

A PAST NEVER PAST: AN ANALYSIS OF SLAVERY AND REPARATION
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

by
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DEDICATION

To Jane, George, Henry, John, Squash, Moses, Will, Nathan, and all those that suffered the injustices of slavery at the University of Mississippi.

To Charlotte, Lucy, Molly, Ellen, Matilda, Ned, Jack, Big Isacce, Peter, Tom, Mason, Wilson, Ben, and the unnamed children whom my ancestors owned as chattel.

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Dr. Susan M. Glisson taught me the truth and power of reconciliation. She is my moral mother, and she has my love.

I am who I am because black women taught me, loved me, rebuked me, and forgave me. I thank Lisa Giles, Dominique Scott, Tysiana Marino, and Makala M. McNeil.

ABSTRACT

ALLEN H. COON III: A Past Never Past: An Analysis of Slavery and Reparation at the
University of Mississippi
(Under the direction of Willa M. Johnson, Ph.D.)

The University of Mississippi was built using slaves, but the enslaved and their descendants were willfully denied admission to the university until forced desegregation in 1962. This interdisciplinary study employs a qualitative content analysis of antebellum university board of trustees and faculty minutes to investigate the benefits that slavery conferred to the university and the harms that slavery inflicted upon the campus enslaved. Analysis finds that slavery was a standard operation, that extrajudicial violence against slaves was a campus tradition, and that white supremacy was an institutional ideology at the University of Mississippi. This thesis integrates African American reparations literature with historical scholarship about U.S. colleges and universities' investments in slave economies. Policy recommendations propose that the University of Mississippi supply slavery reparations by investing in Mississippi's African American communities; and by educating the descendants of the enslaved, whom the university unjustly impoverished and mistreated.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an interdisciplinary investigation into whether the University of Mississippi (UM) owes reparations for the employment of slave labor, the mistreatment of slaves, and education discrimination against African Americans. My undergraduate studies as a public policy, African American studies, and sociology major, my experiences as a student activist protesting on-campus racism and Confederate iconography (Ferguson 2015; Turnage 2016), and my heritage as the descendent of Mississippi slaveowners inform my interest in slavery reparations (Arnesen 1972). Extant literature on slavery reparations probes its justifications, its limitations, and its modalities (Brophy 2006), and historical scholarship evidences U.S. colleges' and universities' investments in slave economies (Wilder 2013). However, research integrating these topics is still insufficient. The Lyceum, the Old Chapel (now the Croft Institute), and Barnard Observatory were all built using slaves (UM Slavery Research Group 2015), but the enslaved and their descendants were willfully denied admission to the university until U.S. marshals and a federalized Mississippi National Guard enforced the enrollment of James Meredith, the first recorded African American to attend UM, in 1962 (Sansing 1999). (Before Meredith, Harry S. Murphy, a "fair-complexioned Negro," passed as white while attending UM in 1945) (Washington Post 1962). Employing a sociological qualitative content analysis of the university board of trustees and faculty minutes, and founded on existing African American reparation scholarship, this study addresses the following research questions: how did slave labor economically benefit the University of Mississippi?; how did the University's use of slave labor harm the enslaved?; and should

the University of Mississippi supply reparations for slavery and its abuses? I hypothesize that the historical sources I have selected will verify that slavery—its profits and abuses—was institutionalized at UM, that university operations depended upon the enslaved and their labor, and that adequate evidence exists to justify university policies of reparation.

Slavery was the soul of the Old South economy. In 1860, 3,953,696 Africans and African Americans lived and worked as chattel across the U.S. slave states and territories (Du Bois 1935:32), equaling an estimated 1973-value of \$2.7 billion (Goldin 1973:74). Mississippi whites owned 436,691 slaves, worth \$349,344,800 circa 1860—a total value over \$100 million greater than that of all agricultural land, equipment, and livestock in 1860 Mississippi (Sydnor 1933:200). Investment in the peculiar institution secured vast wealth for the free citizens of the Southern United States: 42 percent of all income in Alabama, 36 percent in South Carolina, 34 percent in Florida, and 29 percent in Georgia and Mississippi depended upon slavery in 1860 (Gunderson 1974:922), and an estimated 49.8 percent of white families in Mississippi owned slaves (Sydnor 1933:193).

Slaves cultivated cash crops, and worked as domestic servants, builders, and artisans (Crew, Bunch, and Price 2015). In Mississippi, slaves were skilled as mechanics, blacksmiths, and carpenters. They occupied Vicksburg factories and Natchez cotton mills, and constructed and operated the Vicksburg-Jackson and Pearl River railways (Sydnor 1933; Kornweibel 2007). Slaves manned steamships on the Mississippi River (Sydnor 1933); but as chattel, blacks were denied not only compensation for their labor, but the rights and protections of U.S. citizenship (Feagin 2010).

The political, civil, economic, social, and cultural freedoms of the slave were universally denied in Mississippi. By law, “all colored persons were considered slaves unless the contrary could be proved” (Sydnor 1927:769). The state forbade slave literacy, denied slaves’ marital rights, regulated their religiosity and banned African traditions (Du Bois 1903; Sydnor 1933). Travel rights were restricted, with armed local patrols policing slaves’ movements and punishing those travelling without valid proof of permission. Mississippi penal law “in several instances established severer penalties for slaves than for white persons who had committed the same crime” (Sydnor 1933:85).

Fugitive slaves risked torture and death if captured. Public floggings were a common warning against insubordination, and former slaves attest to nutritional deprivation, forced isolation, dismemberment, castration, and other cruel and unusual punishments (Sydnor 1933; Feagin 2010; Crew et al. 2015). Slavers sexually abused enslaved women and girls (Roberts 1997), and the domestic slave trade separated families and communities (Kelley 2007; Crew et al. 2015). The 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court establishes crimes against humanity as enslavement, extermination, forced displacement, torture, sexual violence, persecution, “the crime of apartheid,” and other inhumane acts “committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack” (United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect N.d.). The genocide of U.S. slavery, its intergenerational denial of the life and liberty of many millions of Africans and their African American descendants, constitutes such an offence

(Asante 2003; Van Dyke 2003; Worrill 2003; Darity and Frank 2007; Biondi 2007; Henry 2007a; Feagin 2010).

U.S. Presidents have denounced slavery—but only unofficially, and only to African countries, not African Americans. In 1998, President William Clinton offered “an impromptu remark” while visiting Uganda: ““Going back to the time before we were even a nation, European-Americans received the fruits of the slave trade and we were wrong in that”” (Bennet 1998). His successor also admitted that slavery was “one of the greatest crimes in history.” Addressing a 2003 public ceremony at Goree Island in Senegal, President George W. Bush stated that the transatlantic slave trade “stol[e] and sold [liberty and life].” He also said that “[f]or 250 years [Africans in America] endured an assault on their culture and their dignity” (Brophy 2006:203), and that “the racial bigotry fed by slavery did not end with slavery or with segregation...many of the issues that still trouble America have roots in the bitter experience of other times” (205).

These presidential statements did not explicitly apologize for slavery (Brophy 2006:13), but in 2009, Congress did. A senate resolution declared that “the system of slavery and the visceral racism against people of African descent upon which it depended became enmeshed in the social fabric of the United States” (U.S. Congress 2009:1). The non-binding resolution also “apologize[d] to African-Americans on behalf of the people of the United States, for the wrongs committed against them and their ancestors who suffered under slavery and Jim Crow laws” (4). This apology included a disclaimer: “[n]othing in this resolution...authorizes or supports any claim against the United

States...or serves as a settlement of any claim against the United States” (4-5). This disclaimer precluded any claims to reparation (Thompson 2009).

African Americans and their allies have sought such “a national acknowledgement...for the wrongs...inflicted on [slaves]” since abolitionism (Walker 1830:80), a national acknowledgement all but achieved in 1865. As the U.S. Civil War ended, Union commander William Tecumseh Sherman issued Special Field Order No. 15, a military decree resettling approximately 40,000 freed slaves on 400,000 acres of confiscated Confederate land. Only months later, to enable black economic development, Congress established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, and authorized it to distribute forty-acre lots to eligible freedmen. In Jackson, Mississippi, liberated slaves were recorded unofficially allotting Union-conquered soil amongst themselves as early as 1863 (Kerr-Ritchie 2007), but Southern resistance and President Andrew Johnson’s opposition aborted any postwar redistribution policies (Du Bois 1935; Kerr-Ritchie 2007; Nuruddin 2007). Legislated redress was equally ineffective. In 1867, Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens unsuccessfully proposed redistributing the private lands of the Southern aristocracy as ex-slave pensions (Lyons 2007), and U.S. Representative (and son of Alabama slaveowners) Walter R. Vaughan’s bill pursuing monthly-payments for free blacks failed in 1890 (Brooks 2004; Kelley 2007).

Atonement as government policy was abandoned post-Reconstruction, but survived in the African American activist tradition. Callie D. House and Reverend Isaiah H. Dickerson organized the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association in 1897 and recruited over 600,000 emancipated citizens to petition for

ex-slave pensions (Farmer-Paellmann 2003; Berry 2005; Kelley 2007). Marcus Garvey and his Universal Negro Improvement Association demanded mass repatriation to Africa as reparations to the transnational African diaspora (Johnson 2007), and in 1955, civil rights worker Queen Mother Audley Moore founded the Reparations Committee of Descendants of United States Slaves to rally grassroots support for reparations (Biondi 2007).

Jim Crow rule provoked mass African American protest against racial segregation and legal discrimination, but reparation demands never receded. The Nation of Islam, and later the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and the Republic of New Africa, claimed a collective right to redress (Worrill 2003; Kelley 2007); Martin Luther King Jr.'s "Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged" argued reparations as moral policy; and James Forman's 1969 "Black Manifesto" sought \$500 million as a precursory repayment for historical racism (Bittker 1973; Henry 2007a). U.S. slavery reparations have since been endorsed by the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (Worrill 2003; Aiyetoro 2003; Feagin 2010), and former Congressman John Conyers Jr. (Conyers 2003; Henry 2007a; Henry 2007b). As recently as 2016, the United Nations Human Rights Council reported that "the legacy of colonial history, enslavement, racial subordination and segregation, racial terrorism and racial inequality in the United States remains a serious challenge, as there has been no real commitment to reparations and to truth and reconciliation for people of African descent" (16).

U.S. reparation policy is well-precedented. Ironically, the only monetary reparations officially provided for chattel slavery were disbursed to owners, not their

former slaves. Almost a year prior to the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, President Abraham Lincoln signed the District of Columbia Emancipation Act of 1862, abolishing slavery in the nation's capital and compensating former slaveholders approximately \$300 per slave freed (Brophy 2006). Modern restitution programs have benefited other historically persecuted populations. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 awarded indigenous Alaska tribes "\$1 billion and more than 44 million acres" as a collective repayment and an investment in economic development (Kelley 2007:205; Brophy 2006). The Civil Liberties Act of 1988, however, compensated the injuries of the individual. A political and moral response to the government-sanctioned internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, the law incorporated \$20,000 payments to individual internment survivors, an official apology, and funding for education programs on U.S. internment (Brophy 2006). In 1995, Rosewood, Florida, African American lynching victims and their descendents received \$2.1 million in compensation for property lost in a 1923 massacre (Winbush 2003; Brophy 2006; Kelley 2007). Significantly for this study, the Florida legislature also offered higher education "scholarships to minority individuals, with preference given to direct descendants of the Rosewood families" (Bassett 1994:518; Henry 2007a).

In Mississippi, slavery and segregation is no longer the law of the land; but as Faulkner (1951) wrote, "the past is never dead. It's not even past" (92). Mississippi education is oft-separate and still unequal. In 2014, 61 Mississippi school districts were still implementing federal desegregation plans, more than any other state (Qiu and Hannah-Jones 2014). "In 2016, half of all black students in Mississippi attended school in

a district rated D or F [on the state’s annual A–F rating scale]; 86 percent of the students in those districts were black. In districts rated F, more than 95 percent of the student population was black” (Mannie 2017a). According to Mississippi State Department of Education data, the achievement gap between white and black public school students is 28 percent (Mannie 2017a). In 2017, “14 percent of African-American fourth-graders scored at or above proficient in reading compared to 38 percent of white fourth-graders,” while “10 percent of African American students...were proficient [in eighth grade math] compared to 34 percent of white students” (Wolfe 2017). These educational deficiencies affect college readiness. Mississippi had the lowest percentage of African American students (3 percent) score as “college-ready in all four [ACT-]tested subjects (English, math, reading, and science)” in 2015 (U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation 2015).

The University of Mississippi is not exempt from the racial inequalities of Mississippi public education. In 2015, Mississippi had the country’s highest state disparity between the rate of black public high school graduates (50 percent) and the rate of black undergraduate students enrolled at the state’s flagship university (10 percent) (Kolodner 2018). In 2018, African American students were “12.5 percent of the student body” at the university and its regional campuses (Alsup 2018b), despite black residents comprising 37.8 percent of the state population (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2018). In 2013, 48.4 percent of black students graduated within six years. This rate was higher than the national black six-year graduation rate (40.3 percent), but still lower than the university’s rate of white students graduating within six years (59.5 percent) (Chronicle of Higher Education N.d.).

African American students attending UM risk the damages of structural and individual racialized barriers. Johnson et al.'s (2018) localized research on microaggressions indicates that the subtle indignities and insults African Americans and other marginalized UM students often experience on campus can cause physiological and psychological injuries. Racial disparities also exist in UM employment. Only 14.4 percent of total staff and 5.5 percent of total faculty in 2014 were African American (UM Office of Institutional Research, Effectiveness, and Planning 2014a; UM Office of Institutional Research, Effectiveness, and Planning 2014b), and the Chancellor's Commission on the Status of Women (2017:7) reports university wage inequities as disproportionately affecting black women.

In the following section, I introduce the various conceptual definitions of and body of literature on reparations. In the subsequent sections, I outline the methods employed in this study, describe the process for collecting and analyzing relevant data, and present and discuss the findings within the context of reparation scholarship. I conclude this thesis with an evaluation of its ethical concerns and limitations. Unlike standard sociological studies, I also offer a set of policy recommendations based on the findings.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Reparations scholarship is multidisciplinary, incorporating African American studies, sociology, policy studies, political science, economics, philosophy, history, health sciences, legal studies, and other disciplines. Definitions of reparation thus vary, and not all are applicable to slavery as operated at the University of Mississippi.

Reparation is a collective act or institutional policy enacted to redress historical injuries committed against specific populations (Feagin 2010). Reparations tend to incorporate theories of corrective and distributive justice (Asante 2003; Brooks 2004; Brophy 2006; Yepes 2009). As corrective remedies, reparations repair injuries of the past and compensate victims (Matsuda 1987; Chisolm 1999; Lyons 2007). Reparation as distributive justice seeks to amend societal inequalities and invest in future prosperity (Logue 2004; Ogletree Jr., 2007; Yepes 2009). Reparations as justice is indebted to the legal tradition (Brophy 2006). Extensive scholarship cites the legal theories of tort (liability for injuries committed) and unjust enrichment (liability for benefits received without compensation) specifically as potential claims for reparatory compensation (Bittker 1973; Matsuda 1987; Verdun 1993; Van Dyke 2003; Westley 2003; Brooks 2004; Logue 2004; Brophy 2004; Brophy 2006). Yet to analyze the legal literature on reparations in its totality is to exceed the parameters of this study. Therefore, this thesis will not evaluate the constitutionality of reparations or the viability of reparation lawsuits.

The modalities of reparations vary, as do their relevance to reparations at the University of Mississippi. “Repatriation to sovereign land on the African continent or ownership of land in the Black Belt South via either sovereignty, federal statehood, or

simply title and deed” is a historically significant reparatory proposal (Nuruddin 2007:384; Kelley 2007; Browne 2007; Johnson 2007), but a transfer of land ownership is not politically or administratively applicable to university policy. Some reparation policies, like the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, offer individual payments to survivors only; some policies, like the legislated compensation for the Rosewood, Florida, massacre, pay victims and their descendents. Other monetary reparations invest in community development, improving economic, health, and education services. Public apologies and truth commissions may also constitute reparations (Brophy 2006). In fact, many reparationists deem such reconciliatory processes necessary (Asante 2003; Van Dyke 2003), but insufficient (Crawford, Nobles, and Leary 2003), acts of atonement (Brooks 2004). Reparations thus tend to integrate the reconciliatory and the monetary (Brophy 2006).

There are deficiencies associated with both individual and collective models of reparation. Individualized payments tend to require qualified recipients to verify their eligibility, an administrative burden for the state and a potential disqualifier for those without valid authentication of their slave ancestry. Context-specific repayment calculations of individual entitlement may also instigate intracommunity conflict. Collective repayment as an investment in community resources and services poses other quandaries: what entity will calculate what it is owed and how it is owed? does this entity represent black public interests? and who is eligible (i.e., who is black)? This question of eligibility is especially significant. Codifying a racial classification of recipients risks polarizing existent racial divisions and reviving eugenic policies (Bittker 1973). Brooks

(2004) proposes verifiable self-identification and documentation as valid proof of eligibility, but according to Matsuda (1987), “the problem of identification is not a sufficient reason to abandon other legal goals and obligations” of reparation (386).

Despite its deficiencies, community investment plans “are probably the most popular among reparations advocates” (Brophy 2006:173). Matsuda (1987), Westley (2003), and Brooks (2004) argue that slavery and racism, as the oppression of African Americans as a people, warrants compensation to the black community. Community reparations also allow institutional investments and systemic socioeconomic improvements that individual repayments may not (Bittker 1973; Westley 2003; Brooks 2004; Kelley 2007; Nuruddin 2007). Another question: who pays? Antebellum public policies “perpetrated and supported the institution of slavery” (Verdun 1993:638; Lyons 2007), and slave tax revenues financed state and federal government expenditures (Van Dyke 2003; Outterson 2003). Mississippi, for instance, sporadically taxed the interstate slave-trade until the Civil War (Sydnor 1933). Laws may be amended and new leaders elected, but the state as a corporate entity may still be liable for historical wrongs. Therefore all citizens, as beneficiaries of a national slave system and bearers of the government’s debts and obligations, may owe reparations as a collective civic responsibility and moral liability (Posner and Vermeule 2003; Westley 2003; Corlett 2003; Fullinwider 2007).

Injuries of Slavery

The State of Mississippi’s exploitation of slaves offered only “unjust impoverishment” for African Americans (Feagin 2010:200). This unjust impoverishment

included education discrimination and associated economic deprivation. Antebellum Mississippi forbade slave literacy (Sydnor 1933). “No public institutions in antebellum Mississippi provided formal education to its slave population or its small number of free blacks. Mississippi was in fact the only southern state that reported no free black children in school in 1850” (Sansing 1990:23). This state-sanctioned illiteracy, and subsequent racialized state education systems, perpetuate the intergenerational inequalities that the state experiences to the present day (Bertocchi and Dimico 2014). State laws also outlawed black economic independence (Davis 2007; Oliver and Shapiro 2007). Arguably, by disallowing African Americans these educational opportunities, the state structurally prevented them from achieving economic prosperity, or even economic stability. In the sociological imagination, black poverty in Mississippi is a structural issue, not an individual, personal trouble (Mills 1959:8).

In 1831, the Mississippi legislature “passed [a law] which required all adult free negroes to leave Mississippi” (Sydnor 1933:203). Mississippi emancipation was state-sponsored extortion:

Mississippi’s laws required every black of free status to appear before the local court to give evidence of his or her freedom. When the court was provided satisfactory proof, the applicants received certificates of free status, or freedom papers, as the certificates became commonly known. The certificate indicated the bearer’s name, color, physical stature, and any distinguishing features, such as scars. Every three years the certificate had to be renewed at a fee of \$1, the equivalent of \$25 today. In 1831 the fee was increased to \$3.

Free blacks in Mississippi placed themselves at great risk if they failed to have in their possession a certificate of registration. They ran the risk of seizure and even jail. If blacks were unable to establish their free status within a specified period of time, they could, as allowed by law, be sold into slavery at public auction. (Davis 2017)

Postslavery, Mississippi Black Codes “required that every January all Blacks [sic] be able to present written evidence of their employment for the next year, and also empowered all white persons to arrest any Blacks [sic] who left the service of their employers” (Brest et al. 2000:352). These racist educational and economic policies disallowed black capital accumulation (Oliver and Shapiro 2007). In 2018, Mississippi is the country’s most impoverished state (19.8 percent poverty rate) (Bishaw and Benson 2018), but Mississippi blacks suffer a poverty rate almost 160 percent higher than whites (black, 31.3 percent; white, 12.1 percent) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2017). Similarly, “[m]ore than one in three youth [in Mississippi grow up in conditions of poverty,” but “about half of the state’s African-American children grow up in impoverished households compared to one in five white children” (Welker Allin 2013:2).

Extrajudicial violence is also linked to the economic losses of African Americans in Mississippi. It deprived freedpeople and their kin of their lives and lands (Winbush 2003). Mississippi lynchings killed 654 African Americans from 1877 to 1950 (Equal Justice Initiative 2017). Whitecapping, the illegal confiscation of African American-owned land, was common in postwar Mississippi (Holmes 1969; Winbush 2003). White mobs enforced economic segregation: race riots destroyed the cities of Wilmington, North Carolina, Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Rosewood, Florida, as well as their respective African American business districts (Chisolm 1999; Oliver and Shapiro 2007).

Slavery is physiologically damaging—not only for the enslaved, but for their descendents. Syndor (1930) estimates the life expectancy of a “twenty year old slave [in Mississippi] as very close to twenty-two years” (572). The persistence of postbellum

Mississippi residential segregation denies African Americans' adequate health services (Marcum, Holley, and Williams 1988; Williams and Collins 2007; Grigoryeva and Ruef 2015). African American Mississippians have higher mortality rates, higher infant mortality rates, higher HIV/AIDS incidence rates, and higher prevalences of stroke, diabetes, and obesity than white Mississippians (Lamees et al. 2015). Crawford et al. (2003) argue that these health deficits correlate with post-traumatic slave syndrome (the multigenerational transmission of the medically-neglected traumas and stresses of U.S. slavery and racism), environmental racism, and medical racism. The very racialization innate in U.S. slavery, the codification of Africans and their descendants as property and the stigmatization of black identities as inferior, is a burden inflicted upon all African Americans since the antebellum era (Goffman 1963; Crawford et al. 2003; Lyons 2007; Davis 2007; Winter 2007; Feagin 2010).

Slavery, Higher Education, and Reparations

Public education, and higher education specifically, is integrated into the legacy of slavery and its redress. "From 1867 to 1870, the [Freedmen's Bureau] furnished \$407,752.21 to twenty institutions of higher learning for freedmen." "By 1871, there were eleven colleges and universities...which were especially intended for Blacks [sic]" (Westley 2003:124), including Alcorn University. Mississippi "established the first black land-grant college in the United States in 1871," and "founded a state-supported normal school for blacks in 1873" (Sansing 1990:56). However, this progress ended with Reconstruction (Lyons 2007), and it never expanded to the University of Mississippi. As Sansing (1990) states, "no black students sought admission during Reconstruction" (63):

In their first flush of freedom Mississippi's former slaves craved education, and they stormed the citadels of learning where the "stores and treasures of knowledge" had been secreted from them during their years in bondage. Their hunger to know about "the world remade by the Civil War" made many white Mississippians uneasy. Edward Mayes, a tutor at the University of Mississippi in 1870, wrote about those early anxious days of jubilee: "There was a strong undercurrent of nervous apprehension, lest at any time some aggressive negro student...demand admission to the University, in which case an explosion was regarded as inevitable."

That undercurrent of apprehension stirred Judge Robert S. Hudson of Yazoo City to ask in an open letter to Chancellor [John Newton] Waddel in 1870: "Will the faculty as now composed, receive or reject an applicant for admission as a student on account of color?" Waddel and the faculty responded that they would be "governed by consideration of race and color" and would "instantly resign should the trustees require them to receive negro students." (P. 62)

The legacies of slavery and education discrimination cause contemporary African American human capital deficiencies in income (Bertocchi and Domicio 2012), and in education, specifically higher education enrollment and graduation rates. Codified illiteracy and racist admission policies excluded the vast majority of the prospective African American student population prior to the Civil War. "Most accounts put the number of black college graduates for the colonial and antebellum periods at a mere twenty-eight" (Brooks 2004:51). The affirmative action and anti-discrimination policies of the 1970s only temporarily reduced the historical trend of black educational deficiency. "[T]he limited educational and employment opportunities afforded to black parents, grandparents, and prior ancestors extending back to slavery" perpetuate African American collegiate disparities to this day (Brooks 2004:96). In Mississippi, the degree-attainment rate of black adults (ages 25 to 64) is 24.12 percent; for whites, the rate is 35.78 percent (Lumina Foundation 2016).

The financial costs of college tax black families (Brooks 2004). In 2017, African-Americans comprised “37 percent of Mississippi’s eight public universities,” but “received 19 percent of all state aid grants with whites receiving 73 percent” (Davis 2018). Insufficient state aid forces many black students to borrow federal loans. U.S. Department of Education data of college students enrolled in the 2003-2004 school year indicates that “African American students [at public four-year institutions] were more likely to borrow than their [white] peers” (black, 87 percent; white, 60 percent); that the average African American borrower “who completed a bachelor’s degree owed 114 percent of what they originally borrowed;” and that “49 percent of African American students who borrowed for their undergraduate education defaulted on a federal student loan” (Miller 2017a). This student debt disparity is also intersectional: black women borrow and default more than any other racial or gender group (Miller 2017b). Houle and Addo (2018) argue that these racial inequalities in student debt “account for a substantial minority of the black-white wealth gap in early adulthood and that the contribution of student debt to racial inequalities in wealth increase across the early adult years” (10).

According to Bertocchi and Dimico (2014), this unjust “distribution of education is...more unequal within slave states” (204). Their study “confirm[s] the significant effect of [a county’s share of slaves] on [current racial educational inequality]” (206). Income inequality is another legacy of slavery, “since the distribution of per capita income is more unequal today in counties associated in the past with a larger proportion of slaves in the population” (198). Bertocchi and Dimico (2014) also claim that local

“post-Reconstruction politics and ‘separate but equal’ educational policies” cause racial inequalities today (207):

Because of the “separate but equal” educational policies applied in Southern states until the 1960s, local officers could divert state funding for blacks to finance education for whites. As a result they could impose a lower property tax and spend less in education. The relationship between slavery and per capita property taxes...show that a larger share of slaves is associated with a smaller per capita tax in 1962 and the relationship still holds in 1992, which implies a sort of persistence in the education policies implemented before and after the abolition of black disenfranchisement. (Pp. 207-208)

The educational legacy of slavery validates proposals to employ higher education institutions as mechanisms of reparations. Van Dyke (2003) cites the reparatory liability of universities as state entities. Nuruddin (2007) recommends reparatory tuition exemptions. Yamamoto (2007) proposes student scholarships; but Bittker (1973) warns that university reparations “would provide direct benefits to only a limited segment of the black population” (90).

Some scholars argue that affirmative action, as a policy “remedy[ing] [the] subjugation of racial and ethnic minorities and of women” (U.S. Reports 1995), acts as compensation to victims of slavery and racially discriminatory admission practices (McWhorter 2001; Grutter v. Bollinger & Gratz v. Bollinger 2003; Posner and Vermeule 2003; Brooks 2004; Forde-Mazrui 2004; America 2007). Others argue that affirmative action policy is insufficient to amend centuries of slavery and racism. Affirmative action is neither an admission of national guilt, nor is it proportional compensation for the specific injuries of slavery and its intergenerational effects (Davis 2007), as white women’s disproportionate receipt of affirmative action policies demonstrates (Corlett 2003; Mosley 2003). African Americans’ preferential admission status is an inadequate

institutional retort to historic “‘affirmative action’ programs for whites” (Feagin 2010:193). These U.S. policies (the Homestead Acts, Federal Housing Administration loan programs, the G.I. Bill, etc.) excluded African Americans while enriching whites (Brown et al. 2007; Oliver and Shapiro 2007; Feagin 2010). Westley (2003) cites affirmative action as “nonmonetary compensation.” Yet its limited purview, its meritocratic qualities, and its discretionary and sporadic distribution render affirmative action “unacceptable” as reparatory policy (129). Westley (2009) also alleges that reparations avoid the colorblind claim of affirmative action as reverse discrimination:

Strictly speaking, as a social justice discourse, reparations, unlike affirmative action, are not dependent on the concept of race. Indeed, under a reparations remedial model racialization of the beneficiary class is part of the injury perpetrated against the class that is used to justify denial of reparations... In other words, as the argument goes, the requirements of justice dictate that *anyone* [emphasis in original]--regardless of color, as they say--subjected to similar oppression and denial of human rights should be entitled to reparations. Thus, reparations, properly understood, while not necessarily a racial claim, when applied to slave descendents, have racial effects because slavery and oppression of African descendents was justified on a racial basis. (P. 12)

Higher education institutions in the United States were also beneficiaries of slavery. Wilder’s (2013) *Ebony & Ivy* chronicles the existential dependencies of antebellum colleges and universities upon investments in local and transnational slave economies. Slave wealth and its claimants subsidized the operations of Harvard University, the College of William & Mary, Columbia University, Yale University, Princeton University, the University of North Carolina, and other antebellum academies. University faculties and college administrators popularized scientific racism, academically vindicating U.S. slavery, racism, and white supremacy. For instance, “Dr. Cartwright, of the University of Louisiana, gave a learned discourse before a convocation

of the University of Mississippi in which he declared that anatomy and physiology proved that the negro was not fitted for freedom, but was designed to be a slave” (Sydnor 1933:244).

Internally-sanctioned research of slavery and the academy predates *Ebony & Ivy*. In 2003, Brown University organized the Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice. The university publicly acknowledged its slave past in 2006, and in 2012, it instituted the Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice (Brown University 2018). Other colleges and universities have sanctioned similar inquiries. In 2014, the University of Virginia organized Universities Studying Slavery (USS), a national consortium of higher education institutions studying their historic relationships to and the contemporary repercussions of collegiate-slavery (University of Virginia 2013).

Institutional reactions to new knowledges of collegiate slavery vary. The University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill (Graham 2018), William & Mary (College of William & Mary 2018), and Princeton now provide online archival data on their slave histories (Princeton University 2018). The University of Alabama (Associated Press 2004), Emory (Sauder 2011), William & Mary (Whitson and Zagursky 2018), Salem College (2018), and UNC Chapel Hill have offered apologies for their investments in slavery (Hudson 2018). Harvard memorialized its campus slaves in 2016 (Harvard University 2018). However, it is Georgetown University that is so publicly implicated by collegiate-slavery reparations. In 1838, Jesuit priests authorized the sale of 272 slaves to finance Georgetown University operations. Since 2015, administrative officials have offered apologies, university halls have been rechristened to honor campus slaves

(Georgetown University 2017), and the descendants of auctioned-slaves have been promised preferential admission status (Georgetown University 2016). Yet 200 descendants, organized as the GU272 Isaac Hawkins Legacy group, still request monetary reparations ““for the wealth [Georgetown] unjustly accumulated off the back of unpaid slave labor.”” This is a price the university is still unwilling to pay (Svrluga 2018).

Despite recent interest in slavery and the academy, literature on slavery reparations as viable university policy is minimal. Jordan, Mount, and Parker’s (2018) accounting of the University of Chicago’s slave wealth unites reparations strategies and localized research on universities’ slave pasts. Ironically, it was Mississippi slavery that financed the University of Chicago’s inaugural endowment, bestowed by Stephen A. Douglas, a U.S. Representative, the original president of the university’s board of trustees, and a slaveowner. “To effect reparations at the University of Chicago” (174), an intersectional, grassroots coalition, including the Reparations at University of Chicago (RUAC) Working Group and its local and national partners, is rallying an inclusive anti-racism agenda, soliciting the input of the descendants of Douglas’s slaves, and endorsing preliminary ““truth and reconciliation”” processes (178).

This thesis is indebted to the work of University of Mississippi Slavery Research Group (UMSRG) and its 2015 “2-Year Report and Proposal for Future Projects.” Established in 2014 as the UM Slavery and the University Working Group, the interdisciplinary coalition documents “slavery and its legacies here in our own locale” (UMSRG 2015:8). Its preliminary report identifies enslavement as an institutional norm. Slaves were employed in on-campus construction and maintenance operations at the

University of Mississippi. Trustees, chancellors, faculty, and students owned slaves, and slaves were vulnerable to violence. Notably, “118 slaves are listed as the property of individuals listed as the faculty (and steward) of the University of Mississippi” in 1860 (21), and slaves were employed in construction and maintenance operations (22).

METHODS & DATA COLLECTION

The University of Mississippi Board of Trustees minutes (BTM) from 1845 to 1861 and the UM Faculty minutes (FM) from 1848 to 1861 provide the data for this study. These data consist of a total of 687 typescript pages. The original handwritten copies of both sets of minutes had been typed and catalogued by previous users, and were available at the UM Department of Archives and Special Collections. I scanned the typewritten BTM and subjected the whole work to a qualitative analysis for this study. When it was evident that the BTM were principally administrative and transactionary records, and did not include sufficient information regarding the day-to-day regulation of slaves, I obtained copies of the FM typescript from the UM Department of Archives and Special Collections. Since the UM Slavery Research Group had employed the faculty minutes in their report, I presumed that these minutes would yield greater details into the benefits of slavery to the University and the types of harms slaves experienced. Indeed, as an official recording of transactions and events, these minutes offer an itemized accounting of slavery and its abuses as institutionalized at UM.

I developed conceptual definitions for both the benefits of slavery and its harms. These definitions were drawn from existing slavery scholarship. I created an excel worksheet with columns assigned for each subcategory related to my definitions of benefits and harms. I then entered each and every reference from the 687 pages of minutes into these subcategories. This coding technique aimed to systematically locate the themes that existed in both bodies of minutes.

To understand the data as it relates to slavery at the University of Mississippi, I employ a qualitative content analysis (QCA). QCA is a social science research method that systematically catalogues and describes interpretive data samples. It allows for the specific classifying of content-rich qualitative material (e.g., the 452-paged BTM and 235-paged FM typescripts) and the contextualizing of emergent themes via conceptual coding. QCA coding is comprehensive, incorporating unidimensional concepts, mutually exclusive subcategories, and the thematic segmentation of units of analysis into interperatable units of coding. Thematic segmentation divides text “into units of coding...[by] changes of topic. In this way, each unit corresponds to mentioning or discussing one theme” (Schreier 2018:136). This segmentation criterion improves the reliability of my coding frame (138). Content analysis allows for adding categories that develop inductively. Emergent themes that were not factored into my initial definitions of benefit and harm were added later as subcategories. Therefore, the coding frame accurately reveals both what I predicted the primary sources would contain and what they actually contained. This method also provides for correction to the coding frame, as I describe in the next section. QCA is thus the ideal methodology to analyze the historical record of UM slavery.

DATA ANALYSIS

For this study, the units of analysis are the 687 pages in the board of trustees minutes and the faculty minutes. To code these data deductively, I adopted benefit and harm as conceptual categories. I also devised several subcategories. These subcategories were drawn from the body of literature detailing the types of injuries slaves suffered and the types of services slaves provided in the State of Mississippi and at the University of Mississippi (Sydnor 1933; Crew et al. 2015; UMSRG 2015). I operationalized benefit as the policies and actions that served the economic interests of the University of Mississippi and its actors. These benefits include unpaid labor and economic enrichment. By unpaid labor, I mean the assignment of or transaction for land clearing, construction work, building maintenance, livestock-feeding, firemaking, cooking, personal services, and other miscellaneous tasks executed by slaves without pay. By economic enrichment, I mean the allocation of university funds for the financing of slave labor and other policies that profitize UM slavery. It is of note that my definition of economic enrichment initially included the assignment of contracts to slaveowners professionally associated with the University of Mississippi, but as I read and coded the data, it became evident that this inclusion compromised the mutual exclusivity of my concepts. In QCA, “[m]utual exclusiveness... means that a unit of coding can be assigned to one [subcategory within one category] only” (Schreier 2018:75). No units of coding related to the assignment of contracts to UM-associates were exclusive to the subcategory of economic enrichment; that is, they coded as units of both benefit subcategories (unpaid labor and economic enrichment). To preserve the reliability of my coding frame, I

recoded the data and I excluded the assignment of contracts to UM-associated slaveowners from the economic enrichment subcategory in re-codings.

Harm, or the injuries sustained by enslaved blacks at the university, is operationalized as unpaid labor, abuse and violence, and education discrimination. Unpaid labor is defined as it is for the benefit category. As a benefit, unpaid labor is a positive transaction for the university; as a harm, unpaid labor is detrimental to slaves' welfare. Coding unpaid labor as a subcategory of both benefit and harm does not threaten the reliability of my coding frame. "[Mutual exclusivity] does not apply to main categories...but only to the subcategories comprising the 'values' of one category" (76). By abuse and violence, I mean the physical mistreatment (overwork, whippings, beatings, brandings, burns, lynchings, murder, and other violent offences), sexual offences (harassment, sexual assault, rape, and forced mating), and other human rights violations (civic, political, social, and cultural injustices) inflicted upon slaves. Education discrimination includes institutional policies or public resolutions prohibiting African American enrollment or honoring slavery or white supremacy.

FINDINGS

TABLE 1. Content Analyzed Subcategories

<i>Unit of analysis</i>	<i>Unpaid labor¹</i>	<i>Economic enrichment</i>	<i>Abuse and violence</i>	<i>Education discrimination</i>
BTM	25	5	4	6
FM	2	0	7	0
Total	27	5	11	6

¹ Includes categories of benefit and harm

It is necessary to clarify context-specific vocabulary prior to any overview of the findings. “Servant” was a common euphemism for slaves in the board of trustees minutes and faculty minutes. Campbell (1939) cites “servants” as “under the control & direction of the Proctor and Faculty” (129), and “for the use of the college” (295). “When unemployed,” servants were still “at the disposition of the President” (Faculty Minutes & Committees Collection 1856:83). This indicates servants were not employees *per se*, but college property. The slave narratives of Frederick Douglass (1845) and Harriet Jacobs (1861), and Sansing’s (1999) history of the University of Mississippi, authenticate “slave” and “servant” as synonymous. Mississippi law also banned the residency of free blacks in 1831 (Sydnor 1933). It is thus unlikely that these “college servants” were freedpeople afforded wages (Faculty Minutes & Committees Collection 1860:205).

The BTM and FM recorded slaves as “hired” and “employed” by the university (Campbell 1939:104; Faculty Minutes & Committees Collection 1850:38). Sydnor (1933) states that “some slave-owners found it more advantageous to hire out their negroes” (173). Owners profited from the hiring, renting, and contracting of their slaves to other

citizens, communities, and institutions. “The cost of clothing, medical attention, and taxes were ordinarily borne by the employer” (174), not the slaveowner. A July 8, 1850, payment of \$6.50 for “servt. [clothing]” may be such an employer-borne expense (Campbell 1939:119).

The BTM also mention “Southern interests” and “the true Spirit of attachment to the institutions” (Campbell 1939:204, 275). The minutes do not clarify these phrases as pertinent to the institution of slavery, but contemporary defenses of slavery do. The very title of Sawyer’s (1858) proslavery treatise, *Defense of Southern Institutions*, indicates that slavery was unalienable from Southern society. Roberts-Miller’s (2009) study of proslavery rhetoric in the 1830s verifies this symbiosis: “Southern culture was slave culture; southern society, as its rhetors reiterated, was slave society, and any attack on the latter was an attack on the former” (24-25).

In response to my first research question (how did slave labor economically benefit the University of Mississippi?), the board of trustees minutes revealed that unpaid slave labor enriched the university and its faculty, staff, and students. Table 1 shows 25 instances of uncompensated work. The university proctor and faculty “control[led] & direc[ted]” campus slaves (Campbell 1939:129). Slaves were employed to maintain and procure water and firewood for university “dormitories.” They also served the “College grounds” (129), supplied “mechanical [sic] work” (375), and repaired “buildings, cisterns, [and] wells” (295). George, a campus slave, was specified as a “Janitor” (193). The faculty minutes specified other domestic chores of campus slaves. An 1856 resolution states: “Resolved, That it shall be the duty of the servants employed in the dormitories to

sweep the rooms and entries daily, adjust the bedding, carry fuel, make fires, bring water daily, from the 1st October till the first April, and twice a day the rest of the college year. When unemployed thus they shall be at the disposition of the President” (Faculty Minutes & Committees Collection 1856:83).

Other BTM citations note the price of slave labor and the name of the owner-contractor, but not the exact services slave provided: these include a nonspecific \$220.00 payment “for two [hired] servants as per contract for year 1850” (Campbell 1939:119); a “Jany 1 1857” payment of “[\$]200.00” to “Robert Sheegog [for a] Servant Hier [sic]” (325); and a May 1858 payment to (UM trustee) Jacob Thompson for a “Servt. Hire” of “[\$]400” (361). The board of trustees minutes registered policies that supervised and monetized students’ private access to slaves. University policy in 1856 required “each Student and Tutor occupying the Dormitories...to pay or deposit with the Treasurer the Sum of Five Dollars each to cover Servant hire, and Students lodging out of the Dormitory, [to] pay or deposit two Dollars each” (Campbell 1939:296). The university proctor was also tasked “to receive all funds required to be paid by students upon their admission & to disburse the same as required by the resolutions of the Board to hire servants for the University” (78).

In response to my second research question (how did the University of Mississippi’s use of slave labor harm the enslaved?), the sets of minutes showed that university slavery injured unpaid laborers. All unpaid labor and the conditions of that labor, by definition, benefitted the university and harmed the enslaved population. Hence, all of the above mentioned benefits of unpaid labor also represented harms to the

enslaved. The board of trustees minutes and faculty minutes report additional harms, including violence against slaves and human right violations. Of the 11 abuses recorded, I identified the majority (seven) in the faculty minutes. These included several beatings:

Mr Rice, of the Junior Class, was summoned before the Faculty to state whether or not he had a few nights previously, beaten a college servant...he acknowledged that he had whipped the negro but denied that he had treated him brutally - and stated that his provocation had been what he considered a personal insult from the negro. (Faculty Minutes & Committees Collection 1860:205)

Mr Melton was called before the Faculty and examined relative to a charge which had been preferred against him and by which he was accused of having beaten one of the college negroes, in violation of a regulation recently passed by the Faculty and announced by the Chancellor in the Chapel. He plead guilty, but so far succeeded in justifying the act, that, under the circumstances, he was no farther punished than by the imposition of 25 demerit marks and by being required to sign a paper promising never again to attempt to chastise one of the College Negroes. (1861:209)

UM students were the only individuals officially incriminated in these attacks, and their offences were rarely punished. In May 1860, “[t]he Proctor reported Mr Gage of the Senior class as having severely beaten one of the college negroes, and as having acknowledged the act: Whereupon the Chancellor was instructed, unanimously, to converse with Mr Gage upon the subject and to refer the case to the Executive committee unless he (Gage) showed a proper spirit in relation to the occurrence in the interview with the Chancellor” (194).

The faculty minutes also recorded allegations of gendered sexual violence. The sexually “violent assault and battery upon” Jane (1860:174), a slave owned by Chancellor Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard, is recited in both minutes. Her testimony “as evidence against a studen[t]” was impermissible, as slaves were denied any legal rights

(Campbell 1939:399-400). Freedom of movement was similarly denied: “servants [were] not allowed to leave the College grounds without permission of the Faculty” (129).

The harms of education discrimination were clustered in the BTM, and were only intimated:

“Government is taught as a science in some of the states, but in few of the Southern states if in any of them. Our ambitious youth go to the East for instruction in this department, for it is to be found there alone. Such a school may or may not be, antagonistic in its principles to Southern views of the right philosophy of government, but we feel assured that *a Southern University of learning could never disseminate views of Society and government, which would prove prejudiced to Southern interests.*” (P. 204)

“Hithers it has not be unusual with our Fellow citizens to send their sons for Education to a Distance frome [sic] home. The Colleges of the northern and eastern States have educated great numbers of the present generation of Mississippi and not a few also of the youth who are about to come upon the stage to succeed them. But a deep conviction has at last fastened itself upon the minds of our Citizens, that *if we would educate our sons in the true Spirit of attachment to the institutions, among which they are born, we must educate them upon our own soil.*” (Pp. 275-76)

In response to my final research question (should the University of Mississippi supply reparations for slavery and its abuses?), the findings of my first and second questions suffice as evidence. While the board of trustees minutes and the faculty minutes likely do not provide a complete accounting of slavery at the university, the data contained within testify that slavery at the university was systemic. Unpaid labor was used to operate and maintain the university. University fees funded collegiate slavery and monetized students’ slave capital. These institutional benefits correlated with the harms slaves suffered. Physical and sexual violence against slaves was a student tradition. Slaves were denied constitutional freedoms. White supremacy, slavery, and racism were institutional values, denying African Americans an UM education until 1962. The

peculiar institution and the University of Mississippi were interdependent. This structural interdependence justifies slavery reparations as an act of racial reconciliation and social repair (Brooks 2004).

Some findings were unexpected. The cataloging of slave labor as employed and financed at UM were not as quantitatively substantial as I predicted. This does not negate the institutionalization of campus slavery. To the contrary, the data verified that the university was well-integrated into the antebellum slave society. It is possible that some unpaid laborers were not officially notated in transactions, or that slaves' works were inscribed in some other sources. For instance, Daniel Grayson, a local carpenter referenced repeatedly in the BTM, is probably the same "Daniel Grayson" whose "ten slaves...[were sold] to secure the payment of a debt" in 1843 (Percy 2008:15). It is unknown how many of the university-hired carpenters, lumberers, plasterers, painters, brickmasons, and diggers used slave laborers.

I found unexpected proof of a monetary "present" offered to a slave. In 1849, it was "ordered by the board that the Treasurer pay the College servant George Five dollars as a present for the faithful manner in which he has performed his duties during the past session" (Campbell 1939:110). George's "present" was exceptional; no other unit of coding indicated that other slaves received similar rewards. This substantiates the presumption that black paid labor was anomalous at the University of Mississippi. I also did not predict the total lack of information of abuses committed by university officials and faculty. The minutes state "that the servants employed about the College, be under the control & direction of the Proctor and Faculty" (Campbell 1939:129), and "that the

College servants all be employed under the direction of the President” (Faculty Minutes & Committees Collection 1850:38). These agents were likely authorized to administer discipline to campus slaves. Therefore, the extent of anti-black violence at the university was likely greater than the abuses catalogued. As for unexpected findings, the references to “Southern interests” were significant. These comments indicated that slavery was not only a material interest, but a social investment. The University of Mississippi serviced the reproduction proslavery knowledge and intellectual racism (Wilder 2013).

DISCUSSION

Slavery as University Operation

The theme of unpaid labor as a standard university operation emerged from both the BTM and FM. Often, data samples existed as monetary transactions in expense reports, with white contractors cited without any indication of the total slaves hired or the application of their labor.

[July 10, 1849:] [The Proctor] further reports that he hired a servant for the session for whose services and board he has paid one hundred and forty dollars. He also hired another servant for the year at one hundred and thirty five dollars besides board, and he has paid ten dollars for board. (Campbell 1939:104)

[July 8th 1850] Paid A. G. Ellis for servant hire up to 6th Feby 1850
\$83.25 (P. 119)

[December 6, 1856] [To] J E Market Servant Hire ... [\$]33.00. (P. 328)

[Dec] 22 [1856] [To] H A Barr Servant Hire ... [\$]69.47½. (P. 328)

[Dec] 29 [1856] [To] John N Waddel Servant Hire ... [\$]138.93. (P. 328)

[Aprl] 27 [1858] [To] John Davis Servt board ... [\$]93. (P. 361)

[Jany 1 1858] [To] Robert Sheegog Servt-Hire ... [\$]600. (P. 362)

[Sept 14 1857] [To] J. Thompson Servt hire ... [\$]200. (P. 363)

[Sept 14 1857] [To] J. N. Waddel [Servt hire] ... [\$]250. (P. 363)

[Dec] 28 [1857] [By Cash] J. N. Waddel Servt-Hire ... [\$]250. (P. 364)

[Aprl] 17 [1858] [By Cash] F. H. Reuff Servts board ... [\$]24. (P. 364)

Slaves were contracted from local slavers, like Ellis and Sheegog, but also from men trusted with stewarding the university (UMSRG 2015). Jacob Thompson, a founding university trustee and owner of 97 slaves by 1860 (Campbell 1939; Percy 2008), was a man “who controlled Mississippi in the years immediately before the Civil War” (Sydnor 1933:248). He received \$200 in September 1857 (Campbell 1939:363), and another \$400 in May 1858 (361), for nonspecific slave contracts. Another founding university trustee, John N. Waddel, was thrice compensated for his contracted chattel: in December 1856, he received \$138.93 (328), and in September and December of 1857, he received separate \$250 payments (363, 364). According to the UM Slavery Research Group (2015), “7 slaves [were] listed under Language Professor **John Waddel’s** [emphasis in original] name as slave owner in the 1850 Slave Schedule, probably living on campus” (20). Waddel later served as UM’s first post-war chancellor (Sansing 1999).

Feagin (2010) argues that slaveowning oligarchs—like Thompson, Waddel, Chancellor Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, and Mathematics Assistant Professor L. Q. C. Lamar—“were the most influential in controlling the regional economy and politics...[They] maintained [their] dominance over the non-slaveholding white majority not only by these critical economic ties but also by propagating a white-supremacist framing of society” (37). These men were the great beneficiaries of Mississippi slavery (UMSRG 2015), and they worked to preserve their unjust wealth. Longstreet’s (1845) *Letters on the Epistle of Paul to Philemon* was a proslavery theological treatise, and Lamar drafted Mississippi’s Ordinance of Secession (Sansing 1990), declaring the state

an independent slave society. Their involvement in the management of the University of Mississippi is cause for its moral liability.

Some expenses identified the slave laborers employed.

[1849 July 12] Servant George order bd. [\$]5.00. (Campbell 1939:121)

[July 13, 1857] Draft to Squash & John [\$]62.60. (P. 322)

[July 13, 1857] [Draft to] Moses [\$]31.10. (P. 322)

1858 Proctors Drafts Sept 11 ‘Squash & John Servants for
Repairs at University’ [\$]62.60. (P. 328)

[Sept] 12 [To] Moses Servant Do ... [\$]31.10. (P. 328)

These payments were probably not to George, Squash, John, and Moses specifically, but to the slaveowners that contracted their labor to the university. Accounting for average inflation from 1848 to 1861, \$1 then was worth approximately \$28.70 today (Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis 2018). From 1849 to 1859, university officials allocated approximately \$4300.00 (or \$123,394.64 today) for identifiable slave-related expenses. A dollar invested in slavery at the university was a dollar divested from the university’s unfree laborers: George’s “Five dollars as a present” was the only monetary compensation any slaves received for their work (Campbell 1939:110). UM racism barred their access to income and education, and contributed to systemic wealth inequalities that still harm African American Mississippians (Oliver and Shapiro 2007; Bertocchi and Dimicio 2012; Bertocchi and Dimicio 2014).

Like Mississippi’s slave-trade tax (Sydnor 1933), the university’s slave-fees worked to maximize the peculiar institution’s revenue potential, and to subsidize the university’s expenses. Slave labor not only maintained the university, but officials also

invested in and profited from slave capital (Conrad and Meyer 1958). In July of 1846, the board of trustees' noted "that in the further prosecution of the University buildings the architect be instructed to prepare plans and specifications for four buildings...A suitable kitchen and servants room, and privy for each of said buildings" (Campbell 1939:28). By petitioning "plans and specifications for [servants rooms]," the university invested in the future of collegiate slave labor. UM economic enrichment policies also monetized students' slave capital. University "regulation requir[ed] the payment of four Dollars for [students'] Servant hire for each session" until 1852 (177), a policy reimplemented in 1856 (296). These policies had the potential to be highly lucrative for the university. Jackson (2018) claims that unpublished data of UM slavery shows "that the 'vast majority—probably [90]%' of antebellum students who attended the University of Mississippi during those years came from...slaveowning families." From 1848 to 1850, university students owned a collective total of 4,647 slaves (Twitty 2017:5). This slave capital served the economic interests of the university. It is also likely that the profits of these slave fees "were reinvested in [hiring] slaves" (Sydnor 1933:200), as the proctor's duties "consist...in auditing the accounts of the Students, for their relative assessments for...Servants hire" (Campbell 1939:295). These accumulating slave revenues and expenditures prove that the University of Mississippi was an active beneficiary of slavery.

Extrajudicial Violence as Campus Tradition

Data related to anti-slave violence did not incorporate any institutionally-sanctioned abuses or punishments, but recorded incidents indicate that UM

students were liable to assault local slaves, often without formal punishment. The trial of “Mr Wright” was such a sample.

[Nov 5th 1860:] Not a full meeting. The Proctor reported to the Faculty that one of the college servants had, a night or two previous, been brutally and severely burned on the cheek by a Student, and without provocation. The case was considered by the members present to be worthy of the notice of the Faculty. But no action in the premises was taken or suggested until the student charged with the offence could have an opportunity to defend his conduct to a full meeting of the Faculty. Adjourned until the next day at 10 A.M.

[Nov 6th 1860:] Pursuant to adjournment the Faculty met at 10 A.M. in the Library to investigate the charges preferred against a student as stated on the last page. Several students were summoned to answer such questions as should be asked them and came before the meeting; but nothing of importance was enacted except of the confession of Mr Wright that he had burned the negro’s cheek with a cigar - an action which he himself pronounced indefensible. The students were allowed to retire after each one of them had exculpated himself [sic] from any shadow of a charge of aiding or abetting in the bad treatment of the Negro. Several propositions were then made suggestive of the course to be pursued by the Faculty in reference to the matter; but, after several ‘motions’ had been lost, a proposition that ‘Mr Wright be suspended’ was also lost by a tie vote - one member (Prof. Moore) refusing to vote - and the Chancellor deciding to throw a casting vote. An adjournment until the next day was therefore moved and carried.

[Nov 7th 1860:] Met at 4 P.M. pursuant at adjournment. Present the whole Faculty, including profs. Stearns and Trotter who had been absent from the meetings of the 5th and 6th insts. The house was called to order, when a general discussion ensued as to the merits of the case which had been under consideration at the meetings of the two proceeding [sic] days. A motion was made ‘that Mr Wright be indefinitely suspended’ and, having first passed by a majority it was afterwards made unanimous - when the Faculty adjourned. (Faculty Minutes & Committees Collection 1860:203-204)

While Wright was initially punished for his “indefensible” violence, his suspension was soon revoked. On November 26, faculty “voted that [Wright] be readmitted provided he pledge himself in writing to avoid a repetition of the offence for which he had been arraigned and punished” (206). Some students used alleged slave rebelliousness as an excuse for mob violence.

[Oct. 16th 1860:] In consequence of complaints, made by the Proctor, of whipping, beating, and other maltreatment of the College negroes, by a self constituted 'Vigilance Committee of Students' who proposed to apprehend a general 'negro insurrection' from the fact that an ounce or two of powder had been found in one of the servant's rooms - the following Resolution was introduced by Prof. Moore, commended by early member of the Faculty then present, and unanimously passed. The Resolution here referred to was not put upon paper at the time and never afterwards came into the hands of the Secretary - in substance, however it was to the effect that all such irregularities on the part of the students and all attempts to discipline the college negroes without authority from the Proctor brought the case above within the jurisdiction of the Faculty and it was determined that a repetition of such conduct by students should be dealt with at the discretion of the Faculty. (P. 202)

Students' violent enforcement of racial subordination recalled the contemporary local patrols that policed slaves' movements (Sydnor 1933). It also recalled succeeding histories of lynch law and white terrorism in Mississippi (Holmes 1969; Winbush 2003; Equal Justice Initiative 2017). This violent white supremacist culture at the University of Mississippi deprived local slaves their safety.

Violence against slaves was also gendered. The earliest recorded allegation of rape in the BTM and FM was an incident in December 1853.

Mr. Williamson was examined in regard to a charge of visiting Oxford after 9 P.M. - he admitted it - did not deny a charge of drinking; Denied a charge of a most flagitious outrage upon a servant girl - but admitted that he might had some agency in causing her to break a basket of glass-ware, and that he was riding out in study-hours, without permission. (Faculty Minutes & Committees Collection 1853:77)

The Branham Affair was an act of gendered violence (Sansing 1990). Jane, a slave woman owned by Chancellor Barnard, was "cruelly outraged and beaten" in 1860 (Campbell 1939:401). It is notable that, in the BTM and FM, gender was not cited in the text unless the enslaved was a woman (George, referred to as "he" [Campbell 1939:110],

being the masculine exception). Indeed, femininity was only invoked in reference to alleged acts of sexual violence against enslaved women.

[March 1, 1860:] On the 1 day of this month in Wendel & Rascoes, store, Dr Branham in the presence of Dr. Green Dr Carter, M.D. of Oxford and others made the following charges against President Barnard:... ‘That [President Barnard] was in favor of and did advocate the taking of negro testimony against a student [sic] ‘That Humphreys a student was arraigned & tried upon negro testimony... That all the information in the Humphreys case was furnished by a negro woman... ‘That Barnard stated that Jane the negro woman afterwards recognized Humphreys and pointed him out as the man who had assailed her.’ (Campbell 1939:397-98)

Jane’s rape and the alleged “outrage upon a servant girl” were symptomatic of a sexually coercive slave system (Faculty Minutes & Committees Collection 1853:77; Roberts 1997; Feagin 2010). Other sources claim some men officially affiliated with the university were involved in sexual slavery. “At the University of Alabama...research in the university’s archives disclosed...that some of the slaves owned by Professor F. A. P. Barnard were (according to the diary of one of his campus rivals) visited as prostitutes by students” (Brophy 2006:171-72). Chancellor Longstreet forcibly bred his slaves. He “complained to his son-in-law L. Q. C. Lamar” that “[t]he creatures [slaves] persistently refuse to live together as many [sic] and wife, even after I have mated them with all the wisdom I possess, and built them such desirable homes” (Doyle 2001:146). Physical and sexual violence against slaves was not a crime. It was a property right (Roberts 1997; Feagin 2010). Injured slaves were not afforded legal remedy, nor were they promised medical treatment (Sydnor 1933). Jane’s rape “for some days incapacitated [her] for labor” (Faculty Minutes & Committees Collection 1860:174), but it is not evident that she, or any other attacked slave, was allowed to totally recover from her trauma.

According to Crawford et al. (2003), the untreated injuries of slaves “w[ere] passed along

through the generations” as individual and communal traumas and stresses (269). The potential consequences of slavery and its abuses were not catalogued, but normalized. Reparation is what is owed for a culture of racialized violence.

White Supremacy as Institutional Ideology

No single sentence in the BTM or FM codified the university’s segregationist admission policies or its status as a white institution; but direct references to the distinctions between northern and southern values were made in the BTM, which implicitly inform the University’s culture and dispositions toward the social place and position of slaves. Mississippi law, like the laws of other southern states, declared African Americans chattel, not citizens (Sydnor 1927; Feagin 2010). Their exclusion from the UM mission was, therefore, not exceptional. However, several statements in the board of trustees minutes insinuate an academic devotion to the principles of white supremacy.

[January 12, 1854:] Our ambitious youth go to the East for instruction in this department, for it is to be found there alone. Such a school may or may not be, antagonistic in its principles to Southern views of the right philosophy of government, but we feel assured that a Southern University of learning could never disseminate views of Society and government, which would prove prejudiced to Southern interests. (Campbell 1939:204)

[January 21, 1856:] Hithers it has not be unusual with our Fellow citizens to send their sons for Education to a Distance from home. The Colleges of the northern and eastern States have educated great numbers of the present generation of Mississippi and not a few also of the youth who are about to come upon the stage to succeed them. But a deep conviction has at last fastened itself upon the minds of our Citizens, that if we would educate our sons in the true Spirit of attachment to the institutions, among which they are born, we must educate them upon our own soil. (275-76)

“Southern interests” and “the true Spirit of attachment to the institutions” were the rhetorical terminologies of the proslavery planter class (Roberts-Miller 2009). University

trustees “feared the rising tide of abolitionism in the North, and they believed that northern colleges indoctrinated young men with abolition propaganda” (Marion 2017). The University of Mississippi was built to be an academy of whiteness, to teach the “stereotypes, images, narratives, emotions, [and] discriminatory inclinations that together make up a worldview rationalizing racial oppression” (Feagin 2010:360). The socioeconomic interests of the Mississippi slaveowning elite were studied as curriculum. Threats to these racial ideals were not tolerated, as the Branham Affair evidenced.

[March 1, 1860:] [‘On the 1 day of this month in Wendel & Rascoes, store, Dr Branham in the presence of Dr. Green Dr Carter, M.D. of Oxford and others made the following charges against President Barnard’:] ‘That if the Board of Trustees persisted in their refusal to arraign and try Barnard for taking negro testimony against a student he Branham would publish the whole thing in the Mississippian to the people of the State over his own signature.’ (Campbell 1939:398)

[March 1, 1860:] If I entertain sentiments now, or if your investigations shall discover that I have ever entertained sentiments, which shall justify any man however captious, in pronouncing me “unsound in the Slavery question” then Gentlemen, do your duty, and remove me from a position from which I am morally disqualified. (Campbell 1939:399)

[March 1, 1860:] That the extent of the investigation should be such as to embrace the charges specifically made in writing by Dr H R Branham against Chancellor Barnard, and upon which issue has been joined by Chancellor Barnard, and also such other matters as are embraced in the written communication of Dr Barnard, to the Board, relating to the charges against him, which if true, render him an unsuitable person to preside over a southern university. (Campbell 1939:404)

Barnard, defending his dismissal of Jane’s rapist, declared that ““unsound[ness] in the Slavery question”” was ““morally disqualif[ying]”” for a UM chancellor (399). Trustees agreed, deeming potential anti-slavery sentiments as “render[ing] [Barnard] an unsuitable person to preside over a southern university” (404). This antebellum creed was publicly proslavery and pro-white, as was the UM intellectual culture. University leaders used student organizations, such as the Phi Sigma Society, to indoctrinate young whites. Phi

Sigma debates “most frequently centered on slavery, nullification, and secession.” “The decisions in these debates...show the power of proslavery ideology at the University of Mississippi: they suggest that students more broadly believed that the country would shortly be divided, that nullification and secession were justifiable, and that slavery’s future in the United States was at risk” (Marion 2018). These intracommunal activities, as Wilder (2013) argues, “trained the personnel and cultivated the ideas that accelerated and legitimated...the enslavement of Africans. Modern slavery required the acquiescence of scholars and the cooperation of academic institutions” (10). It is ironic, then, that these white supremacist ideals were so rebutted by the trustees’ stated duties to “the principles of Liberty” and “the education of the people.”

[January 21, 1856:] It is undoubtedly among the highest duties of a government to provide for the education of the people. And where political institutions, like ours, are founded on the principles of Liberty, this duty becomes identified with the truest interest of the commonwealth. To every thoughtful man, therefore, upon whom, to any extent rests the responsibility of directing the legislation of a State, the question in what manner it may present itself and may be practicable most effectually to diffuse intelligence among the masses of the people, and to secure the systematic and thorough training of all in the elements of knowledge, must present itself as one of the most important that can occupy his attention. The prominent place which the subject of elementary education is usually (268) found to hold in the Legislation of every enlightened people, need not therefore be a matter of surprise. But no truth can be more undeniably certain, than this, that where institutions for higher Learning do not exist, or existing, do not flourish, an efficient system of popular education cannot reasonably be looked for, or if looked for will very surely not be found. In proof of this position it would be quite a sufficient argument to appeal to history. If we search the world over, not a single spot can be found, where elementary education has ever become general among any people, not without having been preceded, and in fact, introduced by that higher education, which in the nature of things, cannot be entirely general. (Campbell 1939:267-68)

The trustees did not imagine an integrated UM, accessible to all Mississippians regardless of race (Sansing 1990). Yet, their professed values of “diffus[ing] intelligence among the masses of the people,” of “secur[ing] the systematic and thorough training of all in the

elements of knowledge” (267), were antithetical to the system of chattel slavery, of “Southern interests.” As UM Chancellor, John Newton Waddel once declared that the university “was founded originally and has been conducted exclusively, in all its past history, *for the education of the white race* [emphasis in original]” (Cohodas 1997:16). Today, the UM Creed cites “respect for the dignity of each person” as an institutional duty (University of Mississippi 2018), but UM administrators have never publicly reckoned with the school’s genesis in white supremacy. An accounting of debts owed for a century of racial academia will reconcile these opposing institutional narratives.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Mississippi society was a slave society. Mississippi public policies taxed and regulated the slave system (Sydnor 1933; Van Dyke 2003), and its laws reified African American inferiority (Sydnor 1927; Feagin 2010). As a corporate entity, the state is still liable for the historical wrongs of slavery (Posner and Vermeule 2003; Westley 2003; Corlett 2003; Fullinwider 2007). The University of Mississippi is a political subdivision of the state government; it is also an academy independently incriminated by a heritage of slavery and racism. UM is thus a logical mechanism for distributing reparations. As an old proslavery institution of higher learning, the University of Mississippi is well-integrated into the intergenerational transfer of racial inequality.

The early education discriminations of slavery and Jim Crow injured modern African Americans' economic and educational opportunities (Oliver and Shapiro 2007; Bertocchi and Domicio 2012; Bertocchi and Domicio 2014). This legacy affects racialized higher education enrollment and graduation disparities (Brooks 2004), including enrollment and graduation disparities recorded at the University of Mississippi (Kolodner 2018; Chronicle of Higher Education N.d.). This study exhibited UM policies that invested in and monetized slavery. Public expenditures financed slave contracts, and the school regulated its slave labor. To enrich the descendants of those the university unjustly impoverished, and to invest in the African American community, I recommend that the university supply reparations for slavery. These reparations include: an apology; the institutional support of the study of Mississippi and UM slavery; the development of specific admission processes for the descendants of UM slaves, and scholarships and

services for slave descendents and other black students; and campus de-Confederatization and slave memorialization.

Apology

The University of Mississippi's contextualization of its slave and Confederate histories "acknowledge[d] our indebtedness to the enslaved laborers who built our campus" (Neff 2018:3). Historical contextualization is an educational process (Chancellor's Advisory Committee on History and Contextualization 2017:4), but acknowledgement alone is insufficient to reconcile the university's relationship to slavery (Brooks 2004). Therefore, I recommend that the university officially apologize for the injuries campus slaves suffered, for the benefits that their uncompensated labor afforded, and for the education discrimination that banned the enrollment of slaves, their free descendants, and all other African Americans until desegregation. The duty to apologize does not die with the victims of injustice. It survives with the guilty party: the university.

As this study evinces, the University of Mississippi was founded as a proslavery, white supremacist institution. Slaves were exploited and abused to the benefit of the university and its actors. The university, as a "crucible of debate and...center for non-polarized analysis" (Clarke and Fine 2010:105), is an ideal "facilitat[or] [of] meaningful apologies" (107). An admission of guilt will allow the university to effectuate its current institutional values, specifically its "respect for the dignity of each person" and its "belie[f] in academic honesty" (University of Mississippi 2018). It will also afford the university a claim to a moral authority forfeited by UM slavery and segregation (Brooks 2004; Working Group on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation 2016).

Slavery as Study

The UM Slavery Research Group has been and continues to be indispensable to the study of slavery at the University of Mississippi. Their research should receive institutional support. For U.S. youth, slavery is an unknown known. Polling data reveals a majority of young Americans as incapable of identifying slavery as a major U.S. political system and the chief cause of the Civil War (Pew Research Center 2011; Shuster 2018). Undereducation of the sociopolitical and -economic history of slavery and systemic racism veils the state and university as its lasting beneficiaries—and the enslaved and their descendents as its intergenerational victims (Brooks 2004; Feagin 2010). To benefit the public’s knowledge of U.S. and Mississippi slavery, and “to effect active consideration” of slavery at the University of Mississippi (Clarke and Fine 2010:85), I recommend that the university fully fund the slavery research and public engagement projects of UM Slavery Research Group scholars. These include genealogical research (UMSRG 2017b), undergraduate and graduate courses, professional development programs and learning resources for Mississippi K-12 teachers, a visiting scholars’ program, and inter- and intrastate partnerships (UMSRG 2017c).

UMSRG researchers are currently cataloguing the total slaveholdings of antebellum UM trustees, faculty, staff, and students (Jackson 2018). UM administrators should offer researchers any and all resources necessary to complete this work. For racial reconciliation to be successful, “[t]hose harmed by the legacies of slavery” and Jim Crow “must control the process of reparatory justice and dictate its terms” (Jordan et al. 2018:177). The UM Slavery Research Group’s genealogical research will presumably be

employed to identify any and all living descendents of slaves affiliated to or employed by the university and its constituents (UMSRG 2017b). When and if descendents have been identified, they should be contacted by university officials, and invited to inform the qualities (and quantities) of reparatory policies.

I recommend that university leadership lobby the state to certify schools' compliance with Mississippi K-12 social studies standards, which include the history of slavery (Mannie 2017b; Mississippi Department of Education 2018). This administrative lobbying will complement the UM Slavery Research Group's professional development and learning programs for Mississippi teachers. In accordance with the UMSRG's educational objectives (UMSRG 2017c), I also recommend that the UM College of Liberal Arts require all students to enroll in a course related to slavery as a general education requirement. These required courses should provide a transdisciplinary view, incorporating professors from Sociology and Anthropology, African American Studies, the Department of History, and the Department of English. Students would study slavery and African American history and culture, but also learn of the intergenerational legacy of slavery. The UMSRG (2017a) website includes a catalog of courses relevant to the study of slavery. I recommend that the Division of Student Affairs integrate the UMSRG's findings, as well as histories of Mississippi white supremacy, into UM academic programming, specifically its EDHE 105 and EDHE 305 curriculum (Diversity and Inclusion Office N.d.).

Admissions, Scholarships, and Services

As stated, university reparations should be dependent upon descendants' input and involvement. Regardless, I recommend that the university prepare to implement reparatory admission, tuition, and scholarship policies. The initial human capital deficiencies of slavery and historically unequal education systems, like the institutional benefits and communal harms of UM slavery and discrimination, affect racialized state income disparities (Oliver and Shapiro 2007; Bertocchi and Dimico 2012; Bertocchi and Dimico 2014). This racialized poverty injures African American Mississippians' access to and attainment of the benefits of higher education (Lumina Foundation 2016).

The costs of college disproportionately tax African American students (Brooks 2004; Miller 2017a; Davis 2018; Houle and Addo 2018). However, research evidences the socioeconomic benefits of a collegiate education. Graduates tend to have higher earnings and healthier lives (Oreopoulous and Petronijevic 2013; Schanzenbach, Bauer, and Breitwieser 2017). College graduates claim lower unemployment rates, even in recession (Greenstone and Looney 2011), and low-income students' degree attainment decreases their prospects of continued poverty (Brand and Xie 2010; Greenstone et al. 2013).

Reparations as university financial aid policies would supplement the reconciliatory process of apology (Brooks 2004). Reparatory financial aid policies would also act as a repayment for the specified (and still unspecified) benefits of university investments in slave capital and harms to the enslaved and their descendants (Conrad and Meyer 1958). Increased financial assistance to African Americans will likely improve

retention and graduation rates (Welker Allin 2013), and thus reduce the state's higher education attainment inequalities and racial and gendered income disparities (Attewell and Lavin 2007; Lumina Foundation 2016). Increased educational access will likely also increase African American entrepreneurship (Singh and Crump 2007), and support local and statewide economic development (Moretti 2004; Rothwell 2015).

While reparatory admission and aid policies will be opposed by many, education as reparations “elicit[s] significantly more support” than other reparatory models (Craemer 2009:287). Georgetown University currently offers “Descendants [sic] of the enslaved people owned by the Maryland Province of Jesuits...preferential admission consideration...as a means of reconciliation.” This policy should serve as a template for preferential admission status for all descendents of slaves owned or hired by the university and its trustees, faculty, staff, and students. Like Georgetown's policy, this “preferential admission consideration would be similar to the care and attention given to applicants who are descendants of faculty, staff or alumni,” and “[b]eing a descendant of faculty, staff or alumni, or being a descendant of the people enslaved by the Maryland Province...[would] not [be] the determinative factor in the admissions process” (Office of Undergraduate Admissions N.d.).

Preferential admission status is insufficient to compensate the benefits and harms of UM slavery. The University of Mississippi owes its very existence to slave laborers and the slave economy, and as a proslavery college, UM worked to reify Mississippi slavery and racial subordination (Marion 2017; Marion 2018). Therefore, I recommend that the University of Mississippi provide full-tuition scholarships to all descendents of

descendants of slaves owned or hired by the university and its trustees, faculty, staff, and students. Following the recommendation of Furman University's "Slavery and Justice" report (Task Force on Slavery & Justice 2018), the University of Mississippi should also expand its offering of need-based scholarships and endowments. These aid programs should be permanent and substantial, and should be awarded to African American students in Mississippi counties that historically had high antebellum slave populations. University leadership should increase its financial support for other services and programs that invest in the academic retention and success of all African American students. These include the programs and initiatives of the Center for Inclusion and Cross-Cultural Engagement and the UM Division of Diversity and Community Engagement (Noe 2018; Stewart 2018).

De-Confederatization and Memorialization of Slaves

The recent contextualization of the Confederate statue at Lyceum Circle (Neff, Roll, and Twitty 2016), and of buildings and halls honoring slaveowners and white supremacists (Chancellor's Advisory Committee on History and Contextualization 2017), as well as the rechristening of Vardaman Hall, was intended "to clarify, not to obscure" the university's racial past (4). To cite Yale University's Committee to Establish Principles on Renaming (2016), "[t]o erase a university's history is antithetical to the spirit of the institution. Erasing names is a matter of special concern, because those names are, in part, a catalog of the people whom the university has thought worthy of honor" (4). The committee argued that "such a renaming should be considered only in exceptional circumstances" (18).

This study argues that the very founding of the University of Mississippi was an “exceptional circumstance.” As I have shown, UM was founded to “educate our sons in the true Spirit of attachment to the institutions” of Mississippi slavery (Campbell 1939:276). Its trustees “owned about 700 enslaved people in all” (Jackson 2018). UM chancellors and faculty, including Augustus Longstreet, John Waddel, F. A. P. Barnard, and L. Q. C. Lamar, were slaveowners and proslavery apologists (Longstreet 1845; Sansing 1990; UMSRG 2015). While slavery was not exceptional in Mississippi, the extent of these men’s economic and scholarly investments in white supremacy was (Marion 2017; Marion 2018). Their ideological racism was arguably as exceptional as that of James K. Vardaman, whose lynching advocacy politicized what was a southern ritual (Chancellor’s Advisory Committee on History and Contextualization 2017; Equal Justice Initiative 2017; Louise Wood 2018). As Nicka Sewell-Smith, “the great-great-granddaughter of Easter Parker, a slave owned by [James Alexander] Ventress,” said: “if we’re weighing things equally, if we’re looking at both sides of this, would he [Ventress] have risen to prominence without that? Would he have had the role that he did in his community and in the state had he not amassed the amount of wealth and influence as a result of being a planter?” (Alsup 2018a).

Institutional tolerance of white supremacist iconography likely costs the university. Confederate imagery has been cited in the past as harming the university’s recruitment of African Americans (Hawkins 1997). Despite contextualization, on-campus proslavery symbols still offends some African American students (McCausland 2017; Saul 2017). This “visual landscape...overwhelmingly validates the ideology of racial

dominance” (Combs et al. 2016:343), and is incompatible with reparations that honor the abuses and violence campus slaves suffered (Brooks 2004). I therefore recommend that the university adopt a process of de-Confederatization. Alderman and Beavers (1999) define “de-Confederatization” as “the removal of [southern naming or] toponymic references to Dixie and other symbols of the Confederacy” (194). I interpret de-Confederatization as also including the removal of proslavery iconography. De-Confederatization at UM should include the removal of slaveowners’ names from contextualized campus buildings and halls, while preserving any contextualization plaques currently installed at such sites. De-Confederatization should also include a public disassociation from the “Ole Miss” moniker. Despite “data show[ing] that the term Ole Miss is broadly viewed as one of connection and affection” (Diversity and Inclusion Office N.d.), the phrase is—as its progenitor, Elma Meek, attests—a relic of slavery and white supremacy: “I had often heard [that] old ‘Darkies’ on the Southern plantations address the lady in the ‘Big House’ as ‘Ole Miss.’ The name appealed to me, so I suggested it to the committee and they adopted it” (“Name ‘Ole Miss’ Given” 1936). A university “continu[ing] to use Ole Miss as an endearing nickname” cannot sincerely claim to regret its institutional involvement in the subjugation of African Americans (Diversity and Inclusion Office N.d.).

De-Confederatization should correspond with the memorialization of the campus enslaved. I recommend that the university recommemorate de-Confederatized sites so to honor the campus enslaved (“George, Jane, Henry, John, Squash, Moses, Will, and Nathan”) (Chancellor’s Advisory Committee on History and Contextualization 2017:28).

Local African American civil rights workers, like Medgar Evers, who was denied admission to the UM School of Law in 1954 (Sansing 1999), should also be honored by memorialization. Relatives or known descendants of those selected for memorialization should be contacted for prior permission. As a moral rebuttal to Mississippi's annual Confederate Heritage Month (Pettus 2017), I recommend that the month of April be devoted to the remembrance of UM's enslaved laborers. During this time, the University of Mississippi should host endowed lectures and educational activities related to slavery in Mississippi and at the university.

ETHICAL CONCERNS, LIMITATIONS & FUTURE RESEARCH

This process of qualitative analysis was not without its limitations. Time constraints affected the internal reliability of this research. QCA is intrinsically contextual, deriving meaning from nonstandardized material, but “a coding frame is considered reliable to the extent that the results of the analysis remain stable over time” (Schreier 2018:167). This requires coding and recoding the data into subcategories. As a student researcher, with all the varied academic demands and restrictions associated with that status, I was unable to conduct a coding frame stability test. I had also intended to include historical census data into my data analysis, so to quantify university officials’ slaveholdings. However, slave schedule data were not readily available in a typescript format, and time constraints prevented any attempt to transfer these handwritten data into codable information.

While this thesis is the first to study evidence of slavery at the University of Mississippi as a claim for reparation policy, it is not the first study of UM slavery. My analysis of the BTM and FM was predicated upon the UMSRG’s (2015) work with both minutes. Future research into the university’s investment in slave systems should investigate other antebellum sources, including those listed in the “2-Year Report and Proposal for Future Projects”: “the Alumni Minutes (which start in 1848); the UM ‘Announcements and Catalogue’; the Barnard Collection; the Hermean and Phi Sigma minutes; the Hilgard Papers; the MS University Magazine (which begin in 1856); the Phi Sigma Magazine; and the ‘Rules and Regulations of UM’ (which begin in 1850)” (18).

These historical documents may contain additional evidence of the institution's relationship to slavery, its benefits, and its harms.

In conclusion, this study recommends that the University of Mississippi supply reparations as a political subdivision of the State of Mississippi and as an education institution culpable for slavery and other systemic racism. To be sure, the University of Mississippi owes reparations; but higher education as reparation will "provide direct benefits to only a limited segment of the black population" (Bittker 1973:90). Mississippi was the Deep South's slave capital. Mississippi slave wealth in 1860 would be worth approximately \$10.6 billion today (Sydnor 1933; Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis 2018), and unpaid labor provided 29 percent of all free income in 1860 (Gunderson 1974). State law taxed the slave trade and subordinated the enslaved (Sydnor 1933). If Mississippi's flagship university owes reparations, what must Mississippi owe? Future research should study Mississippi's duty to provide redress for all peoples harmed by the legacy of slavery.

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