‘Stuff from which legends are made’: Jack Trice Stadium and the politics of memory

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'Stuff from Which Legends Are Made':
Jack Trice Stadium and the Politics of Memory
Jaime Schultz

This paper considers the politics involved in naming Iowa State University’s football stadium after Jack Trice, the school’s first African American athlete and its only athlete to die from injuries sustained in competition. This decision took place in the mid- to late-1990s, at nearly the same time administrators dedicated another site of memory on Iowa State’s campus – Carrie Chapman Catt Hall. Catt, an esteemed alumna of the school, was an important lobbyist for women’s rights in the early twentieth century who made several racist, classist and xenophobic remarks in her campaigns. By locating these two memorial efforts within the larger context of racialized relations in the US, this essay argues that the university memorialized Jack Trice in order to assert itself as a racially inclusive space during a moment that threatened to brand the institution deficient when it came to minority students and affairs.

At the 1984 dedication of Iowa State University’s football field to the man who played just two games for the Cyclones, Des Moines Register columnist Donald Kaul remarked: ‘It seemed to me that the story of a young black man who literally gave his life in the service of Iowa State football was the stuff from which legends are made.’ [1] Thirteen years later, supporters gathered to again recognize Jack Trice, the school’s first African-American student-athlete, and the only athlete to die during competition, and to dedicate Jack Trice Stadium. The occasion, remarked one journalist, signified that Trice ‘still lives in memory at Iowa State University’. [2]

It was not a structure originally built with the intent to honour the man, yet the naming of Jack Trice Stadium was ostensibly designed to commemorate his real and symbolic contributions to Iowa State. Since his death in 1923, university officials have touted Trice as a symbol of the institution’s consistent commitment to diversity at the predominantly white Midwestern agricultural college. However, a combination of
the administration’s actions, reactions and evasions in designating the stadium
contradicts this posturing. Moreover, several of the school’s practices and policies,
both in the past and the present, belie its self-proclaimed status as a bastion of racial
tolerance. By considering Jack Trice Stadium as a ‘site of memory’, this article
examines the ways in which Iowa State University constructed a particular version of
its own history and identity. [3]

French historian Pierre Nora’s seven-volume work Les Lieux de Mémoire institutes
a history of France on the basis of diverse ‘sites of memory’ such as the ‘The King’,
‘Gastronomy’, and the ‘Tour de France’, which he argues are produced as efforts to
remember certain aspects of the past, marking the interaction between memory and
history. Conceptualized as ‘sites’, Nora considers these elements as case studies that
offer points of entry for understanding the development of a national history and the
and is ‘less concerned with establishing the veracity of historical facts than with the
ways in which the past is understood and appropriated within contemporary
consciousness’. [5]

Nora’s work, according to historian Kerwin L. Klein, initiated an academic ‘memory
boom’ and several scholars argue that memory is now a central concept in the
humanities and social sciences. [6] In particular, as historian Alon Confino contends,
since the 1980s memory has become perhaps the leading term in cultural history. [7]
This attention to issues of remembrance is associated with revived interest in the work
of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, whose 1925 Social Frameworks of Memory is
widely regarded as the first systematic study on collective memory. In his introduction
to Halbwachs’ posthumously published works, Lewis A. Coser writes that as a recent
immigrant to the United States, he felt a ‘mild estrangement’ from others. That feeling
of detachment, Coser eventually understood, was attributable to his inability to share
‘enough’ collective memories with his newly-adopted compatriots.

The memory of major sports events shared by my friends was not part of my
memory. I had not worshiped particular famous baseball players with them. I was
confused when I noticed that American football was something very different from
the European variety, so that I had no way of participating in their football lore. [8]

Coser’s words demonstrate memory’s capacity, in this case the memory of sport, to
bridge the individual and the social. Memory in common use is in a different register
from personal recollections. Instead, remembering and forgetting are socially
constructed, present-oriented processes that both rely on and construct group
affiliation. An emphasis on the social dimension of memory considers the ways in
which the past is made and remade to serve particular interests and needs – how the
past is made to matter in the present.

Sociologists Raymond L. Schmitt and Wilbert M. Leonard argue that many
features of the sporting world – the records, media, physical objects and
commemorative devices that chronicle and preserve athletics – all work to construct
and sustain social memory. [9] In this vein, several scholars have made what Stephen
Wieting and Judy Polumbaum refer to as the ‘sport-memory association’. [10] For instance, the stories told by group members about their athletic participation remind us, as Gary Alan Fine proposes, that the ‘essence of sport is not exercise, but memory’. [11] Sporting events and moments become etched in national and institutional memories and contribute to the construction of particular group identities. [12] Explorations of sporting histories, myths, legends and symbols demonstrate that recollections, such as those of the 1919 Black Sox scandal, often misrepresent the past or change according to the contexts in which they are remembered. [13] Other scholars have examined the construction and social significance assigned to stadiums, statues, museums, halls of fame and other physical structures. [14] Such artefacts, like the Jack Trice Stadium, play central roles in the creation and maintenance of cultural memories.

Issues of race especially affected the politics of memory involved in naming Jack Trice Stadium. All memory is political, argues historian Patrick Geary, because it is ‘memory for something’. [15] Yet the decision to designate Jack Trice Stadium was particularly politicized because of its connection to another site of memory on the Iowa State campus, Carrie Chapman Catt Hall. Catt, an esteemed alumna of the school, was a successful lobbyist for women’s rights in the early twentieth century. During her campaign, however, she made several racist, classist and xenophobic remarks that many found unforgivable. Students argued that the administrators’ insistence on honouring Catt’s memory was evidence of the institution’s insensitivity to minority students.

By dedicating Jack Trice Stadium in 1997, Iowa State administrators created an ‘official memory’ [16] that persuaded members of its community and the general public that it had a history and continued commitment to diversity. Decisions to name both the stadium and Catt Hall carried political implications for the school’s sense of historic achievements and current character. ‘Place names’, according to historians Katherine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, ‘are one way of insisting on the reality of a particular version of the past, and also (therefore) of the present’. [17] Iowa State University memorialized Trice, thus asserting its history and identity as a racially inclusive space, at a moment that threatened to brand the institution deficient when it came to minority students and affairs. This becomes evident by positioning the dedication of the stadium within the larger context of racialized relations at Iowa State and in the US during the mid- to late 1990s.

Iowa State University (ISU) is located in Ames, Iowa, a Midwestern US city of 50,000 residents, 87 per cent of whom the 2000 Census identified as white. [18] That same year, less than seven per cent of ISU’s 25,000 students were considered racial or ethnic ‘minorities’. [19] This is neither a new trend nor one that is uncharacteristic of Iowa, which has always been a predominantly white state. [20] Originally named the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, ISU was established in 1869 as one of the first land-grant colleges in the United States. [21] These institutions were founded under the auspices of the 1862 Morrill Act, which called for the establishment of ‘separate and distinct’ colleges to provide a ‘permanent endowment’ for at least one institution to focus its educational
objectives on the agricultural and mechanic arts ‘without excluding other scientific and classical studies’. [22] Iowa State’s emphasis on agricultural training and ‘practical education’ made it distinct. [23] Adding to the uniqueness of its educational philosophy, Benjamin F. Gue, one of the school’s founders, declared that Iowa State would be open to ‘any of God’s people’ and would not show prejudice on the basis of race, creed or sex. The second Morrill Act of 1890 supported Gue’s assertion by threatening to withhold federal funds ‘where a distinction of race or color is made in the admission of students’. [24] Although the ideal of racial equality was one of the institution’s founding principles, administrators have only intermittently enforced it during the ISU’s history and the controversy surrounding the naming of Jack Trice Stadium brought many of the school’s racial politics to the fore.

‘The Legend of Jack Trice’

Jack Trice’s family history reads like that of many African-Americans of his generation, in that all of his grandparents had been enslaved. After fighting in the Indian Wars, his father settled in Hiram, Ohio, a virtually all-white rural town, where Jack Trice was born in 1902. As Trice prepared to enter high school his mother insisted that he live with his uncle in nearby Cleveland, Ohio, wishing, according to an elementary schoolmate, ‘to get him among people of his own kind, to meet the problems that a negro [sic] boy would have to face sometime, and to give him an opportunity to make social contacts with people of his own race’. [25] In Cleveland, Trice attended East Technical High School and although his mother hoped the environment would be more racially diverse, he was the only African-American on the school’s football squad (see Figure 1). He was a standout high-school athlete on an exceptional team, but while colleges and universities such as Notre Dame recruited his white teammates, there is no evidence that any institutions sought after Trice. [26] Notre Dame refused to admit black students until the 1940s and, in fact, few institutions were willing to integrate their squads during the first decades of the twentieth century. [27] As Trice’s senior year of high school ended Sam Willaman, his coach at East Technical, accepted the head football position at Iowa State and convinced Trice and several of his teammates to join him (Figure 2). It is reasonable to surmise that, because of the colour of his skin, this was the only offer Trice received to play college sports, though his talent, size, speed and strength would have otherwise made him a highly desirable recruit at any school in the US.

Jack Trice began his schooling at Iowa State in the fall of 1922. He was the first African-American athlete there, though other black students, such as noted scientist George Washington Carver, previously attended the institution. [28] Trice majored in animal husbandry and, as Carver had, planned to use his degree to assist and advise Southern black farmers. Iowa State, like all the other predominantly white institutions in the US, did not allow black students to live on campus, so Trice, along with his wife Cora Mae, lived in a small apartment in Ames; both worked in several different jobs to support themselves while attending classes. [29]
Figure 1 Jack Trice in East Technical High School letterman’s sweater (Courtesy Iowa State University/Special Collections Department)

Figure 2 Iowa State University teammates (left to right) Johnny Behm, Jack Trice, M. Behm, William Nave (Courtesy Iowa State University/Special Collections Department)
When Jack Trice joined the Cyclones’ varsity football team in 1923 he was heralded by coaches, peers and the media for his physical size and talents at defensive tackle (Figure 3). Coach Willaman believed that Trice was the best lineman he had ever coached and ‘one of the greatest athletes he ever saw’. [30] Before he played his first varsity game, Iowa State’s student paper pronounced that at tackle ‘the fast and crafty colored boy, is the most outstanding’. [31] Following his inaugural game against Simpson College, the paper declared that he played superbly and that ‘Jack Trice is by far the most outstanding performer and gave evidence of being one of the best tackles in the Missouri valley this year’. [32] One teammate predicted that he would have ‘certainly made All-Conference his sophomore year, because he was really tremendous. I think he would have made All-American….He would have made all the teams that would recognize a Negro at that time’. [33] This comment is significant not only for its observations on Trice’s abilities, but for its commentary on the exclusionary practice of omitting deserving black athletes from prestigious lists and awards. [34]

Without question, Trice experienced much discrimination throughout his short life, although some specific inequities are matters of contention. For instance, some
accounts mistakenly record that the contest against the University of Minnesota, in which he sustained his fatal injuries, ‘was his first and only game’. [35] Others have erroneously recorded that he was kept from competing against the University of Nebraska and Washington University in St Louis when Cyclone officials capitulated to opponents’ racist demands. [36] Southern institutions commonly made such mandates in order to avoid interracial competitions, yet records show that at the time of Trice’s death, the Iowa State football team had competed in only two games – the first against Simpson College and the second against Minnesota – and Trice played in both. [37] The competing accounts concerning the games in which Trice played are part of larger narratives that serve presentist purposes by heightening the drama of his death and characterizing it as a victim of a racist society.

A more complicated discrepancy in the legend of Jack Trice concerns where and with whom he lodged the night before the 1923 Minnesota game. Some stories claim that he stayed in the same Minneapolis hotel as his teammates, who successfully lobbied to allow Trice to eat with them in the otherwise segregated dining room. [38] Robert Fisher, a teammate of Trice, told a different story many years later: ‘When we went to Minneapolis, I noticed [Trice] wasn’t in our hotel. I asked somebody about it and they said that hotel did not allow blacks and that he was staying at the Curtis Hotel’. [39] Although where Trice actually stayed that night is an important detail, the memories of his trip, regardless of their historical accuracy, illuminate the political appropriations of the past. By asserting that his teammates fought to gain Trice entrance to the restaurant, ISU portrays itself in a favourable light, furthering the position that the school has a long history of racial inclusion and activism. The story of segregating Trice in a different hotel, on the other hand, becomes merely one plot point in an extended narrative of racial discrimination – a narrative that continued long past his death by continually denying appeals to name the stadium after him.

During the active campaign to memorialize Trice in the 1970s and 1980s, students made use of a ‘narrative of victimization’ that included prohibiting Trice from the Minneapolis hotel and football contests. [40] Students employed these examples of exclusion to bolster their position that administrative foot-dragging in naming the stadium was thinly veiled racism, a long-held tradition at the institution. While it is not certain whether he stayed alone or with the rest of the Cyclone team, existing evidence suggests that he stayed at the Curtis Hotel (as Robert Fisher recalled), for that night Jack Trice wrote himself a note on Curtis Hotel stationery, which he then evidently slipped into his jacket pocket before joining his teammates for a meeting [Figure 5]. [41]

Perhaps the greatest mystery in the tale of Jack Trice is the nature of the fatal injuries he sustained on Saturday 6 October 1923. In one of the first plays of the Iowa State-Minnesota game, Trice apparently injured his collarbone, the details of which were never publicized. He continued to play and at halftime, with the score tied at 7–7, Coach Willaman asked ‘How are you, Jack?’ to which Trice reportedly replied: ‘I’m OK, but my shoulder hurts a little.’ [42] At the beginning of the third quarter of the
game Jack Trice was seriously injured in a play that has been the source of controversy and conjecture for a very long time. The only ‘fact’ one might ascertain from reports of the game is that Trice somehow wound up on his back in the middle of a play and was trampled by several members of the Minnesota squad.

Obviously hurt, Trice was helped from the field and taken to a Minneapolis hospital. Without his defensive prowess, Iowa State lost to Minnesota 20–17. Meanwhile, at the hospital doctors declared that Trice’s injuries were not serious and deemed him fit to travel. Lying on a makeshift straw mattress in a railroad car, Jack Trice made the nearly 250-mile trip back to Iowa in terrible pain. He arrived in Ames on Sunday morning and was immediately rushed to the Iowa State hospital.

Initially, doctors felt that Trice’s condition was improving but his breathing soon became shallow and irregular. They detected severe abdominal damage and discovered that his sore shoulder was a broken collarbone, the injury sustained at the start of the game; physicians at the Minnesota hospital had failed to recognize both problems. The following day, a specialist was summoned for consultation. He determined that Trice’s abdomen and intestines were so severely damaged that an operation would be too dangerous. Years later, Cora Mae Trice recalled the precise moment of her husband’s death. Upon arriving in Jack Trice’s hospital room, she remembered: ‘When I saw him I said, “Hello Darling”. He looked at me, but never spoke. I remember hearing the campanile chime 3 o’clock. That was October 8, 1923, and he was gone.’ [43]

Afternoon classes at Iowa State were cancelled on Tuesday 9 October 1923 so that the university community could mourn Jack Trice. His teammates carried his body in a grey casket draped with a blanket displaying the school’s cardinal and gold colours to the campanile, where an estimated 3,000 students and faculty members had gathered (Figure 4). Earlier that morning the folded piece of Curtis Hotel stationery – containing the note he had written to himself the night before the Minnesota game – had been found in the breast pocket of Trice’s coat. Following the invocation at the memorial service, Iowa State’s President Pearson read what is known as Jack Trice’s ‘last letter’ (Figure 5).

To whom it may concern,
My thoughts just before the first real college game of my life. The honor of my race, family, and self is at stake. Everyone is expecting me to do big things. I will!
My whole body and soul are to be thrown recklessly about the field tomorrow. Every time the ball is snapped, I will be trying to do more than my part.
On all defensive plays I must break thru the opponents’ line and sport the play in their territory. Beware of mass interference – fight low with your eyes open and toward the play. Roll-block the interference. Watch out for cross bucks and reverse end runs. Be on your toes every minute if you expect to make good.

7:45 Jack [44]

That the letter was preserved as a college document indicates the depth of reverence the Iowa State community felt for both the man and his message. An
Figure 4 Jack Trice funeral, 9 October 1923 (Courtesy Iowa State University/Special Collections Department)

Figure 5 Jack Trice’s ‘last letter’ (Courtesy Iowa State University/Special Collections Department)
excerpt of the letter was inscribed on a bronze plaque and placed in the university’s gymnasium (Figure 6). Sixty years later, a Newsweek article recapped the story of Jack Trice and the plaque, commenting: ‘They meant well, all of them, and gradually they forgot.’ [45] Though the Iowa State community surely had the best of intentions by honouring Trice in 1923, the institution’s collective memory of him was not actively sustained; in fact, it was relegated to near obscurity.

In the south-west corner of the Old State Gymnasium, the plaque remained essentially hidden from view behind a staircase, according to Tom Emmerson, who noticed it as an Iowa State journalism student in 1957. Unable to find anyone in the athletic department who knew about Trice or the plaque, Emmerson culled the basic story from university archives and newspapers, pulling together an item for publication the Iowa State magazine. [46] But, as Emmerson recalls, ‘There was no reaction after I wrote it...nothing happened’. [47]
Trice: A Forgotten Story Remembered

It took another 15 years for Trice to receive any substantial attention. In 1973, Alan Beals, a counsellor for the athletic department, also came across the old plaque, by then covered in rust, dust and bird droppings. [48] Beals collaborated on an article for the *Iowa State Daily*, the campus newspaper, entitled ‘Trice: A Forgotten Story Remembered’, recounting the man’s life and brief career at ISU, and commemorating the 50th anniversary of his death. [49] Inspired by the piece, Professor Charles Sohn thought that the story of Jack Trice would make an interesting research project for his freshman English class. Sohn related that the students ‘were immediately motivated to go to libraries, to set up local interviews, and to track down any of Jack’s acquaintances and relatives still alive more than 40 years after the drama’. [50]

After discerning what they felt to be praiseworthy characteristics in Trice, the students proposed a venue to honour him. At the time, Iowa State was in the process of constructing a new $7 million football stadium that was scheduled for completion in 1975. The stadium was, as yet, unnamed and Sohn recalled that one student voiced what the entire class was thinking: ‘They should call it Jack Trice Stadium.’ He remembered that

one of the black males [in the class] immediately responded that there was no way the establishment would honour some poor dead black kid like that….I think it was that same day that we voted to become the Jack Trice Memorial Stadium Committee, and the decades-long campaign was launched. [51]

The committee for Jack Trice Memorial Stadium received support from the *Iowa State Daily*, whose editorial staff unanimously endorsed the name and frequently published items exhorting administrators to ‘do the right thing’. [52] The Government of the Student Body (GSB) additionally assisted the cause by sponsoring and endorsing resolutions and petitions to name the stadium after Trice. [53]

Almost immediately, there were definitive lines drawn between student and administrative interests. When the issue first surfaced, it was generally acknowledged that those individuals in charge would have to ‘decide between a dedicated football player who gave his life playing…and a dedicated alum or friend who gave his money for the stadium for other players to play in’. [54] Gary Mulhall, director of field activities for the ISU Foundation, remarked that a ‘number of people involved in the building of the stadium…have definite sentiments against naming the stadium after Jack Trice’. [55] English professor Charles Sohn felt that the ‘only noticeable reluctance to support the name “Jack Trice Stadium” came from university officials’. [56] Students, on the other hand, cast nearly 2,000 votes in the 1975 GSB elections to name the building ‘Jack Trice Memorial Stadium’, a three-to-one choice over any other option. [57]

In 1976 ISU’s president, W. Robert Parks, formed a 14-member committee comprised of students, faculty, staff and alumni to propose a name for the newly completed stadium. [58] The committee voted 11–3 for the generic ‘Cyclone
Stadium’; the only dissenting ballots came from the three students on the committee, who favoured naming it after Trice. President Parks accepted the committee’s majority decision and subsequent editorials in student publications urged him to reconsider this stance. The rhetoric of these writings often pitted monetary donations against mortal contributions, asking readers to consider, for instance, ‘Who paid the most?’ (Figure 7) and ‘Jack Trice gave all he had; can anyone give more?’ [59]

Nevertheless, Parks moved forward by recommending the name ‘Cyclone Stadium’ to the Iowa State Board of Regents, the final step needed for approval. In a complicated resolution, however, the board voted to defer naming the stadium because ISU was not the official owner. Instead, the board argued, the title belonged to the ISU Foundation, the group that had solicited funds to pay construction costs with loan and gift money. It was expected that the university would repay the foundation in several years and thus obtain ownership of the facility, at which time an appropriate judgement could be made. It is difficult to ascertain why the board decided to delay the decision, but at least one ISU student thought that with this tactic, ‘The administration hope students will forget about [naming the stadium after Trice]’. [60]

But it seems as though students did not forget. In the 1980s their efforts continued and included actions such as renting a plane to fly above the arena during home football games trailing a banner reading ‘Welcome to Jack Trice Stadium’. The GSB bought advertising time on local radio stations urging listeners to write letters of support for naming the stadium after Trice. [61] In 1981, supporters set up a billboard, located on Ames’s busiest thoroughfare, that read ‘Welcome to Ames.

Figure 7 ‘Who paid the most?’ Cartoon in Ethos, Fall 1975 (Courtesy Ethos magazine)
Home of Jack Trice Memorial Stadium’ in hopes of drawing attention to their cause.

Though often unfolding in series of fits and starts, the admirable and remarkable persistence of students’ efforts were finally, albeit partially, met.

In 1984 ISU became the official owner of what the media had unofficially called ‘No Name Stadium’. At that time, a compromise was struck whereby the building would be called ‘Cyclone Stadium’ and the grass surface on which games were played ‘Jack Trice Field’. This move seemed to appease the majority of those embroiled in the conflict, who felt that meeting half-way was the most diplomatic solution. At the dedication ceremony, Donald Kaul, a columnist for the *Des Moines Register* who consistently supported naming the stadium after Trice, conceded: ‘You can’t always win the good fight.’ But, he added, at least Cyclone Stadium/Jack Trice Field was not a total loss; rather, it could be called a ‘tie’. The decision received national media attention and in a *Newsweek* article, sociologist Harry Edwards commented: ‘Jack Trice gets half a loaf. I’m surprised.’ Trice was further memorialized when the GSB funded the creation of a bronze statue in his likeness that was later erected on centre campus (Figure 8). *Jet* magazine applauded this

![Figure 8 Jack Trice statue (Photograph by Robert G. Schultz)](image)
memorial with a cover story that read: ‘White University Rights 65-Year Wrong Done to Black Athlete’. [66]

Race and Memory in the Campaign for Jack Trice Stadium

The Jet magazine cover story literally framed the issue in black and white. Indeed, the subject of race figured prominently throughout the debate over naming the stadium. For example, there was much discussion as to whether those who inflicted Trice’s injuries were racially motivated. In 1923, it seemed to be the general consensus that his fatal wounds were caused by a mis-execution of the roll block. In fact, in the note Trice wrote the night before the Minnesota game, he reminded himself to ‘Roll-block the interference’. William Thompson, the coach of the Iowa State freshman squad in 1923, described the manoeuvre in a 1974 interview as ‘a dangerous block to use…. You had to roll under the backfield and that had a devastating effect on the runner, you see. It trips him right at the ankles.’ Thompson explained that instead of correctly ending up on all fours, Trice wound up on his back and was trampled by Minnesota’s backfield. [67]

In the period immediately following his death, the press affixed the label of ‘accident’ to Trice’s injuries. [68] But in response to an Associated Press dispatch from Ames that stated he ‘died from injuries received when most of the Minnesota line piled on top of him an off tackle play’, John L. Griffith, the commissioner of athletics of the Intercollegiate Conference (now the Big Ten), inquired if Iowa State officials would like to investigate whether Trice’s injuries were the ‘result of unfair play’. [69] S.W. Beyer, dean of Iowa State, replied that he did not believe there had been any misconduct, adding that

Inasmuch as Mr Trice was a colored man it is easy for people to assume that his opponents must have deliberately attempted to injure him. In my experience where colored boys had participated in athletic contests I have seen very little to indicate that their white opponents had any disposition to foul them. [70]

Although officials dismissed the possibility of racially motivated violence against Trice in 1923, others reinterpreted the issue in the latter decades of the twentieth century. A 1997 article articulated this shift in translation: ‘Opinion was, and is, divided as to whether the Gophers were targeting the black player or simply playing power football. Decades later, many automatically assume the former.’ [71] This assumption is apparent in the 1970s editorials many wrote in support of naming the stadium for Trice. For instance, Register columnist Donald Kaul wrote that Trice died on the ‘field of battle, so to speak, a martyr to the bigotry of his time’, maintaining the position that his death, and the university’s unwillingness to honour him, were both based on race. [72]

Despite these types of charges, state and university officials continued to use Jack Trice as a symbol of historically consistent practices of racial equality – not just at ISU but in the entire state of Iowa. When asked his opinion on naming the stadium for
Trice, the then Iowa governor Robert Ray told reporters that the Trice story is ‘a good indication that Iowa a long time ago believed there are equal rights for people and that people ought to be able to play football regardless of their color’. [73] Governor Ray’s statement, however, obscures significant facets of the state’s integrated athletic history. Most importantly, it glosses over the fact that after 1927 Iowa State did not have another black athlete – in any sport – for another 30 years. In 1928, ISU became part of the Big Six Conference, whose members adhered to a ‘gentlemen’s agreement’ that, until 1947, disallowed interracial competition and precluded the integration of African-Americans on their teams. [74] There were no other black varsity athletes at Iowa State until 1956, when John Crawford was permitted to play basketball. [75] As such, the governor’s comment on the spirit of inclusiveness in Iowa employs a memory of the state’s history that is not necessarily deceitful, but is nevertheless selective.

Others proposed that the reluctance to name the facility after Trice also belied the proposal that Iowa, and particularly Iowa State, was a racially liberal place, constructing an alternative narrative to Governor Ray’s favourable take on the subject. At least one faculty member speculated that administrators worried naming the stadium for Trice might discourage potential contributors from donating funds to the school. In a letter, this professor posited:

perhaps the fear of the fundraisers could be that Jack Trice was Black – Iowa State’s first Black athlete, over 50 years ago when it took real guts to enter the white world of football stadiums. If a few might withhold donations because of Trice’s race, ISU should be happy without such money. [76]

Others agreed with the accusation that Trice’s race deterred administrators from naming the stadium after him, suggesting that they were unwilling to publicly associate the image of Iowa State with an African-American man. [77]

Jack Trice Stadium and Catt Hall: What’s in a Name?

The Cyclone Stadium/Jack Trice Field compromise was labelled the ‘closing chapter in the Jack Trice story’ and indeed, the issue remained dormant for the following decade. [78] In the 1996 student government elections, however, presidential candidate Adam Gold won on a platform that included renaming the stadium for Trice. Gold explained that until his decision to run, he did not know about the story and the past efforts to dedicate the stadium, but had been informed by a friend when brainstorming possible campaign issues. Upon learning the history, he was amazed that Jack Trice did not figure more prominently in Iowa State’s traditions. [79] It would be unfair to fault Gold’s motivations and efforts but, once again, it demonstrates the use of Trice’s memory for a particular political agenda.

One of the first steps in the renaming process, according to Gold, was to move the Jack Trice statue from the centre of campus to the entrance of the football stadium. He remembered that he and the other GSB officers reasoned that ‘if we don’t get the
name of the stadium changed, we can at least get a memorial for [Trice] and we can feel like there’s a sense of accomplishment... that turned out to be the first block that fell that got the whole thing done'. [80] While the statue had been built using student funds in 1984, this time the institution agreed to foot the majority of the bill to have the statue renovated and relocated. Gold’s strategy was astute, but the move may have recontextualized the statue, altering its initially intended meaning.

Originally, the statue had been placed at the centre of the ISU campus amidst the academic buildings. Artist Chris Bennett took careful pains to pronounce Trice’s role as student first and athlete second. Dressed in ‘collegiate wear’, Trice is depicted reading his final letter. On the bench at which he rests his right foot are two books to ‘emphasize the importance of academics above all else’. One book is closed; its cover reads ‘Animal Husbandry, Iowa State College by C. Sohn’, referencing his intended programme of study and the professor who instigated the effort to name the stadium for Trice. The other book ‘rests open as if he has been interrupted from his studies’. A pair of cleats lay on the nearby ground as a reminder of his final football game. [81] Repositioning the statue in front of the football stadium, on the other hand, underscores the athletic side of his ISU experience and directs those interested in Cyclone football, rather than the general student body, to encounter the memory of Jack Trice.

In effect, moving the statue did stimulate action to rename the stadium. While administrators seemed to drag their feet throughout the campaign of the 1970s and 1980s, they moved with noticeable swiftness and efficiency this time around. After the GSB unanimously approved the name change in October 1996, Iowa State’s Committee on the Naming of Buildings and Streets scheduled a public forum at which members of the university community could address the issue. Approximately 35 people attended the meeting and the majority of those in attendance spoke in favour of renaming the stadium. [82]

After seeking input from various campus groups, the ISU Advisory Committee on the Naming of Buildings and Streets recommended to Iowa State president Martin Jischke that the name ‘Cyclone Stadium’ be replaced with ‘Jack Trice Stadium’. Jischke accepted the recommendation and in his official statement to the State Board of Regents declared that Trice’s ‘story is an important part of Iowa State’s history and deserves prominent recognition’. [83] There were individuals, however, who questioned the president’s motives and sincerity. One student understood Jischke’s decision as posturing, calling it a ‘ploy to make the university look good’. The student continued: ‘I think this should have happened 22 years ago. If [Trice] had not been African-American, it would have happened shortly after he died.’ [84]

On 19 February 1997, the Iowa Board of Regents approved the name change by a 7–2 vote. This vote was the final phase in a long and arduous battle to officially recognize Jack Trice Stadium. Assistant dean of students Terri Houston called the move to rededicate the stadium ‘an excellent recruitment tool for all students because the university has supported a student movement. This shows that the university listens to the students.’ [85] Significantly, though, student requests had fallen on deaf
administrative ears for more than two decades. It is reasonable to wonder why this process took so long – 74 years after Trice’s death and 24 years after students initiated their campaign. But perhaps a better question might be to ask why, at this particular moment, did officials finally acquiesce? Possibly because, as Adam Gold suggested, it took place during ‘a very intense time at Iowa State in terms of race issues’. [86]

One matter that especially captured the attention of the university community was the dedication of another site of memory on campus for Carrie Chapman Catt. Officials honoured Catt, who graduated from Iowa State in 1880 as the valedictorian and only woman in her class, by renaming the Old Botany Building ‘Catt Hall’ in 1995, to coincide with the 75th anniversary of the ratification of the nineteenth amendment that gave women the right to vote (Figure 9). Among other impressive accomplishments, Catt was a founder and president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and a leader in an international alliance of suffrage groups. Catt was also an originator (with Jane Addams and others) of the League of Women Voters and the Women’s Peace Party, and played a central role in passing the nineteenth amendment to the US constitution which granted women the right to vote. [87]

With Carrie Chapman Catt, as with Jack Trice, members of the ISU community sought to pluck a former student from the annals of institutional history and celebrate this person’s contribution to the advancement of oppressed groups. Both

Figure 9 Carrie Chapman Catt Hall, Iowa State University (Photograph by the author)
undertakings consisted of passionate, grassroots efforts. The campaign to commemorate Catt began in 1983 at the behest of ISU archivist Laura Kline. Kline travelled the state presenting information on Catt to various groups and received support from many she encountered, particularly the Ames chapter of the League of Women Voters (LWV). By 1989 Kline, with the assistance of the LWV, had formally petitioned ISU administrators to rename the Old Botany building Carrie Chapman Catt Hall. By 1990 the request had passed through the proper channels and was approved by the State Board of Regents without much debate. [88]

Letting the Catt Out of the Bag

On 29 September 1995 UHURU!, a newsletter funded by Iowa State’s Black Student Alliance, published an article entitled ‘The Catt is Out of the Bag: Racism within the Suffrage Movement’. The article demonstrated that Catt used classist, xenophobic and racist rhetoric in her efforts to win rights for women. The September 29th Movement, so named for the publication date of the article, adopted what they felt were the related tasks of attacking the Catt issue and other racial problems on campus. Identified in the press as a group of ‘black students’, [89] the movement made it clear that they were not simply a black organization, but rather inclusive of all students willing to work for social change. They endeavoured to ‘eliminate racism, classism, xenophobia, sexism and homophobia on the campus of Iowa State University, recognizing that changing the name of Carrie Chapman Catt Hall must be the first step in that direction’. [90]

Members of the movement meticulously sifted through Catt’s speeches and writings, finding several instances in which she denigrated blacks and Mexicans, spoke of prohibiting uneducated immigrants from voting and was outraged that “brutal, treacherous, murderous Indians” could vote but not white women’. [91] The most frequently cited example of this position was an excerpt from her 1917 Woman Suffrage by Federal Constitutional Amendment, in which Catt wrote: ‘White supremacy will be strengthened not weakened by woman’s suffrage.’ [92] Some insisted that this line was taken ‘totally out of context’ while others argued that her remarks were acceptable in the environment of the early 1900s’ political scene. [93] In fact, this was somewhat typical of suffrage rhetoric in that era. Still others adopted a moderate position, believing that ‘while Catt held terrible views, she also did some good, particularly for women’ and that ‘sometimes good people can do bad things’. [94]

Her supporters pointed out that Catt frequently endorsed racial equality throughout her career, noting that she spoke at African-American churches and clubs, defended slandered black soldiers in the Second World War and supported the establishment of the League of Nations and the United Nations. [95] In spite of her good works, however, the issue remained that she did make prejudicial comments. According to Catt biographer Robert Fowler, ‘though her views require careful treatment, no gloss can be given to her routine discussion of blacks in generic and highly unflattering terms’. [96] While Catt made many important contributions to
society, the September 29th Movement did not accept the defence that her racist comments were politically expedient. One member astutely responded: ‘I would say if she were still alive, what did you do after 1920 to guarantee that women of color could vote? She didn’t do anything’. [97]

Whether or not Catt should be excused for making discriminatory remarks is certainly an important debate and one that merits attention. But beyond that debate is the issue that students perceived her rhetoric as racist and a further indication of the school’s deficient attitudes towards, and policies for, minority affairs. The debate was larger than the facility’s name. As one student argued: ‘Catt Hall has always been about more than a politically racist woman’s name on a building. It’s about a pattern of behavior at ISU that says people of color don’t count’. [98]

**Race-related Issues at Iowa State University in the 1990s**

The objections to Catt Hall, which one member of the September 29th Movement referred to as ‘a burning cross’ on campus, were representative of larger issues. [99] Those championing the name change were quick to point out that they were not ‘anti-Catt’ but rather were ‘working on changing the mindset’ at Iowa State. [100] President Jischke’s adviser on ethnic diversity contended that Catt’s ‘politically racist comments’ made minority students ‘question their true acceptance on this campus’ and changing the name, argued the members of the movement, ‘would show that the university is committed to confronting its own racism’. [101] They substantiated the charge of racism by citing the low number of black professors, the falling enrolment and low retention rate of black students, the lack of an Asian-American studies programme and the low overall minority enrolment. [102]

There had been a number of divisive issues leading up to this point in which black students expressed that they were victims of racism, prejudice and disrespect on the Iowa State campus. There were threats that the GSB’s minority senate seat would be abolished, that there was no money provided for a pageant for black students, that the Black Cultural Centre lacked adequate funding and that racialized grievances were ignored. Controversy ensued after a black student was expelled from a class on African-American history, after charging that the white professor’s views were inaccurate and declaring a ‘jihad’ against her. [103] Another maelstrom resulted when a black graduate student noticed an ISU cafeteria worker had a ‘KKK’ (for Ku Klux Klan) tattoo on one arm and a swastika branded on the other. In spite of vocal protests against the worker, he was permitted to keep his job. Black students emphasized that while these politicized issues received some publicity, it was the day-to-day hostility and subtle racism that were particularly traumatizing: ‘If you’re constantly having to fight for rights you think you should have,’ one African-American student remarked, ‘then that’s not a nurturing environment.’ [104]

In an article published in 1999, an Iowa State English professor found that African-American students felt the school’s environment was fairly hostile to minorities. One student declared: ‘Iowa State is racism… [I deal with] institutionalized racism
definitely...that’s almost daily.’ [105] Another student blamed state officials and university administration for the lack of black faculty members at ISU, remarking: ‘Blacks don’t want to stay in Iowa because they don’t think that they can get a fair chance to succeed. You aren’t going to see any Black on the Board of Regents.’ [106] The sentiments expressed by these students as well as the other critiques of ISU’s policies on minority student affairs had been levelled at the school and its administrators since the 1970s. [107]

A 1996 university forum on diversity, led by President Jischke, turned hostile as several people in attendance assailed the institution’s commitment to racial, ethnic and cultural progress. The director of minority student affairs, for instance, called the diversity climate on campus a ‘sinking ship’. [108] Jischke defended the university by offering the example of the relocation of the Jack Trice statue to the entrance of Cyclone Stadium/Jack Trice Field as evidence of the school’s spirit of inclusiveness. [109] According to former GSB president Adam Gold, however, administrators initially resisted moving the statue, only consenting after considerable pressure from students. [110]

The Black–White Divide in 1990s US Society

Critiques of Iowa State’s racial climate were indicative of larger discussions happening across the country during this time. The controversy over Catt Hall and the dedication of Jack Trice Stadium came when public attention was particularly directed towards issues of race in ways that polarized black and white America. In early 1997 a Washington Post/ABC News poll showed that a majority of Americans viewed race as a ‘serious problem’. [111] Later that year, US president Bill Clinton announced his ‘One America in the 21st Century: The President’s Initiative on Race’, designed to ‘have a diverse, democratic community in which we respect, even celebrate our difference, while embracing the shared values that unite us’. Urging Americans to engage in a ‘great and unprecedented conversation about race’, the initiative staff staged campus-week dialogues, state-wide dialogue days, town hall meetings and other public discussions across the country. [112] The staff even brought the issue to the world of athletics, arranging for a public forum on race and sport to be broadcasted on cable television’s ESPN. [113]

Several racially-charged incidents built up to this moment, highlighting racialized inequalities and the black-white breach on race-related issues in the US. [114] While Clintonian policies on affirmative action, crime and welfare reform had powerful racialized significance, Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray’s highly controversial The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life (1994) argued that low intelligence, which they believed to be a genetically determined trait, was strongly correlated with a myriad of social ills. Based on this idea, they proposed that no matter what is done to address and ameliorate the many problems in the US, minority groups lack the intelligence to move beyond their marginal status. [115]
In 1995 Minister Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, led the Million Man March on Washington, DC, to raise black unity, pride and empowerment while simultaneously espousing ideologies of racial divisiveness and anti-Semitism. Nationwide debates raged over whether it was appropriate to teach ‘Ebonics’, or black English vernacular, to teachers in the Oakland, California, school district in order to better prepare them to raise the level of English proficiency among their black students. [116] In 1992 the televised beatings of Rodney King, a black motorist, by several white members of the Los Angeles Police Department and the subsequent acquittal of the officers instigated riots that resulted in 55 deaths, 2,000 injuries, and the damage or destruction of 1,100 buildings. [117] Two years later, the country’s attention was captured by the double homicide charges brought against former football great O.J. Simpson. Simpson, an African-American, was accused of murdering his ex-wife Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend Ron Goldman, both of whom were white. In the court of public opinion, judgements about Simpson generally fell along racial lines; when the ‘not guilty’ verdict was announced following his criminal trial, a poll by USA Today found that 49 per cent of whites thought the finding was wrong while only 10 per cent of blacks believed it the incorrect decision. [118] These events dramatically underscored a huge perception gap between white and black citizens on social, political and legal issues.

There were also several racially significant moments happening in the world of sport when officials finalized the decision to dedicate Jack Trice Stadium. At nearly the same time, the United States Tennis Association dedicated Arthur Ashe Stadium, honouring the pioneering African-American tennis player – perhaps, according to sport scholar Nancy Spencer, to ‘ward off allegations that [the organization] had not done enough for minorities’. [119] An even greater controversy concerning Ashe took place in his hometown of Richmond, Virginia, as residents debated whether a statue on the man belonged on Monument Avenue – a street that had been home to five ‘heroes’ of the Confederacy for the previous century. Athletes of colour continued to challenge additional bastions of whiteness. In 1997 Tiger Woods burst on to the professional golf circuit with his victory at the Master’s Golf Championship and Venus Williams competed in the finals of the US Open tennis tournament. The year was also an occasion to acknowledge the historic plight of celebrated black athletes as the media recognized the 50th anniversary of Jackie Robinson’s entrance into Major League Baseball. In observance of his accomplishments, Robinson’s number 42 became the first number retired by every team in the league. [120] It was within this context that Iowa State officials made their decisions about whether or not to honour Jack Trice and Carrie Chapman Catt.

**Student Protests against Catt Hall**

In addition to researching Catt’s life, the September 29th Movement embarked on other tasks to get administrators’ attention and publicize their cause. Many of their methods were reminiscent of students’ earlier efforts for Jack Trice Stadium.
Members of the movement circulated a number of petitions and fliers to inform the ISU community about what they felt to be the inappropriateness of naming the building for Catt. There were candlelight vigils, marches and the sale of T-shirts reading ‘Change the name of Catt Hall’ to show university officials that their cause deserved respect and would not disappear (Figure 10). There was an impressive letter-writing campaign as well. For nearly one year, on every school day, President Jischke received five letters signed by students, faculty and staff, denouncing the Catt Hall designation. Constituents of the September 29th Movement adopted Martin Luther King, Jr.’s four-step programme for civil disobedience, as outlined in his ‘Letter from Birmingham Jail’, and used teach-in and sit-in techniques taken from student protests during the 1960s. One member of the movement embarked on a hunger strike and intended to continue until administrators met several requests, including reopening the naming process of Catt Hall. After six days, the strike ended when the student was hospitalized. [121]

There were several incidents where it seemed that Iowa State administrators were not willing to hear students’ grievances on the Catt issue. On 5 November 1996 the September 29th Movement called a ‘town meeting’ on renaming Catt Hall. Held in the lobby of the administrative building, four individuals addressed a crowd consisting of about 200 members of the ISU community. University protocol, however, called for all public events to be registered and authorized to take place on

Figure 10 ‘Change the Name of Catt Hall’ T-shirt design (Courtesy Iowa State University/Special Collections Department)
school property, and the movement never formally requested permission to gather. The administrators tried to break up the gathering, arguing that ‘We have certain places on campus for students to do their First Amendment thing’. [122] Faculty members were also involved in the meeting, but their presence was overlooked by ISU administrators, who seemed bent on punishing members of the September 29th Movement.

After the meeting a number of individuals were charged with acts of unauthorized use of a building and failure to comply with proper order and had to appear before the All-University Judiciary Committee. ‘It was a farce,’ recalled William Kunerth, faculty advisor to the Iowa State Daily. ‘It was very selective in who they arrested. There were faculty people there and they didn’t arrest any faculty people. Who they arrested were the ringleaders.’ [123] In the end, 18 students received written reprimands. Another five students, all members of the September 29th Movement, received the more serious verdict of conduct probation, which banned them from holding leadership positions in university organizations and from serving on university committees. Showing that the movement had staying power, members were again arrested for trespassing in 1998 in a vain attempt to get a face-to-face meeting with President Jischke on the Catt matter. [124]

A Commemorative Balancing Act

The September 29th Movement was not alone in its fight to change the name of Catt Hall, receiving support from at least 15 chapters of the NAACP from across the US. These efforts were effective in convincing several one-time supporters of Catt Hall to change their minds. As a way to raise money for the building’s renovations, for instance, bricks, purchased for $100 could be inscribed with a woman’s name and laid at the entrance of Catt Hall in what organizers titled the ‘Plaza of Heroines’. After the movement publicized Catt’s controversial comments, several individuals requested that their bricks be removed. [125] One woman, for whom her three sons had donated a brick, remarked that the ‘product sold to my children was a fraudulent product. I think my sons should each get their $33.33 back, but I know they won’t.’ [126] She, along with another woman who had purchased a brick in honour of her mother, glued black cloths over their bricks in protest. University officials permanently removed the protesting women’s bricks later that year. [127]

The Government of the Student Body also got involved in the debate and voted to ask the State Board of Regents to change the name. The GSB president, however, vetoed the request calling the resolution ‘a sham, a crock and an embarrassment’. [128] President Jischke agreed, using less inflammatory but equally robust rhetoric by stating that his readings on Catt had led him to conclude that ‘her motives were honorable, she was not a racist and her accomplishments are worthy of recognition’. [129] The GSB eventually voted 26–1 to pass a resolution entitled ‘Time for Closure’ to find some type of conclusion to the ongoing debate. [130] Whether the student government ever determined what form that closure might take is unclear, but it may
have been that such a move was unnecessary in light of official decisions and the dissipation of outrage against the name Catt Hall.

After years of determined efforts to be heard, members of the September 29th Movement were finally allowed to present their argument to a meeting of the State Board of Regents in 1998. Subsequent to hearing their presentations, however, the board responded that they would not take any action to change the name, indicating that they would ‘support President Jischke’s decision’. [131] The issue was effectively closed at this point and the September 29th Movement apparently dissolved soon after.

The final act in the renaming drama came with the establishment of the Committee for the Review of the Catt Controversy to examine the debate and recommend whether the university should take any action to resolve the issue. The commission was carefully constructed with attention to diversity and status on campus so as to be ‘a cross section of the university community’. [132] The committee was ultimately unproductive, reporting that they neither arrived at a consensus to rename Catt Hall nor agreed on whether or not the naming process should be reopened. Despite the ambivalence of their findings, the report nonetheless lowered the final curtain and concluded the controversy – Catt Hall stands today with no indication of the arduous campaign against it. [133]

Although the subject went without comment in the mid- to late 1990s, there is a connection between the concurrent decisions to dedicate Jack Trice Stadium and Catt Hall. Students had been working to name the stadium for Trice since the early 1970s but their task was accomplished only during the time of protest against Catt Hall. Dedicating Jack Trice Stadium was a conciliatory gesture designed to placate those offended by the memorial for Carrie Chapman Catt. Iowa State’s collective memory as a place of acceptance was sustained by a type of commemorative balancing act: the decision to designate Catt Hall tipped the scales dangerously close to supporting claims that the school was deficient when it came to issues of race, but equilibrium was restored by honouring Jack Trice, the first African-American student athlete at the institution. Each memorial seems to both contradict and counterbalance the other when it comes to the history of race relations at Iowa State University. Perhaps, like the 1984 Cyclone Stadium/Jack Trice Field decision, the school was satisfied to register another ‘tie’ in their record books.

As President Jischke stood before the group that had gathered for the 1997 rededication of the stadium, he declared that Jack Trice ‘has become a hero – not so much for what he accomplished, because his life was cut short – but for what he represented’ (Figure 11). According to Jischke, Trice exemplifies ‘a number of heroic qualities, including determination, courage, enthusiasm, and giving one’s all to an important cause’. [134] While debate has long raged whether and to whom such characteristics are made meaningful, Jischke was correct in stating that the significance of Jack Trice is about representation – the historical facts are not solely at issue in a study on memory. Instead, such studies consider the ways in which groups collectively use and understand ‘the presence of the past within the present’. [135]
Jack Trice Stadium is a ‘memory project’, a concept sociologist Iwona Irwin-Zarecka defines as ‘concerted efforts to secure presence for certain elements of the past, efforts often coupled with self-justifying rationales’. [136] Likewise, writes scholar Barry Schwartz, ‘While the object of commemoration is usually found in the past, the issue which motivates its selection and shaping is always found among the concerns of the present’. [137] Iowa State University appropriated the past for political and ideological reasons by inventing traditions and revising memories to suit contemporary situations. The decision to designate Jack Trice Stadium was made at a historical moment when the university’s commitment to racial diversity was under considerable fire, best evidenced by the turbulence concerning the dedication of Catt Hall. Ultimately, remembering Jack Trice in such a prominent way serves institutional narratives of racial tolerance and opportunity.

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**Notes**

[3] Nora, _Rethinking France_.
[4] Ibid. See also Bodnar, _Remaking America_; Hobsbawm and Ranger, _The Invention of Tradition_; Shils, _Tradition_.
Klein, ‘On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse’, 127. See also Kansteiner, ‘Finding Meaning in Memory’; Olick and Robbins, ‘Social Memory Studies’; Shakel, Myth, Memory and the Making of the American Landscape; Thelen, ‘Memory and American History’.

Confino, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural History’, 1386.


Wieting and Polumbaum, Sport and Memory in North America, 1.


Studies concerning sporting moments in collective memory include Cortese, ‘The Notre Dame Bengal Bouts’; Dauncy and Hare, ‘The Tour de France’; Fox, Big Leagues; Hardy, ‘Memory, Performance and History’; Phillips, ‘Public Sports History, History and Social Memory’; Phillips, ‘Remembering Sport History’; Rinehart, ‘“Fists Flew and Blood Flowed”’.


Osmond et al., ‘“Putting up your Dukes”’; Bélanger, ‘Sport Venues and the Spectacularization of Urban Spaces’; Donovan, ‘Nostalgia and Tourism’; Snyder, ‘Sociology of Nostalgia’; Radley, ‘Artefacts, Memory and a Sense of the Past’; Urry, ‘How Societies Remember the Past’; Zelizer, ‘Reading History against the Grain’.

Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance, 12.

Bodnar, Remaking America.

Hodgkin and Radstone, Contested Pasts, 11.


Data from the 2000 Census indicates Iowa’s population at 2,926,324, with 93.9 per cent of residents identified as white.

Originally called Iowa State College, the school changed to Iowa State University in 1959; however, I will refer to the institution as Iowa State University of Science and Technology (or ISU) for the sake of simplicity and consistency.

Underhill, Alone Among Friends, 6.

Tindall, America: A Narrative History, 694.

Quoted in Davis, ‘The Negro Land-Grant College’, 314. The act, however, did allow the establishment of separate colleges for white and African-American scholars. See also Ross, The Land-Grant Idea at Iowa State, 6; Richter, ‘The Origin and Development of the Land-Grant College’, 235.

George Bates to Hiram Township (Ohio) Historical Society, 16 Oct. 1956, Department of Special Collections, Parks Library, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa.

Hal Lebovitz, ‘Who was Jack Trice?’ The Plain Dealer, 3 June 1979.

Carver enrolled at Iowa State in 1891, completed his bachelor’s degree in 1894 and stayed until 1896, during which time he completed his master’s degree and served on the college faculty. See McMurry, George Washington Carver; Holt, George Washington Carver. For information on Iowa State see Ross, A History of Iowa State College; Ross, The Land-Grant Idea at Iowa State College; Underhill, Alone among Friends. For a history of football at the school see Steward, Cyclone Memories.

Behee, Hail To the Victors!; Edwards, The Revolt of the Black Athlete; Jenkins, ‘The Negro Student at the University of Iowa’.

‘Ames Player Dies; Injured on Gridiron’, Des Moines Register, 9 Oct. 1923.


‘Cyclones Play Opening Game with Minnesota’, Iowa State Student, 3 Oct. 1923.

Harry Schmidt, interview by Bill Walsh, transcript, 4 Dec. 1972, Department of Special Collections, Parks Library, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa.

Ashe, Hard Road to Glory, 94; Wiggins, ‘Prized Performers’, 169.

‘How about Jack Trice?’, Iowa State Daily, 10 May 1974.


Behee, Hail to the Victors!; Gems, For Pride, Profit, and Patriarchy; Henderson, ‘The Negro Athlete and Race Prejudice’; Oriard, King Football; Smith, ‘Outside the Pale’; Spivey, ‘“End Jim Crow in Sports”’.


Irwin-Zarecka, Frames of Remembrance, 18.

Jack Trice letter, 5 Oct. 1923, Trice Papers, Department of Special Collections, Parks Library, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa (hereafter Trice Papers).

‘Memories of Trice Don’t Fade’, Iowa State Daily, 8 Nov. 1976.

Cora Mae Trice to David Lendt, 3 Aug. 1988, Trice Papers.

Jack Trice letter, 5 Oct. 1923, Trice Papers.


Ibid.

In 1975 the Jack Trice Stadium Committee disbanded but the group was reformed in 1976 under the title of the Jack Trice Memorial Foundation.

See, for example, Gerry Forge, ‘“Jack Trice Stadium” Proposed by Students’, Iowa State Daily, 6 Feb. 1974.

Quoted in Smith, ‘Rusted Fading Plaque.’

Quoted in ‘How about Jack Trice?’
Quoted in ‘Want Field Named.’

Chuck Offenburger, ‘Name For ISU Stadium Something to Rave About’, Des Moines Register, 4 March 1978.


See, for example, Edna Y. Clinton, ‘Trice’s Life Not Enough?’ Iowa State Daily, 24 June 1976.


Zajec, ‘Billboard Touts “Trice”’.


Donald Kaul, ‘Jack Trice Field Dedication’, (Department of Special Collections, Parks Library, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa, 1984), sound recording 001 734.

Quoted in ‘Once upon a Time in Iowa’.


William Thompson, interview by Gary Stowe, transcript, 29 July 1974, Department of Special Collections, Parks Library, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa.

See, for example, ‘Jack Trice Dies from Injuries; Hurt Saturday’, Iowa State Student, 8 Oct. 1923; Albert S. Tousley, ‘His Last Game is Played’, Minnesota Daily, 9 Oct. 1923.


S.W. Beyer to John L. Griffith, 24 Oct. 1923, Trice Papers


““Trice Stadium” Would be “Suitable”, Ray Says”, n.d., Trice papers.

Marcello, ‘The Integration of Intercollegiate Athletics in Texas’; Pennington, Breaking the Ice.

Holloway Smith, an African American football player, competed for Iowa State in 1926 and 1927. Along with Iowa State, the Missouri Valley Intercollegiate Athletic Association, known as the ‘Big Six’, included the state universities of Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri and Oklahoma and the state college of Kansas. Colorado University was later added to make the Big Seven and the addition of Oklahoma State University created the Big Eight Conference. Ross, The Land-Grant Idea, 203. See also Martin, ‘The Color Line in Midwestern College Sports’, 100, 110; Oriard, King Football, 9. It was not until 1960 that every school in the conference fielded integrated teams.


Ibid.


Adam Gold interview.

Fowler, Carrie Catt; Van Voris, Carrie Chapman Catt.

For a timeline of the naming of Catt Hall, see ‘Synopsis of Naming Process by Laura Kline, University Archivist 1978–1994’ and ‘Chronology of the Naming Process of Catt Hall’,
Committee for Review of the Catt Controversy, Department of Special Collections, Parks Library, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa.


[91] Quoted in Loewen, Lies Across America, 41. The September 29th Movement summarized many of Catt’s writings, especially those containing prejudicial remarks, in September 29th Movement Papers, Department of Special Collections, Parks Library, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa. See also Cohen, ‘Nationalism and Suffrage’, 712; 721–2.


[95] See, for example, Van Voris, Carrie Chapman Catt, 201.

[96] Fowler, Carrie Catt, 83–90. See also Davis, Women, Race and Class, 122; Giddings, When and Where I Enter; Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics; Finnegan, Selling Suffrage; Graham, Woman Suffrage and the New Democracy; Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism.


[103] ‘News and Views: Catt Fight at Iowa State’, 73; Tom Emmerson interview.

[104] Quoted in Lukens, ‘Catt Hall Dispute is about More than the Building’.


[106] Ibid., 320.


[110] Adam Gold interview.


[114] See Sigelman and Welch, Black Americans’ Views of Racial Inequality.


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