

The image features a light blue background on the left side, which contains a faint, stylized illustration of a large, multi-story brick building with two prominent spires. The building is rendered in a line-art style. In the top right corner of this blue area, there are some leafy branches. The text "RICE UNIVERSITY" is printed in a simple, uppercase, sans-serif font, centered horizontally within the blue area.

RICE UNIVERSITY

Task Force on
**Slavery,
Segregation, and
Racial Injustice**

Update: June 2021
On the Founder's Memorial

The Charge of the Task Force on Slavery, Segregation and Racial Injustice at Rice University

- Develop and participate in the implementation of a plan for discovering, documenting, acknowledging, and disseminating Rice's past with respect to slavery, segregation, and racial injustice, as well as an understanding of how that history may continue to inform and shape the present state of the university.
 - Develop campus wide programming to support frank and honest discussion of Rice's entanglement with slavery, segregation, and racial injustice, as well as opportunities for community members to envision paths for Rice moving forward. This will include the invitation of speakers to bring to campus to foster dialogue around these issues.
 - Identify suggestions for Rice's future for our students, our faculty and staff, and our relationship with our home community of Houston that will more fully realize our aspirations for a diverse and inclusive university.
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Dear members of the Rice University community,

Since starting its work formally in December 2019, the Task Force on Slavery, Segregation, and Racial Injustice has launched numerous initiatives to address our three-part charge.

In the past year, we organized eleven lectures and panel discussions on topics ranging from the history of slavery in Texas, to African American culture and politics in Houston in the era of segregation, to the experiences of Black students on Rice University's campus today.

The Task Force is investigating a similarly wide range of questions, as demonstrated in twenty-three "Doc Talks" webinars held during the 2020-2021 academic year. These weekly discussions, often featuring student research, document our developing thinking about historical sources such as a 1922 letter from a Rice donor concerned about the reported presence of the Ku Klux Klan on campus, or a 1990 report compiled by Black students, faculty, and staff about the state of Black life at Rice.

Seven of the Doc Talks have been released as podcast episodes; more episodes are in production. In the meantime, all of the Doc Talks have been archived at Fondren Library and are viewable online. Visitors to our website can also find an update on the Racial Geography Project, a research collective led by Art History graduate student Adrienne Rooney and Art History Associate Professor, Hanszen Magister, and Task Force member Dr. Fabiola López-Durán. We extend our deepest gratitude to our steering committee and the many archivists, students, faculty, and staff who have devoted time and energy to this work amidst all the challenges of a global pandemic.

Much more work remains to be done. Our charge calls for us to investigate an expansive period of time, from the earliest arrival of William Marsh Rice in Texas in 1838 to the state of the university today. Programming and research are now underway on every part of this charge. We have also identified several priority research projects for the coming year. These will include a survey of Black alumni about their experiences at Rice, as well as oral histories with alumni, faculty, and staff. Another priority is to document the history of Rice University's past initiatives around the recruitment of Black faculty and students since 1965. Our focus will be on understanding what has worked well and what needs improvement.

The progress updates that we are releasing today focus on only two of the many issues we have considered to date. The first update shares our preliminary research findings about slavery. These findings demonstrate, with newly discovered evidence and in greater detail than ever before, significant connections between slavery in Texas and Rice University's earliest founding figures, including William Marsh Rice.

The conclusion reached by most previous scholarship on Rice's connection to slavery is summarized in a line that was first added in 1996 to the most respected reference work on Texas history: "Though he was a slaveowner with fifteen slaves in 1860 and served on the slave patrol for a year, he identified with the Unionist cause." Our research to date shows the need for updates to this conventional picture. For example, available evidence shows that Rice did not identify with the Unionist cause. And although a precise accounting may never be possible given the records available, this update presents important new information about the experiences and histories of the people who were enslaved by Rice, as well as his brother and business partner Frederick A. Rice. Our research shows that the Rices' connections to slavery continued to the end of the Civil War and extended beyond direct ownership.

As a wealthy merchant in the antebellum South, William Marsh Rice was not exceptional in his connections to enslavement, but neither was he exceptionally distanced from slavery, as past scholarship and stories about him have sometimes implied. Slavery was central—economically, politically, and culturally—to the society in which Rice pursued his first fortune. Merchants and investors such as Rice provided goods, credit, and infrastructure to plantation owners and

sold cotton and sugar crops, produced by enslaved laborers, into national and international commodities markets. This system and Rice's participation in it from his 1838 arrival in Texas until the defeat of the Confederacy in 1865 form a crucial context for understanding the war, its aftermath, and the deeper historical roots of the university's beginnings as a "whites only" institution in a segregated Houston.

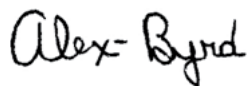
A second update we are releasing today discusses the Academic Quadrangle, which includes the statue of William Marsh Rice also known as the Founder's Memorial, and concludes with some recommendations derived from our steering committee's conversations about this space. In the coming year, our work will continue to encourage discussion about these and the other subjects related to our charge. We invite the whole community to join those conversations.

Neither of these updates represents the whole of our work. In our first full academic year, we have made the most progress on the first part of our charge ("discovering, documenting, acknowledging, and disseminating Rice's past") with respect to the first part of our title (slavery). Research of the kind we are charged to undertake requires significant investments of time, and firm conclusions about the past are impossible to reach until the painstaking job of sifting through all the evidence is complete. Because our research is still in progress, some of the conclusions in this report are provisional and described as such; other conclusions we hold with great confidence. Both kinds of conclusions may require revision over time as our work unfolds.

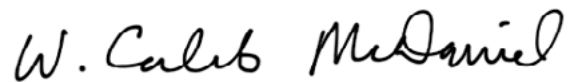
Of course, much of the work of confronting racial injustice in the present must move on a different timetable than the one set by the demands of archival research. We note with pride and appreciation that the urgent task of identifying ways to make Rice better in the present and future, which is the final part of our charge, is already being taken up by students, faculty, staff, administrators, and alumni in a variety of ways. As one of our members put it in a recent Task Force meeting, the work of ensuring that our university is diverse and inclusive is "forever work" involving everyone. It is part of the work of our Task Force, but not our work alone.

Central to our specific work is the conviction that a deep and rigorous understanding of the past can help us better achieve our aspirations as a university. From the beginning, the university endowed by William Marsh Rice has been committed to asking difficult questions and advancing knowledge. Today, though not without struggle, we have become a more just, more diverse community with new capacities, new ideals, and new questions that demand our best collective thinking. How and to what extent has the university been shaped by its beginnings as a segregated institution? And how was segregation in turn shaped by slavery? Can coming to grips with the histories of slavery and segregation help us to better address the legacies of the past, and keep us from producing or reproducing new forms of racial injustice?

To address such questions, and to lay the foundation for the work we still have to do, we begin at the beginning.



Dr. Alexander X. Byrd
Vice Provost for Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion



Dr. W. Caleb McDaniel
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Co-Chairs of the Task Force on Slavery, Segregation, and Racial Injustice

Introduction

Many universities that have undertaken the difficult work of reckoning with their own pasts of slavery, segregation, and racial injustice have also confronted questions about how the past is and should be physically represented on their campuses. The debates on campuses over these questions are part of a much larger national, and indeed transnational, debate about the meaning of monuments and memorials. Our own Task Force has also grappled with this debate, among others, in the past year, primarily by listening to and discussing a wider conversation in the Rice community about the statue of William Marsh Rice, also known as the “Founder’s Memorial,” in the historic Academic Quadrangle.

As with all of our work, the Task Force began by turning to our charge, which challenges us to investigate Rice University’s past; to encourage frank and honest discussion about that past; and to identify suggestions for Rice’s future. We sought to encourage discussion with webinars like the one held in July 2020 about “Movements, Monuments, and Racism on Campus,” a thoughtful conversation with historians that challenged all of us to move, more and more, “from fear to greater creativity.” We also distributed a questionnaire to students, faculty, staff, and alumni that was designed to elicit the Rice community’s best ideas about how to think about the Founder’s Memorial.

Now, in this part of our update, we want to provide further details on how we are carrying out the other two parts of our charge with respect to this specific topic. In the first part, we offer preliminary research findings about the history of how the Founder’s Memorial came to be built on campus, eighteen years after the Rice Institute opened its doors. At the end, we report on some conclusions the Task Force has reached at this stage of our work.

Salve aeternum aeternumque salve

Though understood from the beginning as the memorial's primary audience, students too have long had designs on the statue.

The statue of William Marsh Rice has commanded the university's Academic Courtyard (later the Academic Quadrangle) since it was dedicated in June of 1930. Cast in bronze at greater than life-sized and set atop nearly eight feet of pink Texas granite, the Founder's Memorial (the name given to it when it was conceived) or Willy's Statue (as it later came to be called by generations of university students) is arguably the dominant feature of the university's historic center. Like nearly everything else at a university whose architecture was long seen as an integral part of its mission for the advancement of "Literature, Science and Art," this is by design. In the years leading up to 1930, the president of the university, the architects in charge of shaping and imagining the still unfolding campus, the family of the founder, members of the university's board, and the artist charged with creating Rice's likeness all thought carefully about how to use the monument to inspire passers-by, to tell a certain story, and to achieve a kind of mastery in and over its surroundings.

Though understood from the beginning as the memorial's primary audience, students too have long had designs on the statue. When the memorial was an inkling in the minds of the university's friends and officers, but not yet a reality, Rice sophomore Max Jacobs penned a letter to the *Thresher* in February of 1924 proposing the need for exactly such a thing, and highlighting the necessity that it be largely a student-organized affair. "Such a memorial," wrote Jacobs, "should be erected, not only by popular subscription among friends of the Institute, but by the students themselves, for it is they who are benefiting by the philanthropy and confidence of Mr. Rice." Jacobs laid out a plan for funding the memorial, and offered an idea on where it should go. It "should be a work of art, preferably a statue of Mr. Rice himself, to be executed in bronze and placed in the large court in front of the Administration building." Thus situated, reasoned Jacobs, "all who enter the gates of the Institute will see first of all a splendid tribute to the man who made possible the university represented by the buildings beyond."¹ Jacob's proposal was suffused by an appreciation of symbolism, a firm grasp of the creative and intentional use of space at the university, and a deep gratitude for Rice's philanthropy and the importance of recognizing it. In his view, Rice deserved for those entering the campus "to see expressed in tangible form the atmosphere that the munificence" of the founder had made possible.

¹"Student Proposes Memorial to William Marsh Rice," *Rice Thresher*, 29 February 1924.

*Where the memorial
sat has always
mattered.*

Each present student of the Institute should be asked to contribute one dollar....Every Freshman that enters the Institute in the future should be told of the plan....The details should be placed in the hands of a committee of five students....The present student body...should decide the form of the memorial, and leave it to students of the future only the details incident to the completion of the plan....The entire plan should be submitted to the vote of the students...in order that the movement, if adopted, should be an expression of the student's regard for Mr. Rice....The name of each student...who contributes to the memorial should be placed in a permanent record.”² The memorial, in other words, would be another unifying force at this boundless university on the edge of Houston still excitedly figuring out who its men and women would become.

The trustees and friends of the university who strived to realize a memorial worked with a similar, careful attention to the symbolic power of space. Where the memorial sat mattered. In the spring of 1924, Jacobs thought that placing it in front of the Administration Building offered the best prospects. In 1922, when a subcommittee of trustees took up the charge of what to do with Rice's remains (he had been cremated four days after his demise), they settled on but did not immediately advance the idea of entombing the “ashes” in a monument to be built in the middle of the Academic Courtyard. In 1923, while attempting to forward plans on a magnificent president's house (a plan that in various forms had been batted around for more than a decade), the university's architect returned to the idea of a memorial to the founder as a part of the residence. In this proposal, a statue of the founder was to be placed in a courtyard of the president's home, adding substance to the notion that the entire baronial project could also be understood as a kind of “Founder's House.”³

A president's house of any sort was not realized on campus for another twenty-five years. In 1925, however, the idea articulated by members of the board a few years earlier, that a memorial to the founder should also serve as the final resting place for Rice's remains, gained traction with the Institute's leaders. The result was the memorial that was unveiled in 1930 and that remains the centerpiece of the Academic Quadrangle to this day. Interesting minutia of all kinds populated the period between the board's new attention to making the memorial a reality and its actual dedication. More than ever, though, as the memorial

² “Student Proposes Memorial.”

³ Frederika Meiners, *A History of Rice University: The Institute Years*, (Houston, TX: Rice University Studies, 1982) 125-26; Minutes of the Rice University Board of Trustees, May 24, 1922, Vol. 4, Board of Trustees Minute Books, UA062, Woodson Research Center, Rice University; Stephen Fox, *The General Plan of the William M. Rice Institute and Its Architectural Development*, (Houston, TX: School of Architecture Rice University, 1980), 56-58, 65-66, plates 70-71. As early as 1927, President Lovett and the university architects had considered erecting a three story classroom building on the Academic Courtyard opposite the Physics Building. In 1928 the Association of Rice Alumni, in raising money for the project, sought to make the building a memorial to the founder. Fox, *The General Plan*, 67-68, plate 74.

moved from notion to thing, its creators lingered over its symbolic importance.

Who made the monument, for instance, was vitally important—and not simply for the skill of the selected artist. Would the board succumb to a base Americanism and reject the suggestion of an English-born sculptor? The university’s architect thought John Angel, a prominent British-born artist now working and living in the United States, would be a fine candidate for the work. President Lovett fretted, though, over whether the suggestion would have to subvert prejudices among the board against any but American-born artists.

If such biases had to be overcome, they were, for Angel ultimately secured a contract, “For making and completing a Seated Portrait Statue of William M. Rice, Founder, in Bronze in connection with Monument and Tomb.”⁴

Initial thinking about the substance of the work revealed concerns about cost, but these soon gave way to other priorities: a focus on quality of material and workmanship, fitting the monument into the overall design of the present Institute and how it would evolve, and deciding on the narrative to which the overall work would give voice. Every detail of the evolving monument was full of intended meaning. Tennessee marble, for instance, was initially proposed as a possible way to economize on the monument’s massive base, but planners reconsidered the idea in light of their other aims. Achieving an elemental congruence with the columns supporting the arcade beside the Administration Building was ideal, and so ultimately the conversation begun at the Administration Building in pink Texas granite would be carried into the Courtyard of Hedges.⁵

A deep concern with workmanship and quality of materials quickly displaced ideas about economy. That the statue portrait be done in the “best quality bronze,” that it be “made and finished in the best manner known to the statuary art,” and that “All materials and labor be first class in every respect” were critical criteria. Also critical was the requirement that the base be completed exactly according to the “drawings, general conditions, and specifications as prepared by the architects.” The fundamental materiality, massing, and craftsmanship of the monument was meant to speak through an attention to quality.⁶

And then the monument was made to say more and to say it more directly. This was especially true of the massive granite base designed both to hold up the bronze statue and to contain Rice’s remains. The

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⁴Assistant Secretary of Rice Institute to John Angel, Rice University Early Land Deeds, Contracts, and Related Records UA222, 1 December 1928, Box 44, Folder 6, Woodson Research Center, Rice University; and Fox, *The General Plan*, 70.

⁵Alexander E. Hoyle to William Ward Watkin, 28 February 1927, William Ward Watkin Papers MS 352, Box 3, Folder 3, Woodson Research Center, Rice University.

⁶Contract with John Angel, New York, NY, For making and completing a Seated Portrait Statue of William M. Rice, Founder, in Bronze in connection with erection of Monument and Tomb, 20 November 1928, Early Land Deeds, Contracts and Related Records UA222, Box 44, Folder 6, Woodson Research Center, Rice University

*“Pray do not think
that I have run wild
on Latin.”*

—President Edgar Odell Lovett

east facing side of the plinth served as a kind of tombstone etched with “the full name of the founder, the years of his birth and death, and the following inscription: ‘Salve aeternum aeternumque salve.’” The academic seal of the Institute and two torches completed the monument’s front. The north-facing side of the pedestal held the state seal of Rice’s adopted home along with “the phrase ‘Imperium in imperio’”—lines chosen “in the absence of any state motto for Texas.” Inscribed on the west facing side of the monument was the seal of the United States and the nation’s then de facto motto: “E pluribus unum.” Finally, walking counter-clockwise around the monument, the south-facing side of the base gestured to the state of Rice’s birth and thus held “the shield of Massachusetts” along with its motto: “Ense petit placidam sub liberate quietem.”⁷

When the president of the Institute wrote to the founder’s namesake nephew and Institute board member for approval of the memorial’s compact narrative turns, he revealed both his hopes and apprehensions for this part of the work. “Pray do not think that I have run wild on Latin,” wrote president Lovett to William Marsh Rice, Jr., “but I honestly think the ‘E pluribus unum’ should stand, and if so, I think it better to have all four in the same tongue....” This presentation of what Lovett understood to be the most important of the monument’s inscriptions likely gestures to what the president saw as a central idea in Rice’s life. The monument’s sides illustrated Rice’s Yankee birth and Southern fortune, but then employed the motto of the United States in a way that could not help but allude to a reconciliation between two sections of the nation, as illustrated through Rice’s own choices and peregrinations (and perhaps in Lovett’s own choices and peregrinations as well).⁸

In this sense, the monument echoed Lovett’s earlier selection of the school’s colors as “a blue still deeper than Oxford blue, and the gray of the

⁷Edgar Odell Lovett to William M. Rice, Jr., 30 November 1928, Rice Institute President Edgar Odell Lovett Papers UA 014, Box 45, Folder 6, Woodson Research Center, Rice University. At the official opening of the university, Lovett had reflected at length on Texas in ways that flesh out the meanings he himself imparted to this brief line: “And how you do get into your blood and bone the wine and spirit of this country! Speedily you absorb its patriotism and pride, and as speedily come to feel the fearlessness and freedom, the frankness and faith, that characterize the life of this Texan empire.” Edgar Odell Lovett, “The Meaning of the New Institution: An Introductory Sketch, *Rice Institute Pamphlets* 1, no. 1 (April 1915): 49.

⁸Edgar Odell Lovett to William M. Rice, Jr., 30 November 1928, Rice Institute President Edgar Odell Lovett Papers UA 014, Box 45, Folder 6, Woodson Research Center, Rice University.

Confederate days.”⁹ The colors recalled the War between the States (as Lovett knew it), and they alluded as well to his continued hopes for the aftermath of that war—the further and full development of the South and the place of education more generally, and the place of this new university in particular in the region’s continued growth and development. For at least a generation, Lovett believed, the region’s prospects had been dim, but now across the entire nation, across the whole of the formerly fractured country, the New South shone with promise. “Go South, young man!” Lovett held, “is the slogan in one section” of the country. “Stay South, young man!” he continued, “is the answering call of opportunity in the other.”¹⁰

A 1920 *Thresher* article, headlined “Blue and Gray—The Unison,” likewise used the school’s colors to make a point about the South’s prospects within the nation as a whole.

⁹Edgar Odell Lovett, “The Meaning of the New Institution: An Introductory Sketch,” *Rice Institute Pamphlets* 1 no. 1 (April 1915): 87. Lovett mentioned the school’s colors in two passages from this essay. In the second, briefer passage, he also admitted that, “The choice of colors was rather more difficult [than designing the university’s shield], and it is a long story...” (89). The earlier first mention of the school’s colors, quoted above, is full of symbolism that rather cements the importance of southern rootedness and nostalgia in the first president’s imagining of the life of the university. Lovett explicitly invoked nostalgia elsewhere in the speech, arguing that while students and visitors might find an expanding Houston “in some ways a bit too close to New York,” they would also “find many a heartening reminder of the memories and traditions of the South, and all the moving inspiration in the promise and adventure of the West.” Lovett also imagined the memories students would make for themselves at the university: “Under the Lone Star of Texas and the Owls of Rice, under the Blue and Gray floating from their standards—a blue still deeper than Oxford blue, and the gray of the Confederate days warmed into life by a tinge of lavender—they shall sing their songs; sing of jasmine, magnolias, and roses, poinsettia and violets blue; they shall cheer their teams and their heroes for the deeds of valor they do in field or forum or class-room; for Rice and for Houston and Texas they shall cheer and sing—sing of campanile stately and their college near the sea, sing of sunset on the prairie, of the moonrise through the pine-trees, of the Spanish moss and liveoak, of the Quad’s fair towers and cloisters, of undying loyalty; songs of sentiment and devotion giving rise to songs of service, inspired by the device on their banner...” This reflection on the nature of hoped-for college life leads into lines from the Iliad meant to exhort students to future greatness but that also deserve further attention given how their translation may have been heard in Jim Crow Houston at the start of the twentieth century: “To win renown/To stand the first in worth as in command;/To add new honours to my native land;/Before my eyes my mighty sires to place/And emulate the glories of our race” (88-89). For the ways that the school colors hinted too at Lovett’s larger and ever present cosmopolitanism, see John B. Boles, *University Builder: Edgar Odell Lovett and the Founding of Rice Institute*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2007), 97, 213, and passim.

¹⁰Edgar Odell Lovett, “The Meaning of the New Institution: An Introductory Sketch,” *Rice Institute Pamphlets* 1 no. 1 (April 1915): 49. Lovett’s views about the South warrant further research and examination. He admitted at the opening of the university “that there were

“The gray,” argued the author, “is the semblance of the Confederacy, the heroic sons and daughters of our beloved Southland who under the leadership of Robert E. Lee, stood firmly for what they considered right. The gray is then the color of the South.” A little more reservedly, the writer continued, “The blue, on the other hand, stands for our Northern brothers, and their chosen emblem.” The conclusion went exactly where Lovett pointed with his selection of the university’s colors, and what he was inclined to repeat with the monument’s inscriptions: “How fitting that Rice, a university that was builded by a philanthropist from the North, who made his fortune in the South, should choose colors that are a combination of these two elements of our native land. How fitting that the gray and the blue, after the scars of those who wore them have been healed over, should be reunited in such perfect union, in America’s coming university.”¹¹

There is, of course, a perilous, tragic, even violent silence in the

¹⁰ *continued* never more insistent challenges to constructive thinking than are confronting the South at the present time.” Having admitted as much, Lovett’s optimism was informed 1) by a nationalist and cosmopolitan vision of the south, a south populated and improved by the country’s most ambitious men whatever their sectional origins, and 2) by his faith in the power of education to change people for the better and to elevate the region. He made this point most clearly in his reflections on Houston and Texas as the birthplace for the new university: “We have problems to face, serious ones, that have been perplexing the South for a generation: but even to the most superficial observer it is daily becoming more and more apparent than any solution to these peculiar problems of the South calls for solutions of Southern educational problems in terms of educational opportunities for all the people (48).” This explanation of Lovett’s optimism deserves more contextualization and analysis than we can give it here. In addition to being a rationale of his hopes for all of the people in the region, it may also be a sotto voce reference to southern race relations, which tempered Lovett’s hopes for the region with a stern realism. Lovett’s use of the phrase “peculiar problems” is suggestive because the expression was often used in southern discourse to underline the most important difference between North and South—as in the habit of referring to the enslavement and forced labor of African Americans before the civil war as the South’s peculiar institution. This could also make Lovett’s later claim in the passage quite remarkable. When Lovett called for “educational opportunities for all the people” of the South, just how expansive was his notion of all? He certainly did not mean integrated education, but the phrase raises the question of how he understood evolving debates over African American education in the south, and how he understood the place of the new Institute in such debates. During his pre-opening campaigns to raise awareness about the University, Lovett sent a sketch of the Administration Building to Booker T. Washington of the Tuskegee Institute. Houston native and then Washington advisor, Emmet Jay Scott replied to “Mr.” Lovett that “Dr.” Washington was then away in Europe and would respond upon his return (Scott was later the highest ranking African American in the presidential administration of Lovett mentor Woodrow Wilson). Washington’s own response, now addressed to “Dr.” Lovett, wished the founding president well and invited him, when in the area, “to see something of the work we are trying to do at Tuskegee.” The possible continuing interactions between Washington, Lovett, Scott, and their respective institutions deserves full research and analysis. Boles, *University Builder*, 105; Emmet J. Scott to Edgar Odell Lovett, 14 September 1910, President Edgar Odell Lovett Papers UA 014, Box 4, Folder 1, Woodson Research Center, Rice University; Booker T. Washington to Edgar Odell Lovett, 14 October 1910, *ibid.*, Box 4, Folder 1; Barbara L. Green, “Scott, Emmett Jay,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed May 23, 2021, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/scott-emmett-jay>. For Lovett’s use of “War between the States,” see his “The Meaning of the New Institution,” 125. On contemporary discourses about the South as a region, see Natalie J. Ring, *The Problem South: Region, Empire, and the New Liberal State, 1880-1930* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012).

reconciliation between North and South suggested by this article, as well as by Lovett's dual choices of the school's colors and the inscriptions for the Founder's Monument. All three reflected a wider cultural turn among many white Americans in the early twentieth century that downplayed the sectional conflicts of the nineteenth century, even as African Americans insisted on remembering the truth about the Civil War era with celebrations of the end of slavery in places like Houston's Emancipation Park. As scholars of this period have shown, the reconciliationist vision of the nature of the Civil War favored by many white Americans depended on forgetting slavery as the central cause of that war, and depended as well on the quite literal "resubjugation of many of those people whom the war had freed from centuries of bondage." In this sense, the memorial's mainline narrative included an interstitial, unvoiced history of the Jim Crow America in which it was conceived and produced.¹²

Much clearer to Lovett, though, would have been his own conscious aims, and if his desires concerning the back and flanks of the monument were more implied than proclaimed, he very distinctly voiced his hopes for its front. He had earlier worried to the founder's nephew about the possible pretentious effects of the monument's Latin. The fact that *E pluribus unum* (from many one) and *Imperium in imperio* (an empire within an empire) were more or less in everyday use assuaged those concerns. Moreover, the innovation of the Latin inscription at the monument's front and Lovett's hopes for how the sentiment expressed there might come to prevail at the Institute neatly convinced him of the aptness of the monument's entire epitaphic run, but especially of the merit of *Salve aeternum aeternumque salve*. The text, wrote Lovett, was "a slight modification of a line of Virgil, and never to my knowledge used in such a connection as this before."¹³

In late 1989, a professor of classics responded to a query from the

The mainline narrative of the Founder's Memorial includes an interstitial, unvoiced history of the Jim Crow America in which it was conceived and produced.

¹¹"Blue and Gray—The Unison," *Rice Thresher*, 17 September 1920. An article in the *Thresher* from 1923 on the upcoming Rice-TCU football game contained a similar reflection on Rice's colors: "The war of the 60s saw fighting between the gray and the blue, but the North and South is cemented now more strongly than ever before. Blue and Gray now suggests unity, unity in the protection of the common good. They suggest the friendliness and tranquility that can exist even among enemies, when something bigger and broader than personal gain is the object of one's efforts." "Rice Topics," *Rice Thresher*, 29 November 1923.

¹²David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 3 (quote). See also Thavolia Glymph, "'Liberty Dearly Bought': The Making of Civil War Memory in Afro-American Communities in the South," in *Time Longer than Rope: A Century of African American Activism, 1850-1950*, ed. Charles M. Payne and Adam Green (New York: NYU Press, 2003), 111-139; W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2005). Lovett remarked at the opening of the university that the region's climate kept the people "neighborly and friendly in ways of living whose democracy recognizes no inequalities." Further, he continued, "You find yourself in a State which can know no provincialism, because it has lived under seven flags." This is boosterism, and so must be approached as such. Even so, it speaks profoundly to what many in Lovett's Houston took for granted as far as democracy and equality were concerned.

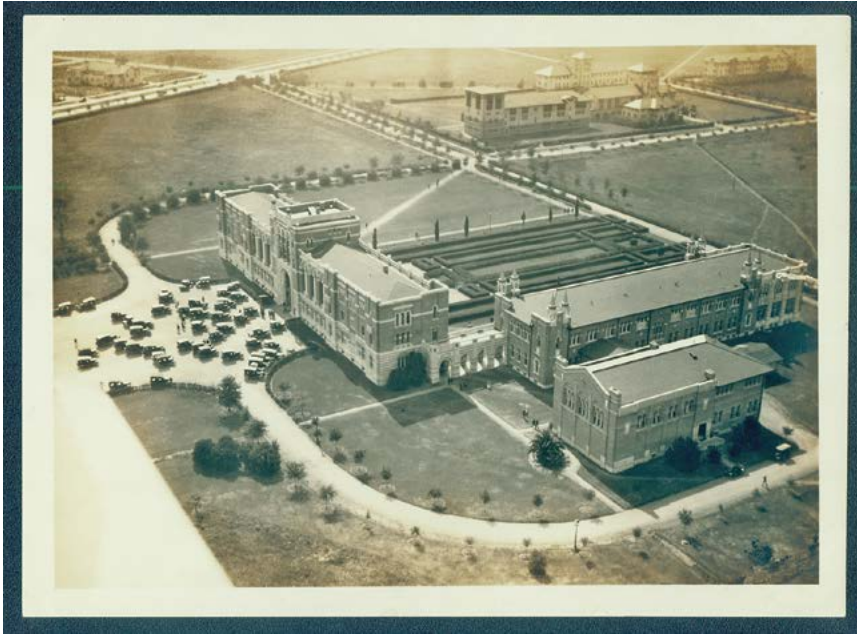
office of then university President George Rupp asking for “Translations of the Latin Inscriptions on Willy’s Statue.” The lines on the side of the monument facing Lovett Hall, responded the professor, were “based on Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.97, *salve aeternum...aeternumque vale: Hail forever... and forever farewell.*” As varied for the memorial, the meaning had been slightly changed to “Hail forever, and forever hail.” This was precisely Lovett’s greatest wish for the entirety of the memorial project—that it would make the founder a central presence on campus and a permanent interlocutor with future faculty and students, and in so doing that it would help inform a familiarity with and enthusiastic appreciation for Rice. “I can think of nothing,” wrote Lovett, “that would seem to hold the founder himself quite so intimately and permanently in the midst of the local life of the institution on campus as this, ‘Hail forever, and forever hail,’ whether you regard it as a greeting from us to him or from him to us.”¹⁴

But from where on the still young campus would the figure of Rice greet the university’s students and be saluted in return? This had actually been decided before the details of the base were fully worked out, and Angel had the advantage of having a particular site in mind and committed to photographs even as he started work on his part of the monument and tomb.

Three options had been considered for the location. The first was “in the large open circulation in front of the Administration Building.” The monument would face toward Main Street with its back toward the Sallyport. This would have pleased Max Jacobs, the Rice sophomore from years before, as it was precisely the position he had recommended himself as an ideal location for visitors to the campus and perhaps passersby to very nearly immediately encounter the founder upon encountering the university. But what Jacobs had left unsaid in his earlier imagining of a memorial, William Ward Watkin (a member of the faculty and the Institute’s supervising architect) did not leave out when faced with the task of evaluating the best spot for a monument: the large area in front of the Administration Building, save a small garden of hedges and other plantings, was pretty much a parking lot. And if anything, as the university grew, it made sense that the garden would be rooted out and the whole area “given over to a method of controlled parking of automobiles.”¹⁵

¹³Edgar Odell Lovett to William M. Rice, Jr., 30 November 1928, Rice Institute President Edgar Odell Lovett Papers UA 014, Box 45, Folder 6, Woodson Research Center, Rice University.

¹⁴Harvey Yunis to George Rupp, 2 December 1989, Founder’s Statue Information File, Woodson Research Center, Rice University; Edgar Odell Lovett to William M. Rice, Jr., 30 November 1928, Rice Institute President Edgar Odell Lovett Papers UA 014, Box 45, Folder 6, Woodson Research Center, Rice University. Lovett, of course, had also translated the inscriptions when he first proposed them to William Marsh Rice, Jr. in November of 1928.



The second option was a greener space within the “Academic Court at the end of the hedges nearest to the sally porte.” This spot, however, presented several challenges. If placed here along the main east-west axis through the center of the quad, the president desired that the memorial face the Administration Building. Watkin thought that view “a bit peculiar”—given the significant area of the quad to the west and the substantial foot traffic around the Administration Building. When Watkin thought about the memorial, he had in mind the direction and the frequency from whence it would be approached. He thought it better for the majority of people moving about the Academic Court at any one moment to see the front of the monument, instead of its back. There were tough spatial issues with this second option, but the differences between the preferences of the university president and Watkin’s own ideas about what direction the monument should face may have ultimately doomed the proposal.¹⁶

A third option allowed for the president’s opinion concerning where the memorial faced, but also satisfied Watkin’s ideas about placing the monument according to circulation in the court and the current and future plan of the university. Situating the monument farther west on the same axis as the second option “but just beyond Road #3 in the second

¹⁵William Ward Watkin to Ralph Adams Cram, 18 June 1928, William Ward Watkin Papers MS 352, Box 3, Folder 3, Woodson Research Center, Rice University.

¹⁶William Ward Watkin to Ralph Adams Cram, 18 June 1928, William Ward Watkin Papers MS 352, Box 3, Folder 3, Woodson Research Center, Rice University.

court of hedges” offered several advantages. The monument “would have the court consisting of the Physics Building, the Administration Building, and the Alumni Building when it is built, all in front of it.” Additional development also recommended the spot. “It would have toward the left,” Watkin continued, “the laboratory of biology when it is built and toward the right some future academic building.” This placement, then, was ideal as far out as Watkin thought it reasonable to look: “Practically all approach for that length of time and 75% of all future approach would be in front of this statue rather than from the rear.” And lastly, to leave no aspect unexamined, the architect imagined it all in its entirety one more time. This exercise led Watkin to imagine whether the memorial could actually and satisfactorily occupy the whole space of the quad as presently conceived and how it was slated to develop.¹⁷

“The figure and its pedestal,” Watkin concluded, “are of quite adequate dimension to have good scale in this position.”¹⁸

Ralph Adams Cram, the chief architect to whom Watkin had been doing all of this thinking about the memorial, responded enthusiastically and unequivocally concerning the choices put before him. He had “no hesitation whatever in saying that the third position is the one that seems to me by far the best of all.... I really think there can be no question in this matter.”¹⁹

On where the monument would be placed, there were no further questions that mattered, and so in the spring of 1930 the university announced the memorial publicly. The *Thresher* informed its readers in February that a “Statue of William Marsh Rice Will Be Erected On Campus: Unveiling to Take Place During Commencement Week.” Within a month, clear evidence of the coming addition to the Grand Court was plain to see. “The hole for the foundation, which puzzled so many students,” was by then a foundation indeed and now ready for “the complete figure.” Within two months of the foundation being laid, Arthur B. Cohn, formerly William Marsh Rice’s business manager in the 1890s and now Assistant Secretary to the Board of Trustees, placed Rice’s cremated remains within the memorial itself. So as the “‘grand cramming’ season” and the university’s fifteenth commencement approached, everything was going, more or less, according to plan.²⁰

A series of campus events framed the unveiling and dedication of

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ralph Adams Cram to William Ward Watkin, 2 July 1928, William Ward Watkin Papers MS 352, Box 3, Folder 3, Woodson Research Center, Rice University.

the Founder's Memorial, most of them accentuating and extending ideas that had shaped the monument's creation over the previous eight years. But commencement weekend also introduced ways of thinking about the monument (or thinking near it) that very subtly troubled the host of reverent notions that had just brought it into existence.

The program for the dedication of the memorial was remarkably simple. Slated to last no more than thirty minutes, it featured the actual unveiling; a brief paean to Rice as a worthy subject; remarks on the artist John Angel and the place of sculpture in the university's larger architectural program; a rendition of "For Rice's Honor;" and a "concluding prayer and benediction" by the morning's baccalaureate speaker.²¹

The public revealing teemed with students in the audience, but it also featured students in the program—namely, two current student leaders, a member of the first graduating class who was now head of the alumni association, and the grand niece of William Marsh Rice who was at the moment a rising senior at the Institute. Each pulled cords that released a large flowing drape that had covered the entire statue and plinth preceding the ceremony. The subsequent singing of the school song by the university's largest ever graduating class—led by the Rice Band and another graduating senior—convinced *Thresher* headline writers to remark on the "Prominent Part" taken by the Institute's undergraduates in the entire morning ceremony.²²

Then came time for remarks. Two of the three speakers at the Sunday dedication were standing in for others—prime movers in the making of the memorial who nevertheless could not or did not attend the public unveiling. First, Benjamin Botts Rice spoke for William Marsh Rice, Jr., who

²⁰"Statue of William Marsh Rice Will Be Erected on Campus, *Rice Thresher*, 21 February 1930; "Memorial to Rice Founder to be Erected," *Houston Post-Dispatch*, 22 February 1930, 15; "Watkin Tells Plan of W. M. Rice Statue," *Rice Thresher*, 21 March 1930; Board Minutes, 28 May 1930 and "Programme of the Unveiling of Mr. John Angel's Statue in Bronze," *Rice Institute Pamphlet*, 17 no. 3 (July 1930), 157 (for the placing of the remains); "Seniors to Hear Ralph Adams Cram," *Rice Thresher*, 2 May 1930 ("cramming season"). The contract for the granite pedestal indicated that the bulk of construction around the memorial needed to be completed "on or before the First day of May, 1930." Angel's 1928 agreement with the university stipulated, rather vaguely, completion and delivery of the bronze "as early as possible." In late 1929, when work on the portrait statue was well underway, but the contractor for the granite plinth had not yet been decided, Watkin estimated that the entire monument—base and statue—could be fully in place before May 15, 1930. That Rice's remains were entombed in the base in late May and that Angel acknowledged receipt of final payment for the work at about the same time suggests that Watkin's proposed schedule was indeed kept. When the *Houston Post-Dispatch* announced the coming Rice commencement program in the May 15 edition, the paper indicated that "The statue and base is now in readiness." "Contract for erection and completion of a Granite Pedestal for Founder's Memorial Statue," Contracts, Various Rice Institute Buildings, 1927-1930, C. R. Berry & Co. - Granite Pedestal for Statue, Rice University Early Land Deeds, Contracts, and Related Records UA222, Box 44, Folder 6, Woodson Research Center, Rice University; Contract with John Angel, New York, NY, 20 November 1928, Early Land Deeds, Contracts and Related Records UA222, Box 44, Folder 6, Woodson Research Center, Rice University; William Ward Watkin to Edgar Odell Lovett, 30 November 1929, William Ward Watkin papers MS 352, Box 3, Folder 3, Woodson Research Center, Rice University; "Doctors Cram and Gilkey to Speak at Rice, *Houston Post-Dispatch*, 15 May 1930.

²¹"Programme of the Unveiling of Mr. John Angel's Statue in Bronze," *Rice Institute Pamphlet* 17 no. 3 (1930), 158.

"Programme of the Unveiling of Mr. John Angel's Statue in Bronze," *Rice Institute Pamphlet* 17 no. 3 (1930), 158; "Students Take Prominent Part in Unveiling of Rice Statue on June Eighth," *Rice Thresher*, 23 May 1930; "Largest Class in History Will Be Graduated," *ibid.* President Lovett had once considered an evening unveiling, but several complications persuaded him to move the event to the early morning, which came with the benefit of assuring the presence of the entire graduating class while also avoiding the oddity of hosting ceremonies in other areas of the quad while "allowing the statue to stand veiled all day for the sundown performance" that he had once envisioned. Edgar Odell Lovett to William Marsh Rice, Jr., 29 May 1930, President Edgar Odell Lovett Papers UA014, Box 36, Folder 10, Woodson Research Center, Rice University.



was “unavoidably absent from home” but who had prepared remarks in advance that he gave to his younger brother (both were sons of F. A. Rice and members of the Board of Trustees). Then, Ralph Adams Cram, the 1930 commencement speaker and the original architect who designed the overall campus plan, stood in for the sculptor John Angel, “whose engagements regrettably prevented his presence.”²³

Taken together, the remarks of both mostly burnished ideas that had already been applied to the monument. Rice Jr.’s thoughts for the morning, read by his brother Benjamin Botts Rice, were concise and

²³“Unveiling the Statue of the Founder,” *Rice Institute Pamphlet* 17 no. 3 (1930), 158; William Marsh Rice, Jr. to Edgar Odell Lovett, 21 May 1930, President Edgar Odell Lovett Papers UA014, Box 36, Folder 10, Woodson Research Center, Rice University. W. M. Rice, Jr. was in New Hampshire at the time of the unveiling. Although the program for the dedication reported Angel’s absence politely enough, Lovett left room to ponder the reason behind the artist’s absence. In a letter to W. M. Rice, Jr., Lovett wrote that “Mr. John Angel, the sculptor, will not be able to come although I invited him to make the round trip journey as our guest.” Lovett and Angel’s correspondence about the statue is cordial, and Angel’s views on the statue as shared with Lovett are quite warm. But Lovett’s explanation to W. M. Rice, Jr. about Angel missing the Houston dedication of his work is open to at least two interpretations. Lovett’s line on Angel, of course, could be a simple statement of the facts. But it might contain just the slightest pique about the artist being a no show.

direct. In fewer than 200 words, every image and idea presented his uncle in heroic tones while managing to communicate too a sense of the family's loss:

The donor of the Rice Institute was born in the old Bay State in 1816—of old Colonial stock—his grandfather was one of the Minutemen at the Battle of Lexington. He came to Houston in the Republic of Texas in 1838, bringing with him a small stock of merchandise and a heart of oak.

By self-sacrifice and an energy that knew little rest he built up a business that made him the first merchant in the city of his adoption. As he grew in financial strength he assisted in many enterprises among them being the building of transportation lines, first stage lines, and then the railroads.

He was a man of high ideals, charitable without ostentation, appreciative of the wonderful possibilities in a rapidly growing country, and always adding to his store of knowledge. He lived a useful life, fought a good fight, and dying left the fruits of his labor for the young women and young men who are to be the beneficiaries of the Rice Institute for all time.²⁴

It is worth lingering on these comments enough to notice both what they did say and what they did not say. At its start, briefly and subtly, Rice Jr.'s panegyric reinforced Lovett's past efforts to present the university as a site of postbellum white sectional healing. The image of Rice's birth in the old Bay State, his father's fighting at the inaugural battles of the American Revolution, Rice's antebellum journey to Texas, and his dying gift of the University all underlined the point. Rice Jr. evoked the Battle of Lexington but passed over the Civil War, choosing instead to emphasize his uncle's entrepreneurial "energy" and appreciation for "the wonderful possibilities in a rapidly growing country." As in many public encomiums to civic leaders at the time, not so much as an allusion to the place of African Americans in that growing country slipped through. The Founder's wealth became the "fruits of his labor" alone.

Glancing backwards and forwards in time from the unveiling ceremony reveals that the story of William Marsh Rice was not always so separated from depictions of African Americans or the Civil War era in the ritual and pageantry surrounding the early Rice Institute. At the first commencement ceremony in 1916, graduating seniors performed a tableaux in which the final two scenes included "a host of grey clad veterans marching toward the Spirit of the Confederacy as symbolized

²⁴William M. Rice, Jr., "The Founder," *Rice Institute Pamphlet* 17 no. 3 (1930), 159.

In the weeks leading up to the dedication of the memorial, for instance, the Institute's May Fete provided a vivid performance of what Rice students understood as the Southern ideal, and the place of Black men and women within it.

by a girl who was draped in the Confederate flag," followed immediately by a scene depicting "William Marsh Rice in the center of the stage with scholars from the East and the West on either side," another visual reminder of national reunion. In 1933, a "Legend of Houston" pageant at the City Auditorium, in which some Rice Institute students and trustees played parts alongside a huge cast of white Houstonians, featured two similar scenes in a reversed order. In the part of the pageant depicting the Rice Institute, William Marsh Rice, Jr. portrayed his uncle by sitting in a chair on stage with a painting of the campus serving as backdrop. "A blue gauze curtain separated the audience from the scene," reported the *Thresher* of the spectacle. "Students with their grey caps and gowns marched slowly down the hedged pathway to the painted sallyport." The very next scene depicted "Plantation Days" and featured a group of "Negro singers."²⁵

Such events are reminders that the public announcement of the memorial and its construction on campus took place in a period in which major aspects of student life and white Houstonians' public culture articulated quite clearly the impossibility of thinking of the South in which the Founder had "built up a business" and founded an Institute without also thinking about slavery. Those same activities articulated as well a general belief in the superiority of white Americans, and of the white South (and, often more specifically, of Rice students) over African Americans whom students sometimes actually encountered and more often conjured up, drawing on racist stereotypes prevalent at the time.²⁶

"This year," the *Thresher* reminded readers in its issue of May 2, 1930, "a Southern theme has been chosen for the fete and the tall oaks and spacious lawns of the campus will form a beautiful background" for

²⁵"Seniors Present Historic Tableaux," *Rice Thresher*, 12 June 1916; "Students to Participate in Pageant," *Rice Thresher*, 5 May 1933; "Legend of Houston is Applauded," *Rice Thresher*, 15 May 1933; "Colorful Pageant Depicting History of Houston Will Be Staged at Auditorium Today," *Houston Post*, 13 May 1933; "5000 Applaud Presentation of Legend Here: History of Houston is Beautifully Depicted in Production," *Houston Post*, 14 May 1933. See also "Negro Singers in City Legend: Plantation Day Episode Arranged for Production Sunday," *Houston Post*, 10 May 1933: "As no record of a Southern city is complete without some allusion to the negroes, especially the old mammies who nursed the children and the darkies who tilled the soil and cared for the 'white folks,' the sponsors of 'The Legend of Houston' pageant have arranged a plantation day episode, reminiscent of the passing of the Old South." The performers, likely white singers in blackface, sang "negro spirituals" on a set depicting a cotton field. For a treatment of this kind of racialized white nostalgia in another southern city, see Stephanie E. Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), esp. chs. 2 and 4.

²⁶Disregard for African Americans emerged across the university in ways large and small, trite and complex. Two Pre-Law Society events illustrate the range. At the group's frenetic fall 1929 banquet, "where Negro waiters dart[ed] hurriedly in and out excitedly—more spaghetti—more coffee—and rolls," the "impromptu" debate that emerged amongst the members in the aftermath of the affair was "whether the waiters should be tipped for their excellent service during the evening." Two students made "a bold stand for the affirmative," another held forth "briefly in the behalf of the negative," and one more carried on in a way that few listening understood. Members of the society took up a variant on the "Negro problem" at its fall 1928 banquet debating a letter from the trustees of the university, later revealed to be a hoax, asking whether Rice should admit black students. The vote at the end of the evening was 14-5 in the negative, a number that speaks to important complexities and a range of opinion at the university. Unfolding as it did in the era of the monument's construction, the debate illustrates in practice how the reconciliationist vision for the Institute actually played out on campus. The event is the subject of continuing analysis. Here it is important to note the ways in which nearby African Americans informed and figured in the imaginations of the debaters—as real people, but also as objects, as entertainment, and as tropes. The *Thresher* description of the 1928 banquet is especially illuminating in this regard: "The negro waiters became excited; they began to gather around supposedly taking off the dishes....Their enormous white teeth gleaned under thick lips and low brows as they slowly removed the dishes so as to hear the outcome of that antagonistic verbal battle, which, had someone turned out the lights, might have found expression in physical violence." "Wild Scenes at Pre-Law Banquet—Fake Letter Perpetrates Hoax—Must Rice Admit Negro Studes?" *Rice Thresher*, 16 November 1928; and "Legalities and Spaghetti Mix Around Pre-Law Banquet," *Rice Thresher*, 22 November 1929.

the event's main set piece, "a colonial mansion with massive pillars and deep verandah." As if to stress the gentility of the affair, the *Thresher* maintained that, "In keeping with the theme, a note of simplicity will be maintained through the entire ceremony." The subsequent descriptions of how the women would be attired, and the nature of their entrances, reinforced an ideal of Southern elegance—even if one student had been selected, incongruously, to serve as "Court Jester."²⁷

That court jester, it turned out, was central to and not at all inconsistent with the festival's theme. As the *Campanile* pointed out in its following year's recap, "the jester...was in the garb of a pickaninny." There could be no Southern-themed May Fete without imagined slaves—in this case a Rice undergraduate offering his idea of an enslaved Black child.²⁸

The 1930 May Fete pickaninny was far from an aberration. Neither was it ubiquitous. Nevertheless, humiliating and debased ideas of Black people and Black life surfaced enough in the cultural and social life of the Institute and of segregated Houston to indicate the fundamental normality of such ideas across campus. Racist images surfaced enough to indicate the ways in which the thinking and unthinking degradation of African Americans was central, at the very least, to early students' understanding of what it meant to play, to grow into adulthood, and to imagine and to decide whether and how to practice what it was to be white in the Jim Crow South.

This was also, after all, a university where the name of the African American trainer and groundsman who worked in the athletics department was not at all unknown: His name was Jack Shelton. Yet the young men and women of the Insitute persistently, proudly, and with a sense of what they understood to be friendship and high regard, referred to him as, "Nigger Jack."²⁹

Such ways of thinking were in the air, and very much reflected in the choices that students and faculty made, at the Rice Institute. Still, there was no pickaninny, no pointed valorization of the former Confederacy, no marked nostalgia for the antebellum South in the remarks that Benjamin Botts Rice read in place of his brother at the dedication of the Founder's

Humiliating and debased ideas of Black people and Black life surfaced enough in the cultural and social life of the Institute and of segregated Houston to indicate the fundamental normality of such ideas across campus.

²⁷"Co-Eds Perfect Plans for May Fete at Mass Meeting," *Rice Thresher*, 28 March 1930; and "Scene of Southern Splendor Set for Colorful Ceremony," *Rice Thresher*, 2 May 1930. The mention of "simplicity" could have also been a reference to 1) the sometimes raucous nature of other campus frivolities, and 2) the even more pronounced (white supremacist racial) theater of other Southern-themed events at the university—like the previous year's plantation-themed dance at the River Oaks Country Club hosted by the Owen Wister Literary Society. Rice University, *Campanile* 1930, "The O.W.L.S. Colonial Dance," 162.

²⁸Rice University, *Campanile* 1931, "The May Fete," 162. That same year *Thresher* editors filled space with the following ditty: "I'll pickaninny/Looks just like his poppy,/Don't know what to call him./'Less its' carbon copy." "Carbon Copy," *Rice Thresher*, 28 March 1930.

²⁹"Owls Prepare for Championship Drive," *Rice Thresher*, 21 September 1923; "Coach Takes Rice Harriers to SW Tourney," *Rice Thresher*, 14 May 1926; and "Nigger Jack," *Rice Thresher*, 26 April 1929; "Nigger Jack Rests and Remembers," *Rice Thresher*, 22 April 1932; "Nigger Jack Proud of His Well-Kept Football Field," *Rice Thresher*, 27 October 1933; "Alumni Board Will Convene After New Year," *Rice Thresher*, 22 December 1933. Shelton was sometimes referred to as Dr. Shelton and Doc. Shelton (not without racialized sarcasm): "Name C. Hooten," *Rice Thresher*, 24 October 1924; "Rice Topics," *Rice Thresher*, 9 January 1925; Rice Field Turf Best in Conference," *Rice Thresher*, 7 October 1932; "Baseball Men Now at Work," *Rice Thresher*, 26 January 1923.

Memorial. There was none of that in his highly measured and powerful remembrance. But barely a month after the May Fete, could there really be any question about how the sectional peace toward which Rice Jr. and the inscriptions on the pedestal gestured, and to which the university was dedicated, had been purchased?³⁰

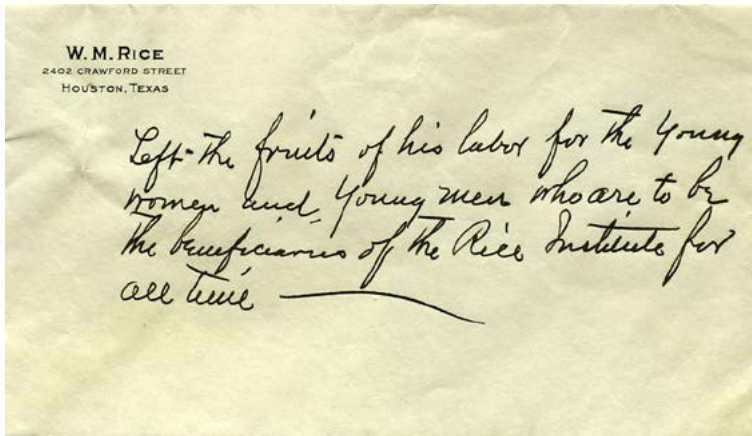
If Benjamin Botts Rice took even two minutes to deliver his brother's words, he spent as much of that time making a case for the essential modernity of the elder Rice's efforts as he did evoking his life as a balm for postbellum white American sectional politics. In a quick speech both points were quickly dispensed with. The majority of the address drew on and attempted to further impart to its listeners an esteem and gratitude for the founder's work and for his subsequent choices. Because Rice Jr.'s words were eulogistic, of course, there was much missing and much papered over (from the vantage point of today, no doubt, but from the vantage of 1930 as well). And one small change from Rice Jr.'s draft is also worth noting (and returning to later). In draft form, the last line of the memorial had read, "and dying left the fruits of his labors to help the young men and young women of Texas for all time" as opposed to how Botts Rice concluded that morning, "and dying left the fruits of his labor for the young women and young men who are to be the beneficiaries of the Rice Institute for all time."³¹

The changed final clause that made it into the program had been written out in long hand on one of Rice Jr.'s envelopes that accompanied a typed and corrected draft of the brief comments. The change is worth reflecting on for the slightly different view it took of the Institute's students. In one iteration, they were more clearly the charges of the school. In the final version, though, Rice's Jr.'s words cast the students in the audience and their successors as agents, a subtle change more in line with the active, protagonistic bent that Rice himself occupied in the just uttered remembrances. In that last line, Rice, Jr. intimated that the students were, ideally, not simply wards of his uncle's—or wards of

³⁰In the school year before the 1930 May Fete, the women of the Owen Wister Literary Society hosted a Southern-themed dance at the River Oaks Country Club that had also featured "a rambling plantation home." At the O.W.L.S. event, "An old Darky opened the white picket gate that separated the ballroom from the promenade and presented the guests with programs in which each dance was named in honor" of one of the organization's prospective members. Another celebrated decoration and bit of theater at the event consisted of a "cabin where a negro mammy told fortunes throughout the evening." Rice University, *Campanile* 1930, "The O.W.L.S. Colonial Dance," 162. See also Emily Lampert, "'By Girls and For Girls': Female Community, White Femininity, and Racial Performance at Rice" (2020), Task Force on Slavery, Segregation and Racial Injustice Records, UA 421, Series B, Woodson Research Center, Rice University.

³¹"The Founder," enclosed in [?] William Marsh Rice, Jr. to Edgar Odell Lovett, 3 December 1928, Rice Institute President Edgar Odell Lovett Papers UA 014, Woodson Research Center, Rice University.

the Institute's—generosity and good will. They were also brimming with potential themselves—beneficiaries worthy of the rights and privileges of the Institute.³²



Rice Jr.'s remarks, read by his brother, were followed by Ralph Adams Cram standing in for John Angel. In the context of the morning, Cram's remarks were not terribly longer than Rice Jr.'s, but they may have very well felt prolonged. The architect took a circuitous and highly embellished route to saying what the Houston papers had put much more succinctly in their own coverage of the dedication: John Angel was a remarkable and highly accomplished artist.³³ Cram also strove to make an additional point—one that had dominated private conversation and correspondence on the statue but that he desired to make publicly that morning. The unfolding architecture of the campus was an integral part

³²Ibid. It isn't perfectly clear who re-wrote that final line, but it was likely Rice Jr. In addition to the fact that the correction was written on one of his stationary sets, idiosyncrasies of the handwriting in Rice Jr.'s December 3 note to Lovett also appear in the handwritten revision to the brief remarks on the founder—namely the cursive R in Rice and the I in Institute. On the subtleties of Rice Jr.'s choice of "beneficiaries" to describe the Institute's students, see *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, comp. William Smith, William Wayte, and George Eden Marindin, (Ann Arbor, MI: J. Murray, 1901), s.v. beneficium, and on the ways the change also fit into a certain Rice ideal about its colleges, and the relationship of the university to society, see "Rice Students and Alumni Should Be Proud of School," *Rice Thresher*, 5 May 1933; and Lovett, "The Meaning of the New Institution," 76-86, 108-126, and passim. The switch from "the young men and women of Texas" to "the beneficiaries of the Rice Institute" raises other issues worthy of additional consideration. The first draft may have seemed at once too broad (it did not take into account the Charter's racial bar, for instance) and too geographically narrow for the Institute's ambitions, under Lovett's leadership, to be a university that would benefit not just Texas, but the nation and the world. Also worthy of further reflection is the fact that Rice Jr. transposed the order in which he mentioned the men and women of the Institute for the final version of his remarks—giving primacy of place to the Institute's women students as a daughter of the family who was also then a student at the university looked on and listened.

³³"A great deal of Mr. Angel's best known work in this country," the *Houston Post-Dispatch* informed its readers, "appears in the cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York, and some of it in the new chapel of Princeton university." Cram himself went much further in his own remarks. "I have no hesitation in saying," he intoned, "that in my opinion, and this opinion is endorsed by many others of the highest authority, Mr. Angel is a sculptor of such preeminent ability that he finds hardly any rival during the past three centuries." Cram had recommended Angel for the Rice commission, and worked with him in New York in Cram's capacity as a principal architect for the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. "Memorial to Rice Founder to be Erected," *Houston Post-Dispatch*, 22 February 1930; "Statue of William Marsh Rice Will be Erected on Campus," *Rice Thresher*, 21 February 1930; and "The Sculptor," *Rice Institute Pamphlet* 17 no. 3, 160.

of the whole vision of the university, and the statue was meant to be a deeply considered expression of that architectural program as it presently stood.⁵⁴

The dedication program for the memorial—succinct and measured—did not break much new ground on thinking about the monument, or the founder, or the university; the half hour dedication was more a tightly wound summary of the relationship between all three.⁵⁵ However, the baccalaureate sermon that immediately followed the dedication, and the commencement address which followed the day after that, did add new ideas to the earliest words spoken around the memorial. Both post-dedication speeches recapitulated many of the notions central to the statue’s making and unveiling. But after having just participated in the presentation and justification of the Statue and Tomb of William Marsh Rice, the Reverend James Gordon Gilkey through his sermon and Cram in his commencement address the next day gave voice to views of the world that also complicated the brief ceremony in which they had just participated

From the commencement stand in the Administration Quadrangle on June 9, 1930, Ralph Adams Cram assailed “The K.K.K., fundamentalism, and the Scopes Trial.” He had no use for the Eighteenth Amendment or the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals that had helped to bring it about. The extremes of the “evangelical denominations” came in for special opprobrium. He took aim at a press that expected much too little of its readers, and “the medical fakes and psychological superstitions that flourish on popular support.” For Cram, “the October orgies of the New York stock exchange”—the crash and “the alarming menace of unemployment” that followed—were of a piece with these other calamities. Elsewhere, he railed against the “mob-insanity” that appeared to motivate too much of human political action: from the Sack of Constantinople through the more recent terrors in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. And as with training his ire on the KKK, he carried this questioning of the humanity of humanity toward current racial sensibilities in highlighting a range of modern mass killings: “the extermination of the Indian tribes in America, the record of the Congo and of the islands of the West Indies.”⁵⁶

⁵⁴Cram built up this point in several places. He remarked at the start that, “Architecture by itself and without the cooperation of the other arts is almost helpless. It is true that architecture is the coordinating art, but the architect must be able to count on artists of every type to work with him in creating the finished product.” Very closely following on this point, he then opined of the present, “At this time when architecture in America is constantly and daily advancing toward higher levels of significant achievement, it is imperative that the other arts should show a corresponding betterment. Most fortunately this is the case and many of the arts are keeping pace with architecture. This is notably true of sculpture which, of course, is almost the first art on which the architect relies.” Toward his conclusion, Cram brought these previous points to bear on the campus of the university, saying, “We, the architects, who for so many years have been striving to put into visible form the high ideal of William Marsh Rice, now find here in this ‘counterfeit presentment’ that supreme personification of the man himself which gives the crowning quality to our endeavors.” Cram also left no doubt of what he thought of Angel’s abilities—appreciating very much his talent for serving the best in sculptural tradition but often adding a “modern quality” and “contemporaneousness” as well. Cram was convinced that Angel’s work stood up well with the best work of the past three centuries. “The Sculptor,” *Rice Institute Pamphlet* 17 no. 3, 160-161.

⁵⁵We do not presently know the nature or content of the prayer that concluded the brief ceremony.

⁵⁶Ralph Adams Cram, “The Limitations of Democracy,” *Rice Institute Pamphlet* 17 no. 3 (1930), 194, 178.

Cram did all of this and more in service of exploring “The Limits of Democracy”—an address which the architect filled with such seemingly forward-looking notions as those recounted above but that he mainly meant as a lament of the passing of wise rule by great men. The speech roundly criticized the evils of modernity, which Cram took as boundless (but not necessarily harmless) technological and industrial innovation married to a surfeit of democracy that actually amounted to rule by the passion of fools. The combination, he thought, invited cataclysm. The masses were not innocent in all of this, but Cram did not hold them especially responsible. He thought failures of leadership particularly at fault. Ultimately he charged the graduates and the university as a whole with redressing those failures.

Although Cram’s view of the world, as presented at commencement, evinced his distrust of democracy and his pessimism concerning the possibilities of humankind, in some ways he ended up challenging some of the memorial’s obfuscations. His anti-populism very nearly led him to speak out against some of the excesses of white supremacy (though he would not have called it that, and if he could have brought himself to speak out against the excesses of white supremacy it is far from clear that he would have spoken out against its foundations). Still, parts of what Cram offered in the wake of the monument’s dedication unsettled the worshipful approach to the founder of the university at which Cram was both a guest and co-creator. Rice Jr. had chosen to focus his own brief remarks at the Founder’s Memorial on William Marsh Rice’s efforts as a confederate of industrialists if not an industrialist himself (given his age, railroad investments were the part of his uncle’s work with which he would have been most familiar). In Cram’s remarks, it was faith in industrialism and in industrialists that needed to be shaken. “There is to me,” he offered, “something fantastic in the orgy of optimism, publicly displayed...over the manifest destiny of industrialism to recover from its occasional reverses, and especially the one in process today, and to go on, along the same road, to even higher achievement.”³⁷

Cram’s position on the Great Depression and on the worst of the capitalists and others who were at the helm when all had gone wrong encouraged a piercing criticism:

They are undisciplined children possessed of a vast number of mechanical toys. They do not break them in sheer wantonness, to be sure, but they use them recklessly and without discretion for their own selfish purposes and with no more sense of social values and social ends than the Bandar-log of Kipling’s tales.

³⁷Cram, “The Limitations of Democracy,” 185-186.

But he had also made room for challenging the kind of thinking that went into the creation of Rice's memorial, and the general celebration of men like Rice—even if Cram did not take it up, and did not mean to take it up, and did not mean for others to take it up.

Industrialism had “raised up out of the lower average the present leaders of men and the controllers of physical forces within the field of technological civilization and all that this implies.” The result was a “triumphant materialism” and amoral will to power.³⁸

“Educator Links Up Dry Law With Methodist Board and Ku Klux Klan” was the headline later given Cram’s speech by the *Houston Post-Dispatch*, which made sure to call out the most sensational claims. The *Post-Dispatch* also gave over nearly a complete page of the newspaper to reproduce the entirety of Cram’s remarks. He had indeed done what the paper announced. But he had also made room for challenging the kind of thinking that went into the creation of Rice’s memorial, and the general celebration of men like Rice—even if Cram did not take it up, and did not mean to take it up, and did not mean for others to take it up.³⁹

The day before, at the Baccalaureate sermon given as part of commencement, the Reverend Gilkey, a prominent American preacher hailing from Rice’s hometown, had tread similar ground. He did not believe in Great Men, or in the imperatives of success, or in merit in the ways that Cram so obviously did. Greatness, for Gilkey, was an imposter. It is difficult to imagine a more profoundly different set of remarks than the two major addresses that framed the 1930 commencement. But even as Gilkey, contra Cram, argued that one’s position in life was neither a true measure of one’s “ability or his deserts,” and that many were the number who had been “caught up and lifted into positions of comfort and eminence by forces which they neither created nor foresaw,” he also lamented along with the university’s architect that, “If all of us count money and fame the greatest things in life and then set our hearts on winning them at any cost, most of us are headed for disappointment and heartache, and the civilization we are building is headed for disaster.”⁴⁰

It was not a condemnation of the age’s magnates. It was an opening, though, to question them. If the earliest planners of the Founder’s Memorial had sometimes spoken as if they intended for its viewers to pass by or linger about the monument filled with mute appreciation, what they had also evidently wrought was something along the lines of most of the other decisions they had made in founding the Institute. They had also created a potential site of contestation over values and ideas.

³⁸Cram, “The Limitations of Democracy,” 187-88, 197

³⁹“Cram Pictures Man’s Decline Through the Ages: Educator Links Up Dry Law With Methodist Board and Ku Klux Klan,” *Houston Post-Dispatch*, 10 June 1930.

⁴⁰James Gordon Gilkey, “Getting a Perspective on Success,” *Rice Institute Pamphlet* 17 no. 3 (1930), 168-169, 172.

Hail forever?

“I remember when we walked through the campus together you said you could imagine how the silhouette of the statue would look there in the evening.”
“I hope.” Angel continued, “it looks as well as you had envisioned it.”

I think the campus of a university is one of these things which has a great influence upon the minds of students.” So wrote the sculptor John Angel to Edgar Odell Lovett in the aftermath of the dedication of his statue portrait of William Marsh Rice. Angel hoped that it could become one of the students’ “special corners:”

“Nothing would please me so much as for them to use the seat around the statue [to] rest & talk & study. And I like to feel there is a spirit existing in a statue itself which makes itself felt. I tried hard to make that spirit strong—quiet and effective. I tried to express what Mr. Rice was and what he meant to the students—even more than what he looks like.”

Angel hoped that some of Lovett’s most affecting aspirations for the monument would be realized too. Recalling a former trip to Houston, he informed Lovett, “I remember when we walked through the campus together you said you could imagine how the silhouette of the statue would look there in the evening.” “I hope,” Angel continued, “it looks as well as you had envisioned it.”⁴¹

Angel hoped and imagined that his work down in Houston would bring great satisfaction. Ralph Adams Cram dared to hope and declare even greater things. The entire nation, offered Cram, “is to be congratulated in that here we have a noble demonstration of sculptural art that can well serve as a model and an inspiration for the future.”⁴²

There is good evidence that much of Lovett’s, and Angel’s, and even Max Jacobs’s desires for the Founder’s Memorial did indeed come true. The fact that the 1989 memo translating the monument’s inscriptions for the president’s office referred to the memorial formally as “the statue and tomb of William Marsh Rice” and much more freely as “Willy’s statue” is telling. By the end of the university’s first century, few were the students or faculty who could translate on the fly *salve aeternum aeternumque salve*, but the memorial’s common name across the university—Willy’s statue—testified to the amicable warmth with which many at Rice

⁴¹John Angel to Edgar Odell Lovett, 14 June 1930, President Edgar Odell Lovett Papers UA 014, Box 14, Folder 9, Woodson Research Center, Rice University.

⁴²We are not presently clear on the extent to which Angel’s work at Rice had a larger impact in the field of American sculpture.

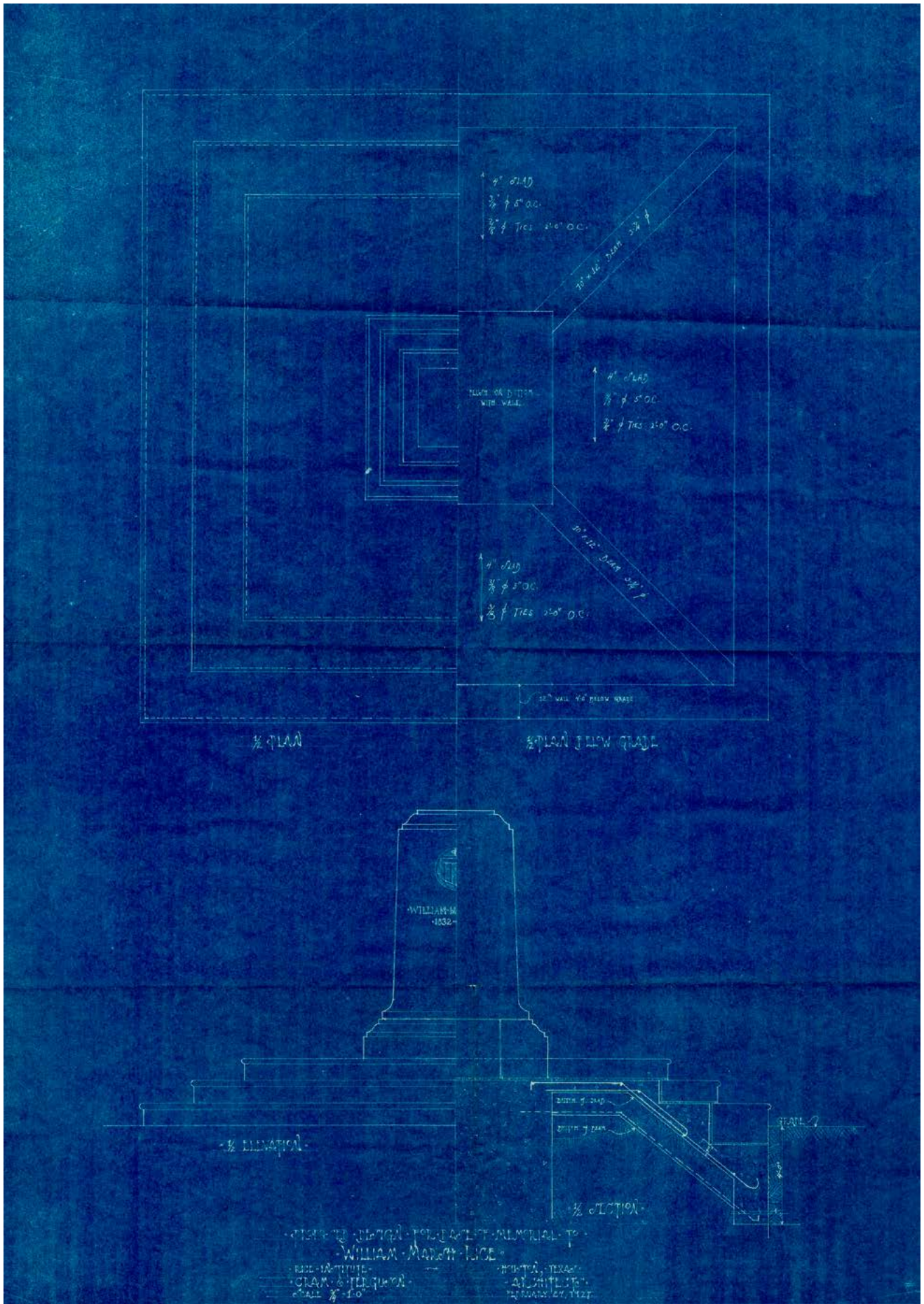
regarded the founder and his memorial. And there can be no doubt that the statue evolved into a center of social and cultural activity at the university.⁴³

But it is also true that everyone did not feel the same. One of the university's early Black faculty expressed somewhat different feelings about the founder in his own early days at the university. "You see, for a long time Blacks didn't go to Rice. Not because they didn't want to but the charter said that no Black will ever be admitted to Rice—for Rice was for whites, and for whites only...Now William Marsh contributed millions, and this was his wish and desire that no Black would ever attend Rice." "Marsh," the professor completed his thought while thinking of his early walks across campus, "must have been turning over in his grave."⁴⁴

Over the last twelve months, drawing on similar and related sentiments—directing renewed attention to Rice's personal disregard, and the university's historical disregard, of African Americans—members of the university community have called for a re-examination of the purpose and place of Rice's monument and tomb in the Academic Quadrangle, at the historical center of the university. Through petition, direct action, protest art, essays, letters, archival research, reportage, and conversations large and small, members of the Rice community have raised the question of whether the university that Rice has become is well

⁴³Opening any yearbook since 1931 provides ample evidence of the monument's growing centrality on campus. Also see, "Centennial Video Series: Willy's Statue," *Rice News*, 7 September 2012; and Melissa Kean, "There are Always Special Corners," Rice History Corner blog, 6 February 2021. A controversy from 1932 illustrates some students' inclination to embrace the statue as a site of revelry—in this instance, in ways that others thought contradictory to the monument's function as a tomb. In the aftermath of members of the sophomore class instructing members of the freshman class to "clean and shave" the founder, a debate arose about students' preserving the dignity of the memorial. The ruckus over the statue reveals a great deal about 1930s social life and gender politics on campus. "Scott Quits Sophomore Class Post: Resignation is Submitted After Resolution Concerning Rice Statue is Made," *Rice Thresher*, 28 October 1932; "Rice Sophomores Called to Meet in Effort to Settle Official Tangle," *Houston Chronicle*, 4 November 1932; "Sophomores Will Settle Class Issue: Group Will Meet Wednesday—Letters On Situation are Turned In," *Rice Thresher*, 4 November 1932; Meiners, *A History of Rice University*, 126-127. Also see, "To Protect a Tomb," *Rice Thresher*, 18 October 1935.

⁴⁴Rice University Task Force, Doc Talk Webinar, 6 November 2020.



served by continuing to hail the founder, in the here and now, in precisely the same way that it was thought good to honor him in 1930.⁴⁵

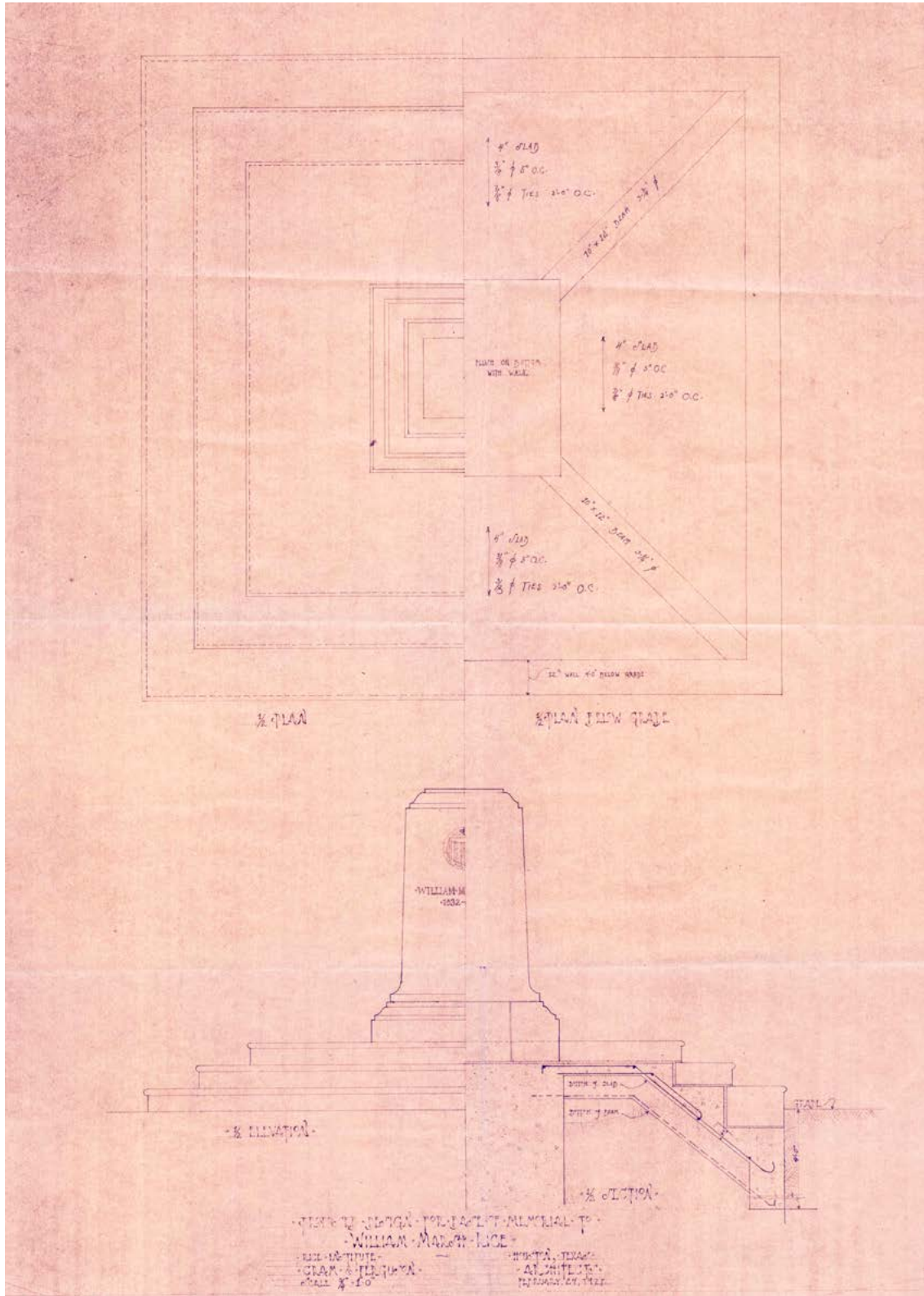
It is important to acknowledge the contexts out of which some of the key arguments have emerged, just as understanding the arguments and intentions of past members of the university community such as Lovett, Cram, and Jacobs also requires attention to the context of their times. The contexts around the current discussion include, but are not limited to:

- The conspicuous silences that remain in the stories that the university has often told about its past, especially the racist and racially exclusionary parts of its past
- A long history—seen and unseen, recognized and unrecognized—of African American organizing, petitioning, and struggling to improve conditions for Black people on campus in a wide variety of domains
- The total lack of memorialization on campus that addresses the history of segregation and desegregation at Rice
- The often one-dimensional, historically abbreviated treatment of the founder of the university in public information, and in some aspects of student life
- The influence of Rice’s statue and monument—especially in its de-contextualized present position—on the daily experience of various members of the university’s diverse community
- A nationwide effort by many universities to reckon with histories of racial injustice and to critically examine monumental landscapes

We affirm the absolute necessity of thoughtful, committed dialogue over the difficult questions that arise from these contexts, contexts that it remains our job as a Task Force to better document and understand. And as we continue our research and remain in dialogue, it is important to

Is the university well served by continuing to hail the founder, in the here and now, in precisely the same way that it was thought good to honor him in 1930?

⁴⁵The history of protests calling for the relocation of the Founder’s Memorial has yet to be written. It will turn out, no doubt, as intricate as the story of the memorial’s initial establishment on campus. The *Thresher* will be a key source of important criticism about the monument: “Replace Willy’s Statue with Johnson,” *Rice Thresher*, 22 June 2020; “Students Push for Removal of Founder’s Memorial from Academic Quad, Administration Responds,” *Rice Thresher*, 24 June 2020; True Anti-Racism at Rice Begins with Removing the Statue of a Slave Owner,” *Rice Thresher*, 2 July 2020; “Demands, Not Suggestions: When it Comes to Anti-Racism on Campus, the Administration Must Listen to Black Students,” *Rice Thresher*, 6 July 2020; “Remembering Rice,” *Rice Thresher*, 20 July 2020; “William Rice’s Statue Can Stand for His Achievements Despite his Moral Flaws,” *Rice Thresher*, 3 August 2020; “Students Sit-In at Founder’s Memorial to Push for Removal of Statue,” *Rice Thresher*, 16 September 2020; “Say Something: Administration Should Respond to Willy’s Statue Sit-Ins,” *Rice Thresher*, 23 September 2020; “An Open Letter to the Board of Trustees: When re You Taking the Statue Down?” *Rice Thresher*, 30 September 2020; “Down With Willy’ Sit-Ins Expand to Broader Movement with Lovett Hall and Residential College Projections,” *Rice Thresher*, 14 October 2020; “It’s Black History Month. Let’s Listen to our Black Students,” *Rice Thresher*, 2 February 2021; “Enough Deliberation: Down With Willy,” *Rice Thresher*, 2 March 2021; “Student-Run Businesses Endorse ‘Down With Willy’ Movement,” *Rice Thresher*, 17 March 2021; “Letter to the Editor: An Old Alum Joins the Statue Debate,” *Rice Thresher*, 24 March 2021; “The Statue is Only a Starting Point,” *Rice Thresher*, 27 March 2021; “Colleges Change Willy Week Name Due to Event Restrictions, Conversations about Willy’s Statue,” *Rice Thresher*, 31 March 2021; “Willy Week No More: Students have the Power to Distance from William Marsh Rice,” *Rice Thresher*, 7 April 2021; “Dear Tex: Willy’s Statue Should be Removed,” *Rice Thresher*, 21 April 2021. Social media and oral history will fill in important parts of the story as well.



keep in mind some of the commonalities that join the two moments that we have examined here.⁴⁶

First, the disposition of the Founder's Memorial and the larger questions around it today can only benefit from the same amount of planning and thoughtfulness that resulted in the monument's creation. As the narrative above makes clear, the statue's current story, its command of the quad, and its role in the life of the university over many decades were the products of design—very careful design. In today's moment, any changes should be just as meticulously designed and considered.

A second commonality also joins the origins and dedication of the Founder's Memorial with the current moment of increased debate over it. In both moments, current students of the university have been essential participants in the larger community's thinking about the nature of the campus. In this sense, Max Jacobs and the students who have daily sat at the memorial over the past year, inviting conversation about its larger story, were not engaged in very different enterprises. Both Jacobs in 1924 and those protesting the monument more recently were calling on the larger community to carefully consider our shared environment, our shared history, what we owe the university's founder(s), and the larger consequences of all of this.

Finally, it is also important to keep in mind that debate and an openness to hearing other positions can be and actually are characteristic of the strength of a community and key to its ability to grow and to improve. So are disagreement and thoughtful dissent. This was clear near the dedication of the memorial as the university community took in both the fundamental differences and key concurrences of Lovett, Rice Jr., Gilkey, and Cram. The power of openly exchanging ideas and reasons has been proven throughout the entire history of the university. It is just as powerful today. The questionnaire responses we received from the Rice community concerning the disposition of the Founder's Memorial, even as they disagree and sometimes disagree strongly, still largely reflect a thoughtfulness about, a deep regard for, and an abiding commitment to Rice and the people who comprise the institution. We will share anonymous selections from those responses on our website in the days to come.

In the meantime, after engaging in multiple substantive conversations about the Founder's Memorial over the past year, the Task Force has arrived at the following conclusions.

Proponents of the monument in the 1920s, and those protesting the monument more recently both called on the larger community to carefully consider our shared environment, our shared history, and what we owe the university's founder(s).

⁴⁶The ideas of those who brought the monument into existence are fundamental to grasping its meaning, and the memorial cannot be properly understood without following what Cram, Lovett, Watkins, and Angel accomplished with it and what they intended for it. At the same time, from the moment of its dedication the memorial would also acquire additional meanings and significance, while other meanings also became to some extent less salient, based on the ways the Rice community and others responded to it, the ideas they invested in it, and the events that unfolded around it. Here we treat the memorial's earliest significance, and tend briefly to aspects of its current consequence. There is, of course, a lot in between that deserves exploration and analysis (but it is also true that its origins are singularly significant)..

Recommendations

The Task Force is unanimous that the Academic Quadrangle needs bold change. The area extending from the main entrance to campus through the Sallyport to the entrance of Fondren Library, and including Founder's Court, can and must be significantly redesigned to reflect more accurately Rice's values, the history of the university, and the current diversity of the campus, and in a way that clearly and visibly rebukes the institution's segregationist founding and decades of racial exclusion. The final disposition of the statue of William Marsh Rice should be part of that redesign, which may also include appropriate recognition of the University's history of desegregation and future aspirations.

The Task Force unanimously recommends the commissioning of such a redesign through a competition, with a broadly inclusive panel to judge the competition.

The Task Force unanimously recommends that the statue of William Marsh Rice known as the Founder's Memorial should no longer be used as an iconic image of the university in its publicity and that the entire community (including tour guides, orientation leaders, incoming students and employees, alumni, and visitors to Rice) should become better informed about the history of William Marsh Rice and the university with respect to slavery, segregation, and racial injustice. Campus-wide programming and educational efforts by our Task Force should take a leading role in providing guidance to various units, including the residential colleges and the Welcome Center, about this history.

These three recommendations represent the unanimous consensus of our entire steering committee. A strong majority of the Task Force also believes that the redesign of the academic quad must include the removal of the statue of William Marsh Rice from the quadrangle, preferably to another location on campus where it would be properly contextualized with the history of Rice as discovered through the research of the Task Force. An important smaller group of the task force believes, however, that a successful redesign could or should properly contextualize the statue in its location within the quadrangle itself. These differences about details that would need to be worked out in an overall design reflect, to some degree, the variety of opinion that remains in our broader community. Those differences are important, but they do not diminish the strength of our unanimous recommendation for a bold, creative reimagining of a space that has remained largely untouched as the university has grown and changed.

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RICE

RICE UNIVERSITY TASK FORCE ON SLAVERY, SEGREGATION AND RACIAL INJUSTICE