifle student creativity and solidify histories that neutralize and erase the hard-fought victories of student activism.

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Don't be detoured!  
We must map our own paths!

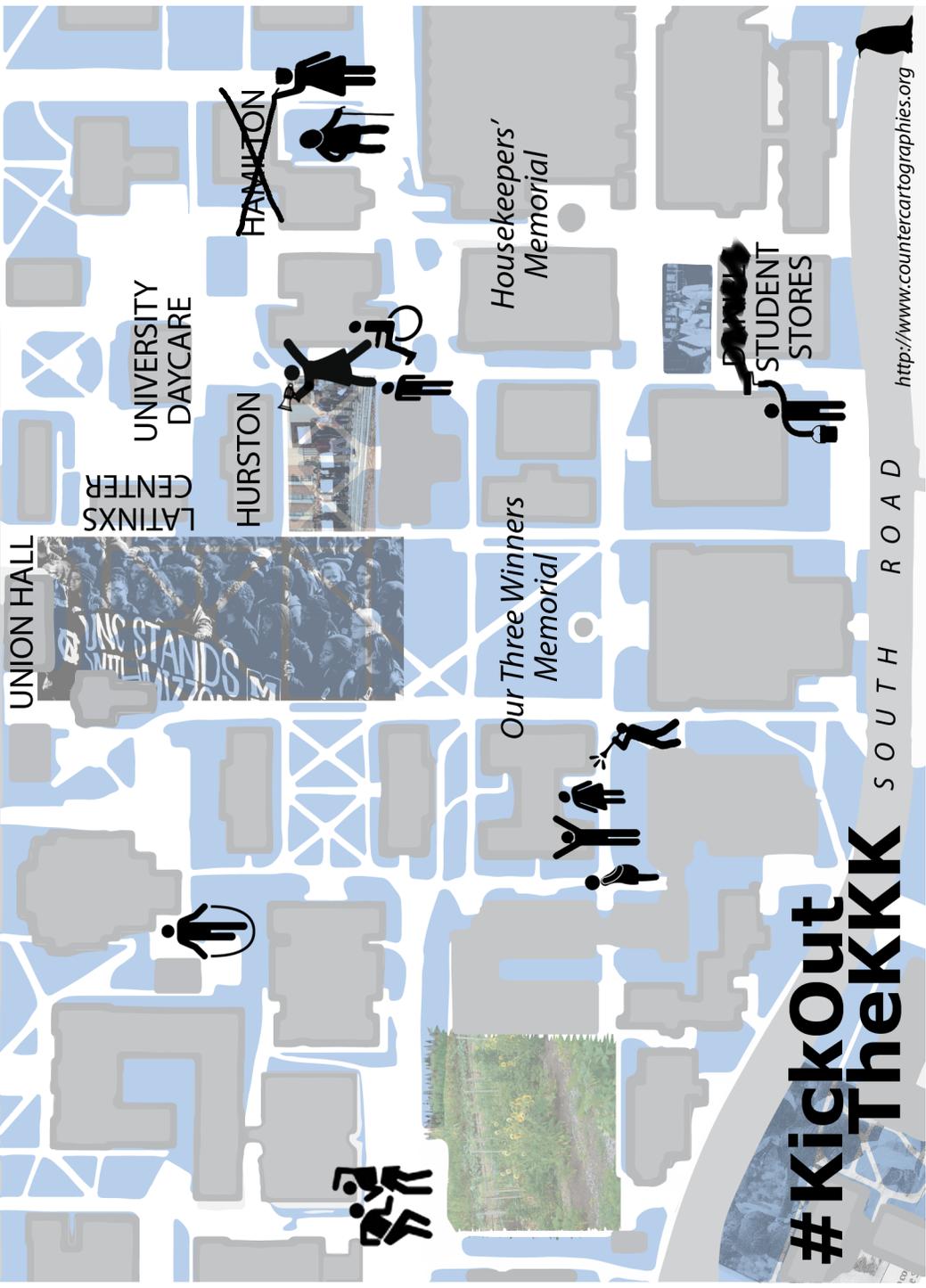


FRANKLIN STREET



STONE CENTER

CAMPBELL AVENUE



UNION HALL

LATINXS CENTER UNIVERSITY DAYCARE

HURSTON

HAMILTON

Our Three Winners Memorial

Housekeepers' Memorial

STUDENT STORES

#KickOutTheKKK

SOUTH ROAD

<http://www.countercartographies.org>

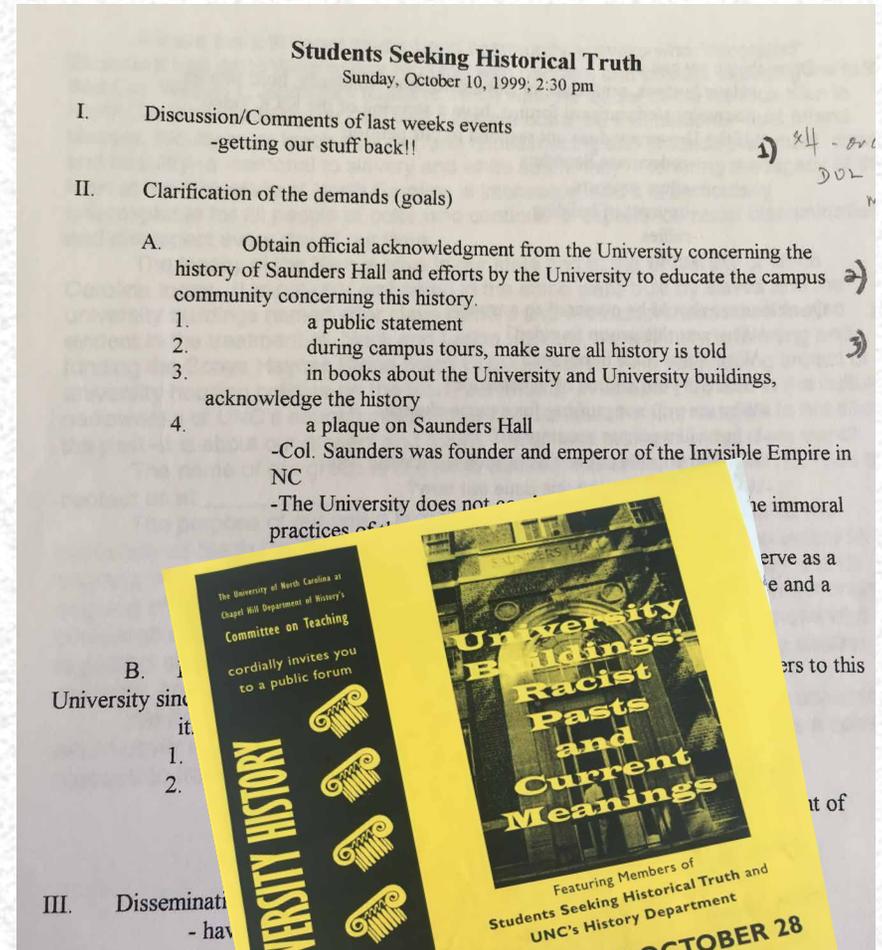


# STUDENT ACTIVIST SURVIVAL GUIDE

1. When invited to meetings in administration HOMES and OFFICES (?!?!), **DO NOT GO!** Meet on neutral ground or preferably, in your space.
2. DO YOUR OWN RESEARCH.
3. Create **queer** and **POC** spaces.
4. Use **Horizontal Leadership** & **Reverse Stacking** methods in your group meetings.
5. FIND **PEOPLE** and CREATE **SPACES** that validate your existence.
6. Share your **RAGE!**
7. collectivize care & responsibility  
 ↳ hang out ↳ chill ↳ turn up
8. You are **CREATING HISTORY**, so **write - document - witness ---** your own **history** ('cause someone else will try to rewrite/erase it)

# STUDENTS SEEKING HISTORICAL TRUTH

During the late 1990s and early 2000s a student group called Students Seeking Historical Truth organized and looked to contextualize UNC's racialized campus landscape. In October 1999 Students Seeking Historical Truth organized an anti-racist "decoration" of Saunders Hall in which they hung a KKK banner on the building. Pictured here (right) are meeting notes in the week leading up to the group's "decoration" of Saunders Hall, and a flyer advertising a panel discussion entitled "University Buildings: Racist Pasts and Current Meetings."



The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Department of History's Committee on Teaching cordially invites you to a public forum

**UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS: Racist Pasts and Current Meanings**

Featuring Members of Students Seeking Historical Truth and UNC's History Department

**THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28**  
**100 HAMILTON HALL**  
**5:00**

PANELISTS INCLUDE:

- Kristi Booker—Students Seeking Historical Truth
- Jerma Jackson—Department of History, UNC
- James Leloudis—Department of History, UNC
- Jeff Moonie—Students Seeking Historical Truth

"If you are silent  
about your pain,  
they'll kill you  
and  
say  
you  
enjoyed  
it."

-Zora  
Neale  
Hurston

**We  
Exist**



# BREAK OPEN THE IMPOSSIBLE!

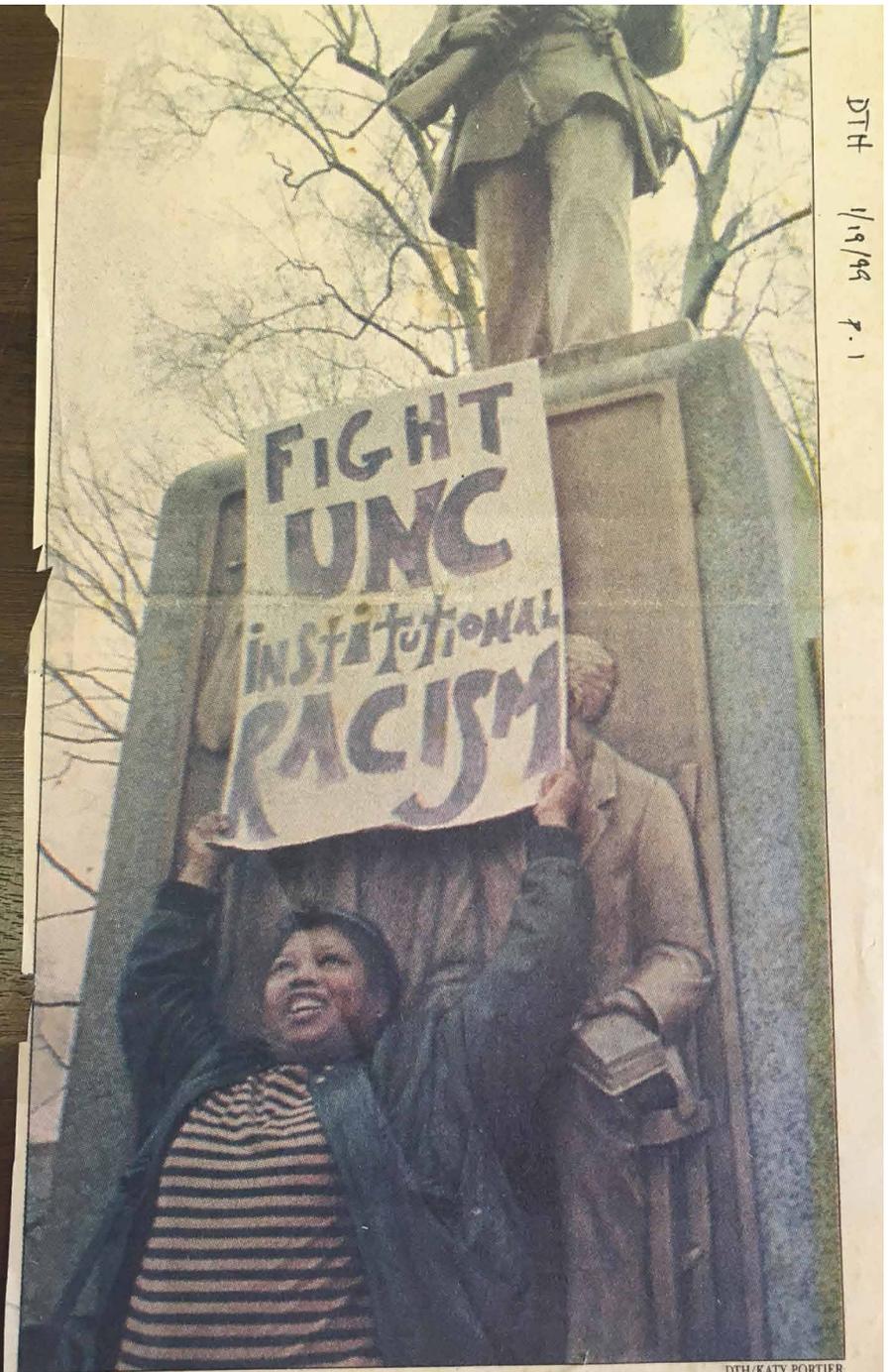
CHANGE IS NEVER LINEAR, NOR IS IT INEVITABLE.

\*\*\*

WE SEE HOW THE UNIVERSITY WANTS TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO OR EVEN TAKE BACK OUR WINS, THROUGH CYCLES OF INSTITUTIONAL MANIPULATION, CONDESCENSION AND REPETITIVE RHETORICS THAT LIMIT POSSIBILITIES.

\*\*\*

WE SEE AND RECOGNIZE THESE RHETORICS AND TACTICS. WE KNOW CHANGE IS POSSIBLE, AND NECESSARY, AND REQUIRES US TO BREAK-THROUGH THE UNIVERSITY'S CYCLES OF ENDLESSLY DEFERRED FUTURES.



DTH/KATY PORTIER

Dorothy Elaine Massey protests Silent Sam, seen by some as a racist representative of students who fought in the Civil War, during the Martin Luther King Jr. Day march Monday.

January 30, 2015

Excerpt from Real Silent Sam Coalition's #KickOutTheKKK rally

Negro Wench. Negro Wench. These are the sentiments of hate and violence that live and breathe on our campus because they have yet to be purged through an honest acknowledgement and confrontation of this University's past.

These are the words and hateful sentiments that fall on my body and other Black bodies, trailing us as we go to class day to day, trying to live our lives as we strive to find the "Southern part of heaven" that was promised to us upon our acceptance...

...You see, for years students have organized around these building names and monuments. Students of color have voiced their cries of dissent and deep hurt from the un-contextualized presence of these sites and the legacies of hate that they represent.

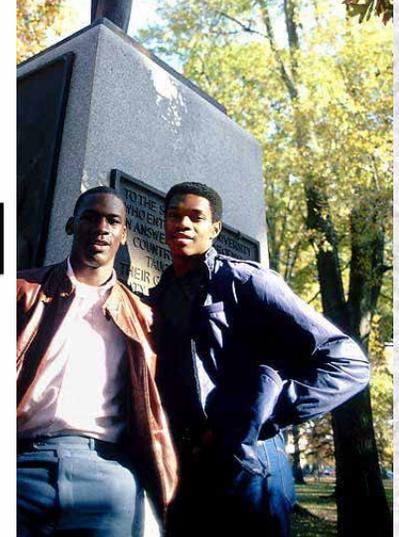
**For years these students have continually been ignored!**

...We students of color are tired of being statistics, stored in The University's back pocket ready to pull out when ever they need prove of how "diverse" they are.

We are whole people, and want to be recognized as whole people in this space, but how can we when everything around us tells us that we are not. **Despite this continued assault, we students of color are still determined to claim this space and fight to make it our own.**

We are letting the administration know that they can no longer hide behind the notion that Saunders was a man of his time. White Supremacy knows no time. It lives in willful ignorance, excuses and oppressive disregard.

UNC administrators, you need to wake up to the fact that **you have been complicit in white supremacy's project.** You need to start working to deconstruct this insidious beast. Luckily, your students have begun the work for you. **IT IS TIME FOR YOU TO FINALLY LISTEN.** It is time for UNC to make the journey from Negro wench to Hurston Hall.



**On June 15<sup>th</sup>, 1920 the Board of Trustees named a new building after William L. Saunders. This is how they reached their decision:**

The Committee on the Development of University Property recommended that the two dormitories, for which plans have already been adopted, be named in honor of the late Walter Leake Steele and the late William Laurence Saunders, and said before the Trustees the following statements of their services to the University and to the State:

**WILLIAM LAURENCE SAUNDERS, LLB; LL.D.**  
Born 1835 - Died 1891  
Graduated from the University of North Carolina, 1854.  
Lawyer - Soldier - Historian - Statesman  
Head of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina.  
Editor of the Raleigh Observer.  
Secretary of State of North Carolina 1879-1891.  
Trustee of the University of North Carolina, 1874-1891.  
Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina, 1878-1891.  
Treasurer of the University of North Carolina, 1887.  
Compiler and Editor of the Colonial Records of North Carolina.  
An ardent friend of the University and one of the master minds of North Carolina.

(Wilson Library: University Archives, Oversize Vol. SV-40001/12 pgs 233-235)

According to UNC's 1920 Board of Trustees, these reasons qualified William L. Saunders to be glorified on our campus. His **KNOWN** role as Grand Dragon of the NC KKK was at the top of their list. Looks like UNC's 2015 Board of Trustees agrees with their predecessors.

During the rally this woman came up afterwards... she was in all white... and she had sunglasses on.. she said something like.. 'everything that you need to get this building name changed, it's in this envelope...'

and then she just walked away... and it was just this:

WILLIAM LAURENCE SAUNDERS, LL.B; LL.D.

Born 1835

Died 1891

Graduated from the University of North Carolina, 1854.  
Lawyer - Soldier - Historian - Statesman  
Colonel of the 46th North Carolina Regiment, C.S.A.

**Head of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina.**

Editor of the Wilmington Journal.

Editor of the Raleigh Observer.

Secretary of State of North Carolina 1879-1891.

Trustee of the University of North Carolina, 1874-1891.

Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina, 1878-1891.

Treasurer of the University of North Carolina, 1883-1891.

Compiler and Editor of the Colonial Records of North Carolina.

An ardent friend of the University and one of the master minds of North Carolina.

...the missing key was that there was no documentation

-Omololu



# Zora Neale Hurston Hall



We honor and remember all the African American students who studied at UNC unofficially before our university's integration. Zora Neale Hurston was one of these students.

Against all odds and despite a system that did everything in its power to keep her from attending college, she went on to become one of America's most celebrated authors.

This hall was formerly named after William Saunders, an alumnus, colonel in the Confederate States Army, and leader in the NC Ku Klux Klan.

Saunders Hall was changed to "Carolina Hall" in 2015,

after The Real Silent Sam Coalition protested the hall being named after a Klansman.

Both students and faculty proposed the name Hurston Hall after Zora Neale Hurston.

Their proposal was not accepted by the Board of Trustees.

Name changes to any buildings on campus were then forbidden until 2031.

# Carolina Hall

We honor and remember all those who have suffered injustices at the hands of those who denied them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.



Lux Libertas  
UNC Board of Trustees 2015

## Education

March 28, 2017 5:31 PM

From The News & Observer

### ~~Fake~~ 'Hurston Hall' plaque appears at UNC's renamed 'Carolina Hall'

By Jane Stancill

CHAPEL HILL

~~Propped upon~~ <sup>Set above</sup> the plaque at UNC-Chapel Hill's Carolina Hall, a new sign appeared

Tuesday proclaiming the building "Zora Neale Hurston Hall," the preferred name <sup>visionaries met resistance</sup> ~~by activists who successfully~~ pushed for the building's 2015 renaming.

The Hurston sign, <sup>a beautiful</sup> ~~fabricated to look like~~ an engraved plaque, appeared <sup>before</sup> ~~on the same~~ day that the Chronicle of Higher Education published a story on the history of the

building, which was renamed Carolina Hall in 2015 after UNC trustees voted to strip the original name, Saunders Hall. That name <sup>continued the valorization</sup> ~~had honored William Saunders, a~~ 19th-century UNC graduate and trustee, who also was a Ku Klux Klan leader.

UNC's Religious Studies department, which is headquartered at <sup>Hurston</sup> ~~Carolina~~ Hall,

posted a photograph of the official and unofficial signs, tweeting, "Something new appeared on our building today ... #hurstonhall"

Some student <sup>visionaries</sup> ~~activists~~ pushed for the classroom building to be named for Hurston, the African American writer who is said to <sup>be one of the many African Americans</sup> ~~have visited classes at UNC and studied~~

<sup>unofficially studying before integration,</sup> ~~with some UNC professors, though she was not enrolled or affiliated with the~~ university. She <sup>also taught</sup> ~~did teach~~ at N.C. Central University in Durham.

<sup>The struggle for</sup> Hurston Hall <sup>is</sup> ~~protest signs are nothing new at the plainly named Carolina Hall, but~~ <sup>students have protested</sup> ~~hell events and petitioned the administration~~ <sup>Resistance lies through</sup> in the past <sup>they've been more</sup> ~~along the lines of~~ colorful paper signs taped in

windows. A video posted on Twitter in January appears to show someone <sup>creating</sup> ~~fabricating~~ the Hurston plaque at a new "makerspace" at UNC known as "BeAM,"

a workshop where students have access to high-tech equipment such as 3D printers to build prototypes.

The fake plaque <sup>exposes how</sup> ~~says that~~ the proposed Hurston name was rejected by trustees, who enacted a moratorium on building name changes for 16 years at the time of the 2015 Saunders renaming.

"We honor and remember all the African American students who studied at UNC unofficially before our university's integration," <sup>Tuesday's Hurston sign said.</sup> ~~the new dedication~~ <sup>plaque</sup>

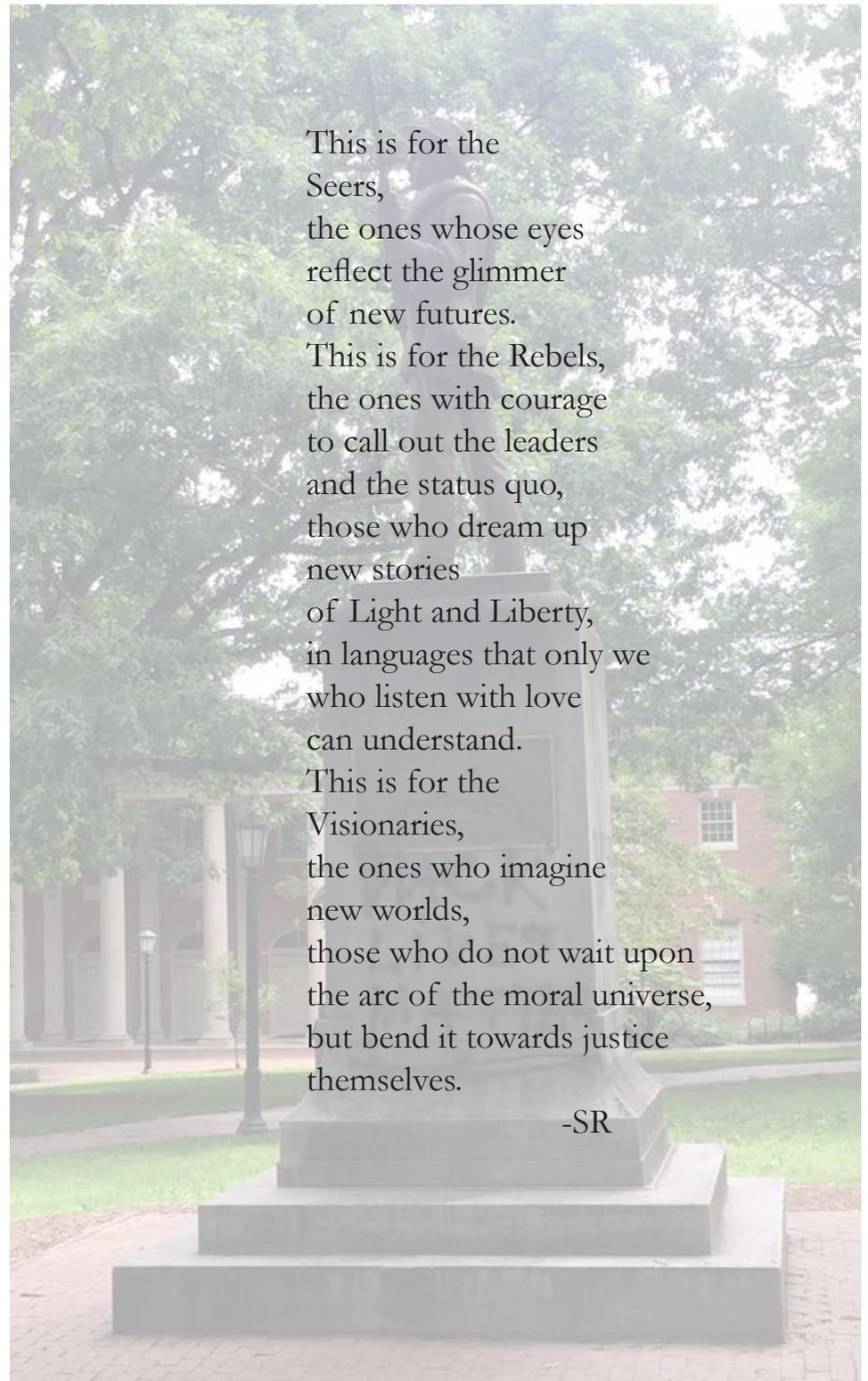
HONOR  
PLAQUE  
RESISTANCE



# SAM MUST FALL

This is for the  
Seers,  
the ones whose eyes  
reflect the glimmer  
of new futures.  
This is for the Rebels,  
the ones with courage  
to call out the leaders  
and the status quo,  
those who dream up  
new stories  
of Light and Liberty,  
in languages that only we  
who listen with love  
can understand.  
This is for the  
Visionaries,  
the ones who imagine  
new worlds,  
those who do not wait upon  
the arc of the moral universe,  
but bend it towards justice  
themselves.

-SR



## Gratitude for:

Jennifer Ho & the Arts and Social Justice program @ the IAH, UNC-CH; University archivists Sarah Carrier, Nick Graham and Chaitra Powell for historical documents and our “Day in the Archive”; the Real Silent Sam Coalition, in particular Omololu Babatunde, for sharing photos, speeches, and insights; interviews with Omololu and Blanche Brown; Jeannine Tatlock for the Hurston Hall plaque that should have been; Stephanie Metzen for sketches; the 3Cs: Counter-Cartographies Collective for the reimagined campus map; Sertanya Reddy for poetic wisdom; Francisco Laso for cover art brilliance; Charlotte Fryar for source material and campus activism timeline; the Zinesboro Collective for teaching us to zine; Jina Valentine and Carrie Mae Weems for reflections on art & social justice; Vimala’s for nutritional sustenance; Board of Trustees member Alston Gardner for being consistently insensitive and factually incorrect (thanks, Alston: you got your own special page); over 25 geography graduate students who made films, designed t-shirts, wrote op-eds, taught, and fought for Hurston Hall, despite their precarity: many continue to rupture and reimagine @ UNC and elsewhere; the generations of student visionaries @ UNC-CH: Black Student Movement, Students Seeking Historical Truth, Freedom Legacy Project, Black Awareness Council, On the Wake of Emancipation Campaign, Real Silent Sam Coalition.

## Resources Sources for future archivists and activists

The University Archives & Blog:

<http://bit.ly/WilsonArchives>

<http://bit.ly/BCCProtests>

The John Kenyon Chapman Papers:

[http://bit.ly/yonni\\_c](http://bit.ly/yonni_c)

Omololu Babatunde’s 2015 Honors Thesis: “Black Liberatory Senses of Place: Creating from Abject Otherness.”

The Southern Oral History Project:

[http://bit.ly/sohp\\_speakerban](http://bit.ly/sohp_speakerban)

[http://bit.ly/sohp\\_campusy](http://bit.ly/sohp_campusy)

Archives of BSM’s Black Ink:

[http://bit.ly/Black\\_Ink](http://bit.ly/Black_Ink)

UNC’s campus newspaper, The Daily Tar Heel, is archived online at newspapers.com.

In the cloud: #wedemandunc, #HurstonHall, @carolinaUNControllables, @RealSilentSam, <http://bit.ly/RenameSaunders>, <http://www.blackliberationcollective.org/>

For more zines check out: [www.zinesboro.com](http://www.zinesboro.com)

<http://flockgeographies.wordpress.com>

# by flock

