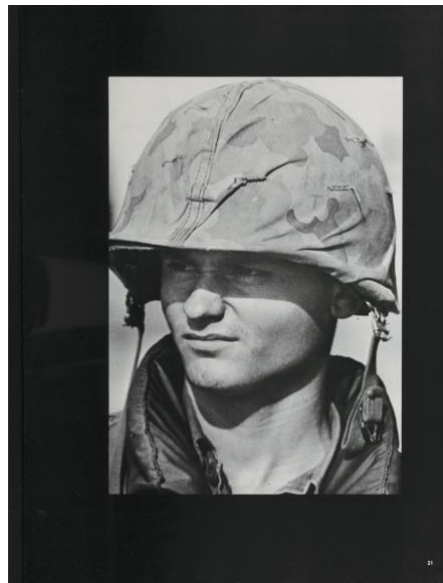


A Short Venture Into Protest:
Antiwar Protests at TCU, 1960–1973

Anthony Lucido

If one ordered a copy of *The Horned Frog*, the official Texas Christian University (TCU) yearbook, in 1973, they would receive a very different volume than previous iterations. While previous years had colorful covers to entrance viewers, 1973 had a stark black cover with an almost surreal photo of a staircase. While previous yearbooks contained large photographs of faculty accompanied by page-long dedications to their guidance and inspiration, Volume 69 began with an all-black dedication page contrasted by brief paragraphs of white lettering, "The most poignant memories of 1972-1973 are something we really would prefer to forget: revelations of the blunders that first involved American troops in Vietnam and the consequent errors that prolonged that involvement, making it the longest continuous conflict in this nation's history." It would then go on to dedicate this yearbook to the veterans who fought there and include a black-and-white photo of yet another young American GI.¹



(Figure 1.1: Dedication page of the 1973 *Horned Frog* containing a photo of an American soldier)

The placement of such a somber and critical dedication page is shocking, especially considering the school and region it originates from. Just a decade prior, the *Horned Frog* ran pages filled with anticommunist and Cold War rhetoric, and merely five years prior, the *Skiff*, TCU's student-run newspaper, printed prowar editorials and biased stories attacking campus peace protests. Interviews can be found in *Spunk*, a controversial TCU student magazine, of

¹ Texas Christian University, *Horned Frog* (Fort Worth, TX: 1973), 16-17, Texas Christian University Archives and Historical Collection, TCU Digital Repository.

Chancellor Moudy discussing the conservative and religious attitudes of the school.² Furthermore, it comes from a region firm in its conservatism, known for its support of the country and military, and notorious for its violent resistance to integration in the 1960s, especially in higher education: the South. Although Texas is on the edges of the Southeast with its own unique traditions, the Lone Star State shared many of the same socio-political leanings at the time, especially Fort Worth, where TCU is located. Finding antiwar sentiments and activity here is surprising. In fact, an April 1971 *Skiff* article recalls the controversy regarding the newly installed Frog Fountain. Students protested against the powers donors had over university decisions and the use of school funds for decorative projects rather than needed scholarships. The *Skiff* jokingly called the dispute "TCU's short venture into protest."³

Traditional studies into the 1960s student movement mainly focus on larger, well-known events at northern and western colleges like Berkeley and Columbia, creating an inaccurate assumption that southern schools lacked liberal activity and only protested against civil rights and integration. Only recently have scholars discovered a southern student movement that fought against the war and racism and often faced more opposing forces unique to their region than activists in other parts of the nation. However, these historians mainly focus on civil rights and campus reform in the Deep and Upper South, citing the same case studies, and the peace movement on the fringes of the South is often ignored. Therefore, analyzing the unique strategies and struggles of the antiwar movement on a conservative, Christian campus on the edges of the South like TCU can provide a fuller view of the movement and show how American colleges and public opinion changed overtime.

TCU never saw mass marches, sit-ins, or violent uprisings that grounded classes to a halt. Most serious protest efforts struggled to get off the ground due to a lack of support from the prowar student body, which slumped in political apathy for years. But a few passionate organizers opposed foreign policies with unique tactics that stressed moderation, adapted for a southern audience, and contrasted with the rest of the nation. And although they never received a general acceptance and were opposed by their fellow students and administration, they changed TCU's opinion of the war, contributing to an overall social liberalization and growing political awareness on campus.

² *Spunk* ["alternative press" zine, student opinion publication], 1969-1970, drawer 13, RU 13, TCU Vertical Files, 1869-2007 (inclusive), 1950-1990 (bulk), Archives and Special Collections, Mary Coats Burnett Library, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, TX (hereafter cited as *Spunk*, TCU Vertical Files).

³ Janie Lilies, "Fountain Conflict Revisited For Those Who Forgot," *Skiff*, April 16, 1971, 3, TCU Digital Repository.

POLITICAL APATHY IN AMERICAN COLLEGES, 1950S TO MID-1960S

Prior to the 1960s, American college students gained a reputation for being politically apathetic and more concerned with classes, school events, sports, and parties. This was due to many developments throughout the 1950s that encouraged conformity and stifled dissent. McCarthy Era anticommunism forced unity within academic thought as authorities purged subversive ideologies, especially in colleges where these beliefs proliferated. Professors were often targets and had to silence themselves, and even after the Red Scare subsided, it left a culture of self-censorship and uniformity. This development was multiplied in the South by its strong anticommunist and anti-integrationist sentiments with historian Jeffery A. Turner saying, "The connections between the Cold War and resistance to integration combined substantially to mute cultural rebellion and political dissent, probably to a greater degree than in the rest of the nation."⁴

The South's historical responses to foreign events shaped their views of the Vietnam War as they saw the conflict through a distinctly regional lens. Southerners' ideals of chivalry, honor, and a warrior's ethic made them more receptive to military service and nationalism. Their evangelical form of Protestantism, with its moralistic views of the world and aversion to social issues, caused them to perceive the Cold War as a holy fight against atheistic communism while muting domestic dissent. And various events like western and then global expansion, the Civil War and slavery, Wilson's Fourteen Points, and the growing defense spending in the South conditioned Southerners to endorse an aggressive foreign policy that benefited them economically. Therefore, by the time of the Vietnam War, the South was ready to support a forceful military intervention in a foreign country and total victory.⁵

Furthermore, general cultural trends of the 1950s inspired apathy that would eventually lead to feelings of unrest. There was a growing sense of conformity and superficiality in American culture as the economy expanded into mass production and consumerism. These factors, combined with a Baby Boom that caused a massive youth population to come of age in the next decade, spread feelings of restlessness and rebellion that would explode with the counterculture. All that was needed to end this apathy was a spark to unite students: the civil rights movement. By seeing African Americans struggle for equality, students around the country were inspired to fight the injustices they saw on campus. The youth-centered civil rights

⁴ Jeffery A. Turner, *Sitting In and Speaking Out: Student Movements in the American South, 1960-1970* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 14-23, ProQuest.

⁵ Joseph A. Fry, *The American South and the Vietnam War: Belligerence, Protest, and Agony in Dixie* (University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 21-49, Jstor.

group, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was an integral part of this development. Historian Wesley Hogan correctly cites this organization as the inspiration of the New Left and student movement for teaching Southern protest tactics and inspiring a culture of debate, activism, and participatory democracy in colleges.⁶ And all of these political, regional, and cultural developments trickled down to TCU.

The 1960 yearbook has no mentions of politics or any larger national or international events. At the time, students focused on the trivialities of college life. The activities section is filled with traditional TCU events, like Pledge Week, Howdy Week, Parents Day, and Homecoming. Numerous school events were documented, like football games, beauty contests, dances, and pep rallies with texts that contained jokes about girls, final exams, and the stresses of college life. Some of the only people of color depicted are cooks in the cafeteria kitchen and musician Ray Sharp who visited.⁷ A strong military presence is portrayed with a large section dedicated to the ROTC, individual units, and people, including the all-female Corp-dettes. In the fall, cadets visited Camp Wolters for "practice problem," where they implemented classroom lessons in real-life procedures and training.⁸ This is hardly a campus that would house protests criticizing America.



(Figure 1.2: members of Alpha Delta Pi sorority dressed in blackface for a Rush Week party)

⁶ Wesley Hogan, "Freedom Now! SNCC Galvanizes the New Left" in *Rebellion in Black and White: Southern Student Activism in the 1960s*, eds. Robert Cohen and David J. Snyder (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013), 48-57.

⁷ Texas Christian University, *Horned Frog* (Fort Worth, TX: 1960), 44-93, Texas Christian University Archives and Historical Collection, TCU Digital Repository.

⁸ *Horned Frog*, 1960, 209-229.

A year later, the *Skiff* would print a letter by international affairs major Dave Beals, who criticized his fellow students' apathetic response to a scandal involving student election fraud. He accepts that student elections have little to no effect on politics, like the then ongoing "Red invasion of South Vietnam that may soon have thousands of us dying just as 54,246 died in Korea," but connects this apathy to a larger issue. "Our uninformed, uninterested condition is causing national suicide," he warns before demanding greater intellectual challenges for students. The *Skiff* concurred, warning that political dishonesty and aloofness in college will cause real corruption and passivity in civic life.⁹

Merely two years after this editorial was printed, the 1963 yearbook dramatically shifted, adopting a newsprint aesthetic covered in dramatic headlines of world events. This generation of students were acutely aware of current issues and the role universities play in preparing them for the scary, new world of the atom bomb. The editors proclaim that major events "spark awareness and dissipate apathy."¹⁰ This sudden shift can be attributed to the dramatic events that occurred around this time as students were reacting to the Cuban Missile Crisis in the fall and the growing civil rights movement.

However, this political awakening was uniformly anticommunist and pro-civil rights. When identifying the problems that plague them, the editors list "trouble in Cuba and Red China and in the United Nations. . . communists infiltrate steadily. . . each week endangering us more completely."¹¹ There is even a personality page depicting Floridian student Helen "Spirit" Motion. The yearbook explains that she was born in Havana, Cuba, was forced to flee due to Castro's regime, and now holds a bitter resentment towards communism. Photographs show her taking "out her emotions" by pretending to spar with a man dressed up as Castro and her with a helmet and rifle accompanied by snide remarks like "Wonder if I could get Castro?" and "Those nasty Cubans!"¹² Interestingly, TCU students show strong support for the integration of southern colleges. They almost seem to brag about their inclusivity, integrated registrations, and lecture by black comedian Dick Gregory and contrast themselves with the violent racism of Deep South colleges like Ole Miss.¹³ All of these articles show a growing political alertness among TCU students but strictly along the lines of moderate liberal thought.

⁹ Editorially Speaking, "Student Urges Deep Concern," *Skiff*, November 3, 1961, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

¹⁰ Texas Christian University, *Horned Frog* (Fort Worth, TX: 1963), 6, Texas Christian University Archives and Historical Collection, TCU Digital Repository.

¹¹ *Horned Frog*, 1963, 6.

¹² *Horned Frog*, 1963, 52.

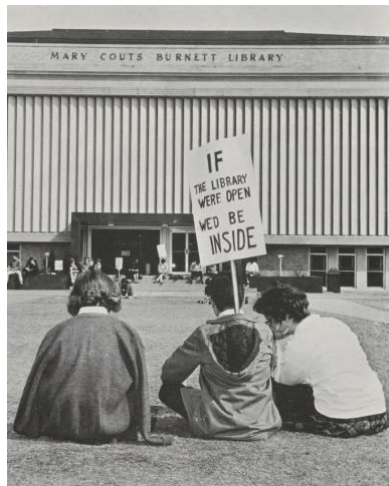
¹³ *Horned Frog*, 1963, 55; 60-61.



(Figure 1.3: Helen "Spirit" Motion with a helmet and rifle in the yearbook)

There were no major protests or political activity during the school year either. Students were more aware of politics but not directly involved. The only protest that did occur on campus was a "Sit Out" in February, where students opposed the library closure on Sundays by sitting in front of the building and studying with signs like "If the library was open, we'd be inside."¹⁴ This can be interpreted in a number of ways, including that TCU students were more concerned with trivial campus rules than national affairs. Another interpretation is that this is the small beginning of a student movement. The TCU Sit Out directly referred to and utilized civil rights tactics (sit-ins, direct confrontations, and picketing) to a very minor degree in order to effect change. They were well aware of these tactics and the strategies of protest by learning from the civil rights movement. The administration would eventually give in, opening the library on Sundays and teaching the student body that they could get what they wanted through protest.

¹⁴ *Horned Frog*, 1963, 66-69.



(Figure 1.4: Three students protest library policy in a "Sit Out")

But despite this bold yearbook aesthetic, this political consciousness would not last. The 1965 yearbook returns to the previous state of indifference with no articles about current events or political activities. It even dropped the anticommunist, pro-civil rights angle of the previous volume.¹⁵ This is ironic as the 1964-1965 semesters were a watershed year for the student movement, the New Left, and the Vietnam War. The Summer of 1964 saw white, northern students volunteer in the SNCC Freedom Summer and return for fall classes with new protest philosophies. These experiences then inspired calls for campus reform like the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. American involvement in Vietnam escalated with the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, Operation Rolling Thunder, and the landing of the first American ground troops in February of 1965 followed by the Teach-in Movement. This yearbook further proves that the 1962-1963 TCU political awakenings were temporary and in response to dramatic events. It would take more shocking headlines to fully mobilize the student body out of their indifference.

GROWING POLITICAL AWARENESS AND CONCERN, 1967

By the mid-1960s, political causes were radicalizing, the counterculture finally reached the South, awareness of the war spread to all sectors of society, and antiwar protests increased alongside military escalation, especially as the draft began to affect college students. Americans began to question the war's lack of a specific goal, its unconventional methods, and the foreign land it was fought in, and these questions would form the basis of protests that drew the ire of

¹⁵ Texas Christian University, *Horned Frog* (Fort Worth, TX: 1965), 16-99, Texas Christian University Archives and Historical Collection, TCU Digital Repository.

prowar authorities. While TCU avoided overt forms of censorship, the administration was apprehensive about these growing developments.

In February 1967, a request by the Fort Worth chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) to have an open discussion on campus was rejected on the grounds that TCU lacked enough facilities. Afterwards, Dean of Students, Howard Wilbe, wrote to Chancellor Moudy to "acquaint you [Moudy] with the fact that it looks as if we may have a SDS. . . group on our campus before long. . . they are making overtures to be recognized." Wilbe admits that SDS has a right to organize at TCU but expresses "apprehension about their tactics," including disruptive sit-ins. He suggests an addition to the General Information Bulletin banning unlawful, violent assemblies that disturb academics and the peace. He even included a biased article describing SDS and the Port Huron Statement, SDS's official mission statement, as the "New Radicals" with a note that says, "In light of the request of SDS sent to Mrs. Proffer [the Director of Student Activities]—I thought this article may be helpful."¹⁶ Unlike many other southern institutions, the TCU administration would tolerate, sometimes even promote, antiwar organizations and discussions on their campus but strictly drew the line when they perceived a threat to the university's image. Therefore, most prowar backlash came from fellow students. SDS would never establish a chapter at TCU.

Throughout the rest of the 1967 school year, there was a growing discussion both for and against the war in Vietnam. Army officers and ROTC professors spoke out in favor of Johnson's policies, defended his controversial tactics, and formed a counter-guerilla unit, whose motto was "Swift, Silent, and Deadly," to teach cadets how to fight against insurgencies.¹⁷ Prowar editorials filled the *Skiff*, including one by Judy Gay that described the October 21st Pentagon Protests and draft resistance as hypocritical youth trends with no higher belief in their causes. She argues that these demonstrations only strengthen the communists and "as long as American soldiers are fighting and dying, the least the populace can do is support them."¹⁸ Eileen O'Donohoe, expressing southern Protestantism's refrain from social issues, warns against the increasing political activism of American clergy or "the cause of revolution that may cut through the whole American society," who have no right to speak on issues of race or war. She, almost naively,

¹⁶ Student Life, Dean of Students Wilbe, 1964-1967, RU 16, box 14, folder 161a, Records of James M. Moudy, 1948-1980 (inclusive), 1965-1979 (bulk), Archives and Special Collections, Mary Couets Burnett Library, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, TX.

¹⁷ "Third Time Around: Sgt. Petty Due Vietnam Tour," *Skiff*, May 2, 1967, 3, TCU Digital Repository, "Pacification is Part of War," *Skiff*, December 1, 1967, 5, TCU Digital Repository, and Paul Green, "New Unit's Motto: Swift-Silent-Deadly," *Skiff*, December 19, 1967, 2, TCU Digital Repository.

¹⁸ Judy Gay, "Violence Only Begets More Violence," *Skiff*, October 31, 1967, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

states that only knowledgeable people should be allowed to speak, and "the President knows and understands more about Vietnam than anyone in the world, including all the clergymen."¹⁹

However, there were voices of dissent ranging from leftist to moderate ideas. Student Mason Dixon wrote to the *Skiff* attempting to disprove Judy Gay's editorial with leftist ideals, calling the conflict an "imperialist war," demanding a return of the GIs home, and equating the draft with involuntary servitude in violation of the 13th Amendment. A patronizing Editor's Note by the *Skiff* followed, saying that their act of printing this critical letter is a sign of their journalistic integrity towards opposing ideas no matter how "strange."²⁰ Speaker events on- and off-campus also espoused de-escalation, like Columbia professor Roger Hilsman and TCU Philosophy Department Chairman Gustave Ferre who attracted crowds of up to 360 people. Meanwhile, TCU history professor Frank Reuter explained the historical context of the conflict. Each differed on their views, with Hilsman and Reuter being more moderate, opposed to peace protests, and optimistic towards progress than Ferre.²¹

In December, the first campus antiwar group, Students for Peace (SFP), formed and was unanimously approved by the Student Organization Committee. Chairman of the committee, Dr. Ben Strickland, told reporters that SFP was "an avenue whereby students could express their feelings pro and con on the controversies of our time" and "a healthy means of expressing opinion." However, SFP President Neil Poese acknowledged some "natural misgivings" over his organization "because peace groups on other campuses have caused trouble at times."²² The administration encouraged the growing political debate, but the majority of the school, including SFP, generally mistrusted peace organizations.

SFP's proposed tactics were mild, stressing education of the community through teach-ins, debates, literature, and draft counseling with an opposing education booth next to the ROTC in the student center.²³ These strategies were common in the South. For in order to appeal to a prowar audience, southern organizers stressed moderation and nonviolence in contrast to their perceived radical, northern counterparts. Most efforts in the South revolved around confrontational education and spreading awareness, not civil disobedience or mass

¹⁹ Eileen O'Donohoe, "Politics Not Realm of Religion," *Skiff*, December 19, 1967, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

²⁰ "Mail Runneth Over," *Skiff*, November 3, 1967, 5, TCU Digital Repository.

²¹ Robert G. Liming, "De-escalation of War Favored by Speaker," *Skiff*, November 7, 1967, 1-2, TCU Digital Repository, Robert G. Liming, "Peace Organization Hears Dr. Ferre Denounce Vietnam War Escalation," *Skiff*, October 31, 1967, 4, TCU Digital Repository, and Robert G. Liming, "Historical Setting of Vietnam Noted," *Skiff*, December 8, 1967, 1, TCU Digital Repository.

²² Kathi Clough, "Students For Peace Approved at TCU," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, December 8, 1967, 8, Readex.

²³ Robert G. Liming, "Bombing End Club Goal," *Skiff*, December 1, 1967, 1, TCU Digital Repository.

demonstrations. Furthermore, like many college peace organizations, they protested by engaging their college community and attacking symbols and connections to the war on campus. Common targets included the military-industrial complex, college ties to the war effort and research, the draft, and ROTC, all institutions within students' grasp.²⁴

All these discussions about the war show a growing concern in international affairs among students, with most in favor yet a vocal minority in opposition. TCU students, like the rest of America, were confused by this unconventional war in a foreign land and the increasing casualty amounts. The formation of SFP, the numerous speaker events, and the audiences they amassed reflect awareness towards the war and a desire to know more, a trend that will explode with the Tet Offensive in the following semester.

RESPONSES TO THE TET OFFENSIVE, SPRING 1968

On February 9th, 1968, the biggest headline on the front page of the *Skiff* was "Communist Threat Minimized by Prof." Its author, Robert G. Liming, summarized an SFP-sponsored debate between antiwar professor Dr. Ferre (who had previously voiced his criticisms of the war and was one of SFP's faculty advisers) and prowar government professor Dr. Spain that attracted three hundred people to the student center. Liming shows a clear bias for Spain as he spends more time and detail on his prowar arguments while oversimplifying Ferre's, uses charged language and specially chosen quotes, and ultimately accuses Ferre of not taking the communist threat seriously. Even the photos are accompanied by opinionated captions: "Dr. Gustave A. Ferre Scoffs at Red threat" and "Dr. August O. Spain Backs LBJ on Vietnam."²⁵ In the editorial section, an article repeats the same prowar arguments from the military in response to the Tet Offensive: it was shocking and costly but an ultimate defeat for the enemy; therefore, withdrawal is unacceptable. It even goes as far as to rationalize the refugee crisis by saying, "looking at it coldly—better Saigon than San Francisco," implying that it is better to fight communism abroad than at home and asserting that the communists' "ultimate objectives will never change until they are either successful or are destroyed."²⁶

²⁴ Turner, *Sitting in and Speaking Out*, 227-228 and Fry, *The American South and the Vietnam War*, 299-303.

²⁵ Robert G. Liming, "Communist Threat Minimized by Prof," *Skiff*, February 9, 1968, 1, TCU Digital Repository.

²⁶ "VN Pull-Out No Solution to Situation," *Skiff*, February 9, 1968, 4, TCU Digital Repository.



(Figure 1.5: Professors Gustave A. Ferre (right) and August O. Spain (left) argue over Vietnam at an SFP-sponsored debate)

These articles came eleven days after the Tet Offensive launched and represent the effects of this seminal moment. The large-scale, coordinated surprise attacks by the National Liberation Front broke America's will to fight as it exposed the president's claims of progress to be false with constant news coverage of shocking violence and warfare. The offensive finally awoke the TCU student body out of its lethargy, but also ignited a firestorm of controversy. The *Skiff* would come under heavy scrutiny for its unabashedly prowar views, and SFP would attempt to navigate this highly divisive environment.

Responses to the Ferre-Spain debate were immediate. A February 13th editorial titled "'Local' Red Threat?" sarcastically begins with, "Now that Dr. Ferre has disposed of the Communist threat, maybe we can all relax and devote our energies to other areas--- like dismantling our armed forces and waiting for the end." The article continues in this mocking vein and even dismisses accusations of American war crimes, "Innocent people die in all wars. It is one of the hazards of war. We have killed a large number of Vietnamese civilians--- unintentionally. The Viet Cong have killed an infinitely larger number through cold, pre-planned precision."²⁷ A week later, the *Skiff* would print three letters they received from a professor and two students, criticizing them for their coverage of the Ferre-Spain debate. Their common attacks called the newspaper biased, extreme, illogical, and emotional, and the *Skiff* dismissed

²⁷ "'Local' Red Threat?," *Skiff*, February 13, 1968, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

each with comedic insults.²⁸ The controversy continued to grow with more angry letters, and even rival, underground publications popped up to denounce the *Skiff*.²⁹ But the newspaper refused to back down and only reinforced its opinions with articles like "Our Answers: World Threat Still Imminent" and "Bright Side Aired in Draft Revamp" which continued its comical tone and defense of the war.³⁰ Some protestors even called for the censure or perjury of reporters Robert G. Liming and Judy Gay (who wrote the Ferre-Spain article and the editorial on the Pentagon Protests, respectively). The *Skiff* responded by announcing that Liming and Gay had already left of their own accord and called them "two of the more liberal writers on the Skiff staff" (although Liming's name would continue to appear as the author of various articles).³¹ The Ferre-Spain controversy polarized the school and brought the war to the forefront of student conversation and their beliefs into the open.

Former ABC Reporter and Vietnam War critic David Shoeburn delivered a lecture around this time where he advocated de-escalation and sympathy for the North Vietnamese, and he received a standing ovation followed by a positive *Skiff* article. However, he was heckled during the Q&A section by an unknown man that accused him of being a communist.³² In an effort to counterbalance these opinions, the Forums Committee organized a lecture by Dr. Reuter to show the war hawk side.³³ Shoeburn's warm reception was most likely due to his reputation as a foreign policy expert. Other speakers and students with similar views would not receive the same treatment.

SFP continued its strategies throughout the semester, holding many events. They supported a local group that backed antiwar presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy, hosted faculty and student debates, and threw a dinner party to raise charity donations for Vietnamese civilians.³⁴ One of the most polarizing demonstrations they held was a petition submitted to the Student House of Representatives in March to remove a display in the student center depicting armaments and rifles and demanding a formal apology from those responsible.³⁵ An official

²⁸ Editor's Mail, "Skiff Roasted on Own Griddle," *Skiff*, February 20, 1968, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

²⁹ Texas Christian University, *Horned Frog* (Fort Worth, TX: 1968), 91, Texas Christian University Archives and Historical Collection, TCU Digital Repository.

³⁰ Our Answers, "World Threat Still Imminent," *Skiff*, February 23, 1968, 4, TCU Digital Repository and Phinas Pointer, "Bright Side Aired in Draft Revamp," *Skiff*, February 23, 1968, 5, TCU Digital Repository.

³¹ Robert J. Beard, "'Cloister' Rebuked," *Skiff*, February 23, 1968, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

³² Carol Buford, "Barbs, Ovation Greets Journalist," *Skiff*, March 1, 1968, 1, TCU Digital Repository.

³³ *Horned Frog*, 1968, 92.

³⁴ Robert G. Liming, "McCarthy Group Formed," *Skiff*, March 5, 1968, 1, TCU Digital Repository and Dennis Trott, "Hawk Replays Viet History As Dove Eyes 'Hopeless Cause,'" *Skiff*, April 2, 1968, 2, TCU Digital Repository.

³⁵ Johnny Norman, "Student Group Protests Army Armament Display," *Skiff*, March 22, 1968, 9, TCU Digital Repository.

protest document issued by SFP demands the removal of all firearms in public art and décor as these weapons endorse war and are incompatible with higher education's mission to "enrich and preserve life."³⁶ Once again, SFP, like other student peace organizations, attacked the symbolic images and connections to the war on campus with moralistic arguments. The proposal was ultimately rejected, but their petition ignited backlash from moderates and prowar students alike as SFP explicitly claimed to represent the student body with only 112 signatures.³⁷

The *Skiff* replied first, portraying the action in condescending terms. Columnist Johnny Norman described a "brown, bushy, bearded student, Charles Easton," petitioning the House with a "prepared statement which required a dictionary to interpret" and false claims of representing the Student Body, "Easton's 'student body' consisted of 112 signatures."³⁸ And four days later, Managing Editor Paula Watson would pen an opinion piece criticizing the group from a moderate standpoint. She tolerates and even commends the growing political interest but denounces extremism on both sides. She calls SFP "non-militant radicals" and jokes about their demands, but her main issue was the fact that they "took it upon themselves to speak for the student body--- all 6,078--- after being able to collect only 112 signatures."³⁹ Her contemporaries in the "Editor's Mail" section were not so kind. Two students, including Johnny Norman, lambasted SFP, the Black Power movement, and the New Left, calling them close-minded, deranged, mob-like, hypocrites, and fascists.⁴⁰ The *Skiff* received angry letters like these for weeks, and its editors would show clear favoritism for these arguments.

However, others spoke out in defense of SFP, some in agreement with its views and some on the grounds of journalistic integrity. The March 29th "Editor's Mail" printed three letters: one in opposition to SFP and two in favor. The latter attacked the *Skiff's* biased reporting styles and agreed with SFP's arguments, but the *Skiff* defended their reports by claiming that SFP had gone too far with their protest and "forfeited their right to objective treatment."⁴¹ That last statement would only add fuel to the growing fire as angry letters on both sides of the argument followed and the *Skiff* firmly stood by their beliefs until April 5th when two prowar students and SFP wrote in. The two prowar students criticized both SFP and the *Skiff*, clearly expressing their war

³⁶ Student Protest Document, March 1968, RU 32, TCU Vertical Files, 1869-2007 (inclusive), 1950-1990 (bulk), TCU Digital Repository, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, TX, TCU Digital Repository.

³⁷ Norman, "Student Group Protests Army Armament Display," 9.

³⁸ Norman, "Student Group Protests Army Armament Display," 9.

³⁹ Paula Watson, "Involvement Theme Of Divergent Groups," *Skiff*, March 26, 1968, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

⁴⁰ Editor's Mail, "'Peace Group' Gets Criticized," *Skiff*, March 26, 1968, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

⁴¹ Editor's Mail, "Reporting Called Unobjective Concerning Peacenik Protest," *Skiff*, March 29, 1968, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

hawk views yet disagreeing with *Skiff's* journalism. Finally, SFP would respond by clarifying its position:

Let us be clear. We are not opposed to defensive military apparatus to be used in the national interest; we are opposed to the use of weapons in a conflict which is essential in contradiction to our national interest. The displayed weapons represent aggression by the United States in Vietnam, and not defense against aggression on the U.S.

...

The display should not have been located in a public hallway but rather in a room where interested students could have viewed it.

Their iconoclastic attacks attempt to effect change within their college community while being relatively lower-risk compared to more confrontational strategies. Their need to clarify and defend their position signifies attempts to appeal to a Southern audience. While SFP opposed the war and even stood by their beliefs amongst harsh backlash, they drew the line at radicalism and distanced themselves from controversial groups.

The backlash seemed to finally affect the *Skiff* as their editors had no witty replies to these letters. The title for this "Editor's Mail" edition is also telling—while previous iterations in the heat of controversy dismissed their critics, this issue was simply titled "Readers Charge Paper With Objectivity Loss."⁴² The controversy eventually died down but some readers would suspect the *Skiff* of bias and representing the views of the old generation, the administration, and the trustees for years.

SFP would continue their moderate protests but never have the same impact. Fall semester began optimistically, with forty people joining the organization in one night. In an interview with the *Skiff*, officers Phil Miller and John Checki discuss the initial difficulties of their group in a conservative, southern setting. They also mention SDS, which they describe as "more left wing" and seems to "sometimes go over the deep end." Miller reassures readers that "we don't blindly support student leftist movements."⁴³ This initial optimism was short-lived; however, they struggled to conduct protests and garner attention to their cause. In March 1969, they met with Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs James Newcomer to propose removing academic credit for ROTC programs, a common trend and antiwar strategy at the time, utilizing

⁴² Editor's Mail, "Readers Charge Paper With Objectivity Loss," *Skiff*, April 5, 1968, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

⁴³ James Gordon, "Movement Gaining Supporters," *Skiff*, October 1, 1968, 3, TCU Digital Repository.

similar arguments for the armaments display.⁴⁴ The proposal failed in both its rejection and inability to spread awareness or spark debate—there were no major controversy or follow-up articles afterward except for a few ROTC officers speaking in favor of the program and against general antimilitary sentiments.⁴⁵ SFP continued operation for years but could never muster the same strength or media attention. Other protest groups rose in their place, like a chapter of Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the TCU Peace Organization, who had similar modest demonstrations of education and symbolic protest, but they too failed to make front-page news.

By the end of the 1968 school year, TCU seemed to have finally become involved in the greater national debate due to the Tet Offensive. TCU could no longer be indifferent as the costs, casualties, and their government's dishonesty became abundantly clear. The yearbook called it "A Year of Awakening," and its opening pages delineated a consensus "that TCU students were becoming more involved in University, community, and world-wide issues." Among the various controversies it mentions, it includes SFP, who "stirred Vietnam controversy without resorting to sit-ins, draft card burnings, or building take overs."⁴⁶ However, although TCU students were more aware of world events and the war, most were not directly involved and active or "resorting to sit-ins, draft card burnings, or building take overs." Only a small minority were antiwar and joined groups like SFP, while the majority still favored the war and disapproved of protests. By the end of the 1968 school year, a lot of things had changed, but many stayed the same.

GROWING ANTIWAR SENTIMENTS, SPRING 1969 TO SPRING 1970

On February 28th, 1969, just a year after the Tet Offensive, *Skiff* reporter Bob Buckman wrote of the dragging conflict in Vietnam and hopes for a gradual U.S. withdrawal. He cites optimistic signs of a stable Saigon government and South Vietnamese military victories as leading to an eventual peace. Then a week later, responding to hate mail he had received for another editorial, Buckman would call SDS "a conglomeration of narrow, paranoid minds who are hell-bent for anarchy, not for a 'democratic society.'"⁴⁷ What could account for this sudden antiwar view mixed with extreme condemnation of the left?

⁴⁴ James Gordon, "ROTC Credit: Peace Group Query Target," *Skiff*, March 11, 1969, 1, TCU Digital Repository.

⁴⁵ Bob Buckman, "Yale ROTC Rule Widely Debated," *Skiff*, March 11, 1969, 5, TCU Digital Repository.

⁴⁶ Texas Christian University, *Horned Frog* (Fort Worth, TX: 1968), 13, Texas Christian University Archives and Historical Collection, TCU Digital Repository.

⁴⁷ Bob Buckman, "Trends Are Optimistic in Vietnam War Effort," *Skiff*, February 28, 1969, 4, TCU Digital Repository and Editor's Mail, "Buckman Gets in One Last Lick," *Skiff*, March 7, 1969, 3, TCU Digital Repository.

After the events of the previous year, antiwar ideas became more appealing as a battle-weary public desired an end to the war. Newly elected President Nixon promised a "Peace with Honor" and a withdrawal of American troops by applying continual pressure on North Vietnam, leaving the conflict in the hands of the South Vietnamese, and suppressing leftist movements at home. And many supported Nixon's strategy, but to others, this was not enough. There was a growing social liberalization on the TCU campus as the counterculture infected all modes of student life, and antiwar views became widespread. The *Skiff* would receive a new generation of liberal-minded students, more radical voices were heard and suppressed by the administration, and two events triggered the biggest protests of the war that disrupted campuses throughout the country: the Vietnam Moratorium and the Kent State Massacre.

First, the general student body, along with the traditionally prowar *Skiff*, became more antiwar in response to the nationwide Vietnam Moratorium. The Moratorium was designed to be a grassroots movement, engaging people on an individual community level and combined with large-scale demonstrations. All normal social functions were to halt in order to take part in protests, and each month, starting in October, these demonstrations would grow and apply continual pressure until the end of the war. Colleges would do their part by organizing educational events for their campus and surrounding communities. TCU's chapter of the Vietnam Moratorium disagreed with Nixon's withdrawal and draft reform policies, calling them slow and inefficient. In their eyes, the only way to quickly end the war was a complete end to the draft, a ceasefire, and an immediate withdrawal. One committee member, Ted Coonfield, said, "We want to make the students aware through education not by demonstrations."⁴⁸ Planned events stretched from Monday, October 13th to the 16th and included a panel discussion about the war's effects on higher education, film screenings, a symposium, and a Requiem Service followed by a reading of the names of the dead in front of the Student Center. Finally, on Thursday, black armbands were to be worn in an act of protest and solidarity with the troops.⁴⁹

In response, the *Skiff* uncharacteristically praised the Moratorium and opposed Nixon's policies. Reporter Ken Bunting applauded the effort for "in an age when violent, noisy, protest seems to be the in-thing, it is a refreshing change to see a massive protest held in such a solemn manner." He interprets these events as a political awakening that will "force individuals to confront an ugly reality. We [the *Skiff*] applaud the efforts and wish them success."⁵⁰ Even

⁴⁸ Bobby Clanton, "Viet Day Planned," *Skiff*, September 26, 1970, 3, TCU Digital Repository and Johnny Livengood, "Vietnam Moratorium To Be Educational," *Skiff*, October 7, 1969, 1, TCU Digital Repository.

⁴⁹ Vietnam Moratorium Pamphlet, October 1969, RU 32, TCU Vertical Files, 1869-2007 (inclusive), 1950-1990 (bulk), TCU Digital Repository, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, TX, TCU Digital Repository.

⁵⁰ Ken Bunting, "Moratorium Tactfully Planned," *Skiff*, October 7, 1969, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

members of the Moratorium Committee were surprised by the widespread support they received. The administration accepted their decisions, and professors were allowed and encouraged to suspend classes in order to take part in the activities, an extension of the Moratorium's halt to normal functions. The entirety of Brite Divinity School voted to suspend classes, and multiple leading campus figures participated in the protest. However, committee members still felt the need to clarify their position, promising that "things will be more radical at Berkely than at TCU."⁵¹

There was opposition in the form of conservative Nixon supporters. The aforementioned Bob Buckman, who graduated by this point, returned to the *Skiff* for a guest editorial, criticizing the Moratorium as idealist and naïve. According to him, Nixon is already pursuing peace with a united front against communism in the Paris Peace Talks, and these massive protests only serve to divide this front and present America as fractured. Buckman's viewpoint, however, is counterbalanced by an Editor's Note describing Buckman as a former *Skiff* writer "whose many articles defending the war in Vietnam earned the most 'hate mail' of any Skiff writer last year," effectively distancing themselves from him.⁵² And these critiques are further outweighed by the multiple editorials supporting the Moratorium and defending it against critics like Vice President Spiro Agnew, the local news, and other pro-Nixon elements.⁵³ By this point, the once radical and hated views of SFP had reached a general audience due to the war's undeniable length and cost.

⁵¹ Joe Kennedy, "Nationwide Support Masses For Moratorium," *Skiff*, October 14, 1969, 1, TCU Digital Repository.

⁵² As I See It . . . , "Moratorium Protest to Hurt?," *Skiff*, October 14, 1969, 3, TCU Digital Repository.

⁵³ Editorial, "War, Not Moratorium, Absurd," *Skiff*, October 14, 1969, 4, TCU Digital Repository, "The War Goes On: American Lamps Are Flickering," *Skiff*, October 14, 1969, 4, TCU Digital Repository, and Shirley Farrell, "Moratorium Questions More Than One Right," *Skiff*, October 14, 1969, 4, TCU Digital Repository.



(Figures 1.6 and 1.7: clipping from the *Skiff* depicting photos of the TCU Vietnam Moratorium and the front page of the November 14th, 1969 *Skiff*)

The Moratorium eventually went off without a hitch and proved extremely successful at engaging the once-apathetic students. In a *Skiff* interview, committee members Keith Miller and Ted Coonfield expressed their satisfaction with the results, widespread support, and massive participation they garnered.⁵⁴ The only problem was that this was not sustainable. The Moratorium could not keep the monthly escalation it called for and led to a conservative backlash. Despite high results, doubt and suspicion crept in as the committee prepared for the upcoming November Moratorium. An October 21st *Skiff* article continues its praise but asks serious questions about the future, like how it will escalate from the already large turnout in October and whether it will descend into extremism.⁵⁵ And when the November Moratorium approached, the *Skiff* expressed more doubt. In a column titled "Where Do We Go From Here," they make their support for peace and disapproval of Nixon clear but confess that escalation is impossible, Nixon won back supporters, and the Moratorium may be losing interest.⁵⁶ The editorial section contains two letters by Nixon supporters, criticizing the *Skiff* for being leftist radicals, not representing the full view of the student body, and disrespecting the president and

⁵⁴ "Moratorium Pleases Organizers," *Skiff*, October 21, 1969, 3, TCU Digital Repository.

⁵⁵ Editorial, "Future Protests Raises Questions," *Skiff*, October 21, 1969, 3, TCU Digital Repository.

⁵⁶ Editorial, "Where Do We Go From Here," *Skiff*, November 14, 1969, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

American ideals. These pro-Nixon students concede that the war was a mistake but assert that Nixon is actively working towards peace.⁵⁷ Nobody wanted to continue the war, but everyone disagreed on how to end it.

When the November Moratorium came, opposition had grown while support waned. The Moratorium Committee focused more on community outreach in the surrounding area, causing a decrease in student participation. Meanwhile, Nixon supporters organized their own counter-protests by spreading literature, celebrating Veterans Day, writing letters to GIs, distributing red, white, and blue armbands as opposed to the Moratorium's black armbands, and setting up a "Support Your President" booth in the student center across from the Moratorium's booth. And these efforts attracted many students who walked around campus with their armbands. Some moderates even wore both the Nixon supporters' and the Moratorium's armbands to show their support for the president and a swift end to the war.⁵⁸ The TCU Moratorium would eventually lose support and crumble under the weight of its own escalation promises by the end of the year.

Meanwhile, a new student publication, *Spunk*, was stirring controversy with its bold counterculture aesthetics. Originally called the *Perspective*, *Spunk* was a student opinion magazine with a goal of showing the diverse opinion of TCU, but quickly became a hotbed of countercultural and anti-authority thought. Before the release of their first issue in August 1969, Moudy withheld publication rights due to the cover that depicted five naked figures and the issue's title—"Naked Came Spunk." Eventually, after editor Peter E. H. Fritz and *Spunk's* faculty advisors agreed to slight changes, a unanimous vote allowed publication with the original cover.⁵⁹ But the administration then closed *Spunk's* booth in the student center and prohibited marketing on campus. Fritz objected, "All other student organizations, regardless of their merits, are not subjected to such restrictions."⁶⁰ Throughout the course of its short run, *Spunk* would constantly be treated this way and become one of the biggest controversies on campus.

⁵⁷ Letters, "'Shades of Pink' Revealed," *Skiff*, November 14, 1969, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

⁵⁸ John Livengood, "Moratorium Faces Competition," *Skiff*, November 18, 1969, 1, TCU Digital Repository.

⁵⁹ Michael V. Adams, "Spunk Comes Naked But Has Problems," *Skiff*, September 2, 1969, 3, 6, TCU Digital Repository.

⁶⁰ James Gordon, "Spunk May Face Future Problems," *Skiff*, September 9, 1969, 1, 3, TCU Digital Repository.



(Figure 1.8: The cover of "Naked Came Spunk")

The magazine in question was fairly tame but contained biting satire about several contemporary university issues, such as birth control, the new Frog Fountain, and the war. Its introduction, "Spunk Speaks," openly asks for student contributors and financial support while promising a safe space for thoughtful criticism and satire but not any demeaning or defamatory attacks. The political leanings of the staff are strikingly leftist; however, in an interview with Moudy, the interviewer asks various loaded questions about marijuana legalization, coed curfews, the draft, and controversial campus performances to elicit a response. The magazine expresses an irreverent, topical style, holding everything susceptible to mockery. One article pokes fun at Frog Fountain and is followed by cartoons calling it a communist conspiracy in a parody of Cold War paranoia. Another article becomes serious with its title, "The Need For Involvement," and discusses the current state of student protest and the conservative response. Its author defends student activists against Nixon and others who vilify them. The protestor's only real crime is "a recognition of a huge gap between the American dream and American reality," and whose grievances include "a war that has managed to kill 577,000 people, we have pollution in the air, the lakes, along our roads, a profiteering military-industrial complex (in Ft. Worth none-the-less), and an unresponsive political system. Then. . . we have the draft, poverty. . . and an education system demeaning of human intelligence." But despite his critiques of higher education, he reiterates its importance as "a leader in stemming the disintegration of America" before concluding with a call to arms for TCU students.⁶¹

⁶¹ *Spunk*, TCU Vertical Files.

"Naked Came Spunk" is the product of a small section of TCU society and a growing polarization. Around the nation, organizers were becoming frustrated by their lack of progress and the conservative backlash of Nixon and the Silent Majority, causing some to look for more radical solutions. And although *Spunk* refrains from advocating violence or direct action, their criticisms are more in line with SDS and the New Left. The counterculture had been growing for years at TCU with challenges to university rules concerning dorms, curfews, student government, and questions about the principles of higher education. *Spunk* embodies this youth rebellion as its disillusionment extends beyond just the war but also to American society and the university. SFP carefully refrained from this kind of dramatic rhetoric that might have alienated potential followers, but *Spunk* boldly proclaims them, drawing the ire of campus conservatives.

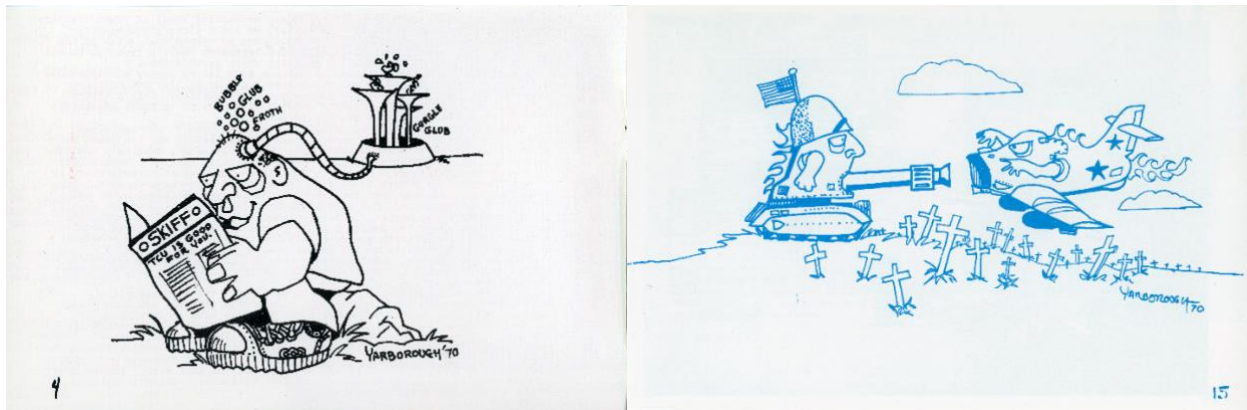
After their first issue, *Spunk* went dormant until the end of the next semester, when they again drew controversy from multiple administrative intuitions. Over the course of a few weeks, the Student Publications Committee, the Student House of Representatives, and the Forums Committee found fault with countless slight issues in their charter, content, funding, previewing, and more. Their faculty adviser even charged the Forums Committee with changing the rules to delay or censor publication.⁶² One of the main problems was that their charter had stipulated they must represent the diverse spectrum of opinion at TCU. John Checki, an officer of SFP who had replaced Fritz as editor, was unable to compile enough material from all sides and had to reuse old staff writings, resulting in a one-sided issue. He even openly advertised in a *Skiff* interview, saying, "We would be especially interested. . . in rhetorically eloquent, grammatically correct, conservative-oriented submissions."⁶³ Again, *Spunk* is not representative of the TCU student body but rather a small, outspoken group. But despite all these attempts at indirect censorship, *Spunk* was able to publish a second issue even more defiant than the first: "All I Said was Spunk."

The endless hurdles they had to jump through and the efforts to suppress publication seemed to have taken their toll as their second issue pointed in another direction—towards the psychedelic movement. While the first issue opened with a humble call for diverse submissions and promises of open debate, their latest introduction, "The Plot," boldly departed from their original intent: "Spunk is nothing more than a trumped up, reshuffled group of Spunk staffers dedicated to the overthrow, that is to say, we are a dirty-pinko-hippie-infested-dope-utilizing hoard of misfits trying to remake that which we can not understand, namely all the institutions

⁶² "Student Magazine Issue Held Up: Spunk 'Forgets' Advisors," *Skiff*, April 14, 1970, 1, TCU Digital Repository and "Spunk: Preview Denied," *Skiff*, May 8, 1970, 3, TCU Digital Repository.

⁶³ "Publication of Spunk Halted by Committee," *Skiff*, April 17, 1970, 1, TCU Digital Repository.

composing society from THE CHURCH to MOTHERHOOD, COUNTRY and all the niceties which pervade them." They continue their cynical disillusionment and sharp critiques of American society but move away from the New Left's "hum-drum path of revolution or protest," and instead stress a different kind of rebellion that detests both violent extremism and passive moderation.⁶⁴ Another article, "Thanks Anyway," paints an apocalyptic vision of America's future due to war and outdated traditions. The author says that "our only hope must lie in an immediate and drastic shift in our basic values. The name of the game is survival now, and that means a careful (but rapid) re-evaluation of our society's basic assumptions about life and the institutions rooted in them." However, he still urges his audience not to assume the worst about his intentions. He clarifies that he does not advocate for violence but rather "the complete overhaul of our social priorities and the institutions which attempt to realize them."⁶⁵ This is similar to the hippie worldview that shirks away from the politics, direct confrontation, and protests of the New Left and instead urges re-evaluation of old values. The hippies believed that they could enact change and improve society without resorting to violence or revolution but rather by questioning tradition and spreading their beliefs of free love and peace.⁶⁶ One can still see remnants of Southern protest in their ideology, emphasizing nonviolence and contrasting themselves with extremists.



(Figures 1.9 and 1.10: cartoons in "All I Said Was Spunk" lambasting the *Skiff* and the war)

This would be the last issue of *Spunk* magazine as it succumbed to administrative pressures and general disinterest from the student body. A failed attempt was made to revitalize the publication in Fall 1970 with calls for a new editor and more funds. A year later, the *Skiff*

⁶⁴ *Spunk*, TCU Vertical Files.

⁶⁵ *Spunk*, TCU Vertical Files.

⁶⁶ Turner, *Sitting In and Speaking Out*, 267-268.

would remember *Spunk*, mockingly calling the magazine a "collector's item."⁶⁷ But despite its short run of only one academic school year constantly harassed by administrative systems, *Spunk* represented a dissenting voice at TCU that went against the popular currents of the time. At first, it exhibited ideals of the New Left but then shifted to hippie views while staying true to Southern styles of organization. For at a time when TCU was becoming more socially liberal, *Spunk* was the zenith of these developments.

But by the end of the school year, overall antiwar sentiments had dwindled. In May, Nixon extended the war into Cambodia after he had promised de-escalation, leading to more student protests like the Kent State Massacre, which triggered nationwide campus unrest on even Southern campuses. The Kent State Massacre's response stands out as one of the most polarizing events of the war and caused the most intense backlash, especially in higher education.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, all TCU could muster was a small demonstration of about one hundred people around Frog Fountain.⁶⁹ The poor attendance rate can be attributed to both the timing of the massacre (at the end of the school year during finals) and shifting opinions. A May 8th *Skiff* editorial made an ultimatum to the country: no more "half-war." One must either continue the fight with complete determination or withdraw altogether. It describes the Kent State tragedy as a student "disturbance" and its protestors "deplorable" but also criticizes the National Guard.⁷⁰ The next semester's *Skiff* would be filled with analyses of the event, with most staying moderate, criticizing authorities, showing some sympathy for the students, and continuing to condemn antiwar extremism.

THE DAVID HARRIS ISSUE, FALL 1971 TO SPRING 1972

The last major Vietnam controversy at TCU was tied with the campus reform and student movements that had been brewing alongside antiwar developments. It involved famous draft resister and activist David Harris and led to a heated debate between students and the administration over a new speaker policy. The administration's attempts to prevent Harris's visit and the responses by students and faculty act as a testament to the changes seen on campus.

⁶⁷ Lilies, "Fountain Conflict Revisited For Those Who Forgot," 3.

⁶⁸ Christopher J. Broadhurst, "'We Didn't Fire a Shot, We Didn't Burn a Building': The Student Reaction at North Carolina State University to the Kent State Shootings, May 1970," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 87, no. 3 (2010): 283-309, Jstor and Fry, *The American South and the Vietnam War*, 299-303.

⁶⁹ "100 Gather In Ceremony At Fountain," *Skiff*, May 8, 1970, 3, TCU Digital Repository.

⁷⁰ Editorial, "Issue at a Head," *Skiff*, May 8, 1970, TCU Digital Repository.

The trouble began in September 1971 when TCU students wanted Harris and Father Gaypool of the Canterbury Society to invite the speaker to campus. However, once the administration found out, Moudy rejected the proposal out of fear that Harris would encourage students to break the law and resist the draft, damaging the university's reputation.⁷¹ TCU had a long history of speaker controversies with subversive figures like Dick Gregory and Jane Fonda being rejected due to their opinions and notoriety, but it finally came to a head with Harris.⁷² A large portion of the TCU community opposed the administration's decision. Multiple professors spoke out against Moudy on the grounds of free speech, democracy, and having an open discussion, while others supported the decision or at least wanted clearer rules to avoid this annual problem. Two separate petitions were circulated fighting for Harris' appearance by the TCU Chapter of Texas Civil Liberties and Dr. Ann Grossman. The Student House of Representatives unanimously voted to oppose the administration's decision and then held a student referendum that saw a 20-22% turnout (more than any other campus event) and 1,165 votes: 17% against Harris's proposed speech and an overwhelming 83% in favor.⁷³

However, students' support for Harris most likely did not stem from antiwar beliefs. The failure of the Vietnam Moratorium and the lack of support for Kent State proves that. Rather, the student body likely fought on the grounds of student rights. Vietnam and campus reform often combined as antiwar tactics and conflicts transformed into student issues, like the David Harris case. This was a common occurrence; controversial antiwar rhetoric or actions came into conflict with the administration's strict rules leading to demands for change. Therefore, the antiwar movement, or at least its polarizing ideas, was often tied to and escalated campus reform.⁷⁴ Most TCU students supported Harris out of principle rather than antiwar conviction. The referendum clearly states that "TCU as an institution neither negates nor sanctions his advocacy, but simply provides an open forum for his ideas."⁷⁵

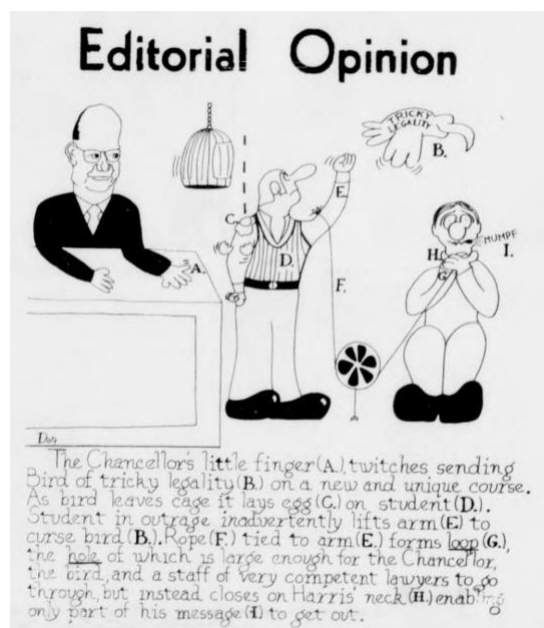
⁷¹ Candy Tuttle, "Permission Denied Speaker," *Skiff*, September 23, 1971, 1, TCU Digital Repository.

⁷² *Horned Frog*, 1973, 16-19.

⁷³ "Views Aired on Harris Issue," *Skiff*, September 24, 1971, 1, TCU Digital Repository, "Referendum Resolution Gets 'Yes,'" *Skiff*, October 5, 1971, 1, TCU Digital Repository, "ACLU Petition Supports Harris," *Skiff*, September 24, 1971, 1, TCU Digital Repository, "Petition Backs Harris Speech," *Skiff*, September 28, 1971, 1, TCU Digital Repository, "Referendum To Test Harris Issue," *Skiff*, September 30, 1971, 1, TCU Digital Repository.

⁷⁴ Fry, *The American South and the Vietnam War*, 290-294.

⁷⁵ "Referendum On Issue Planned Student Leaders Oppose TCU Ban of Draft Resister," Readex.



(Figure 1.11: cartoon in the *Skiff* mocking Chancellor Moudy and the administration's decision to censor David Harris)

All of this pressure forced the administration to allow Harris to speak, provided that he does not directly encourage students to resist the draft. However, Harris had to cancel his appearance due to conflicts with his parole board. He did have an informal lunch with students and staff where he was able to discuss his ideas though. A highly positive *Skiff* article describes the event and portrays the controversial speaker as a thoughtful, kind man and not a radical firebrand the administration feared.⁷⁶ The issue refused to die down, however, the administration sought to create a concrete policy concerning the invitation of speakers.

A faculty committee was formed and headed by Dean of Students Howard Wilbe, who discouraged an SDS appearance four years prior, with the task of drafting the new rules. The first draft contained very loose restrictions, stipulating that speakers can be denied only if they represent a clear and present danger "based on evidence and not mere superstition." If the speaker violates this, the case then goes to a seven-member Speaker Review Committee consisting of faculty and students who decide whether or not to admit the speaker. And this was seen as a fair policy that accounted for controversial figures with differing messages. Moudy disagreed, however, and submitted a "Proposed Substitute," suggesting that the Speaker Review Committee only act in an advisory capacity to the Chancellor, who would ultimately decide. A later draft dated March 1972 added more reasons for a speaker to be denied. It also changed the

⁷⁶ Rosalind Routt, "Harris Acts On His Own Belief," *Skiff*, October 12, 1971, 4, TCU Digital Repository.

Speaker Review Committee to an evaluation role with the Chancellor holding the final say, as per Moudy's suggestions.⁷⁷ Eventually, the Student House of Representatives tabled the new policy and submitted a new Student Bill of Rights that affirmed students' right to hear and invite speakers. But The Faculty Senate approved the policy, and Moudy heavily implied that it would be enforced.⁷⁸

CONCLUSION

By the end of the 1973 school year, the war ended for America. Vietnamization fully mobilized in January as Nixon withdrew troops, left the conflict in the hands of the South Vietnamese, and traded POWs, ending over a decade of war and division. Soldiers returned home to a different country that was scarred and forever changed by the war, its protests, and the many movements of the decade. And TCU was a different college. Its young students struggled, fought, and agonized over this unconventional war like the rest of America. And after six years of protest, it culminated in a solemn yearbook dedication:

What we must not forget are the thousands of men who fought there: those who died in combat; those who simply never returned and remain "missing;" those who spent years in North Vietnamese prison camps and others who fought and returned --- many of them scarred both physically and mentally --- to an often cold, calloused, even critical society.

They would not want to be considered heroes. Many did not volunteer to go. But those who went, did what they had to do.

While a yearbook may not be the most appropriate place, it is a book of record and our opportunity to honor these men. Though we cannot list them all, the *Horned Frog* staff would like to recognize those who served in Vietnam.

In an effort to ensure that what these men did is not forgotten, we dedicate this book to them.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Student Life, Dean of Students Speaker Policy, 1965-1974, RU 16, box 14, folder 160a, Records of James M. Moudy, 1948-1980 (inclusive), 1965-1979 (bulk), Archives and Special Collections, Mary Coats Burnett Library, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, TX (hereafter referred to as Speaker Policy, Records of James M. Moudy).

⁷⁸ Texas Christian University, *Horned Frog* (Fort Worth, TX: 1972), 14-17, Texas Christian University Archives and Historical Collection, TCU Digital Repository.

⁷⁹ *Horned Frog*, 1973, 16.

A small yet passionate minority of students and faculty brought the struggle to TCU with a uniquely Southern approach. In this brief period, they fought against administrative suppression and the ire of fellow students but ultimately succumbed to a slow dwindling of support as the years passed and the war dragged on. Like many political movements of the 1960s, the TCU student antiwar movement died out in the next decade due to the changing times. Nixon's Vietnamization discredited the cause while a general disillusionment swept through the movement's ranks.⁸⁰

But the greatest effect of this movement lies not in their tangible results but rather the overall impact it had on campus. As historian Joseph A. Fry put it, the antiwar movement kept Vietnam at the forefront of America's consciousness for years and eventually led to a general acceptance of their ideas. Nixon and the majority of Americans realized the costs and futility of escalation, finally convincing them to work toward peace. But by far, the movement's greatest impact was the liberalization of American colleges.⁸¹

The Vietnam War, along with its countless protests and debates, awoke TCU students to the realities of their time, forcing them to come to terms with and enter the larger political space. In just over a decade, TCU's student body had transformed from one indifferent to international issues, except for anticommunism and civil rights, to one that supported a known draft resister. A January 1970 poll conducted by the Student House of Representatives showed that students were in support of liberal reforms to old campus rules. 75% of students desired fewer restrictions to their right to invite off-campus speakers. 38% asserted that "any group of students should be allowed to organize, and student organizations should be recognized subject to restrictions in the Student Body Constitution," with 14% arguing that only students should be able to regulate student organizations. And 19% voted against all regulations on student publications, and 25% voted for student control of this decision.⁸² The demands of the antiwar movement from SFP, the Moratorium Committee, *Spunk*, and David Harris brought these campus issues to the surface and led to a shift in student opinion that would enact more tangible change in the years to come. Therefore, although TCU never had any major rallies, marches, or violent confrontations like more well-known universities of the time, its small grass-roots movement, with its uniquely southern tactics, gradually changed public opinion and the university forever.

⁸⁰ Turner, *Sitting In and Speaking Out*, 267.

⁸¹ Fry, *The American South and the Vietnam War*, 320-322.

⁸² Speaker Policy, Records of James M. Moudy.

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