

CATHOLIC ACTIVISM

HOW RELIGIOUS IDENTITY SHAPED COLLEGE PEACE AND ANTI-ROTC MOVEMENTS IN PHILADELPHIA

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ABSTRACT: This article traces the emergence of activism on two Catholic campuses in Philadelphia during the Vietnam War: St. Joseph's College and La Salle College. Unlike previous histories relating to campus protests, the article connects participants' Catholic beliefs to their activism. Although affiliated with different religious orders, both of these colleges embraced Vatican II reforms, which engendered dialogue in their communities, allowed lay professors a more prominent voice, and created a debate on war and violence in the modern world. In academic communities where religion was deeply entrenched, students, faculty, and staff formed their antiwar debates around core Catholic doctrines. The importance of religion when initiating social change is underscored by analyzing newspapers, speeches and events on their respective campuses.

KEYWORDS: Catholicism and Catholic identity, Vietnam antiwar protests, Philadelphia Colleges and Universities, La Salle College, St. Joseph's College

Numerous issues emerged in the post-Vatican II world, causing Catholics to grapple with their own identity in modern society. Although they experienced a major crisis in relation to the Vietnam War, historians have produced little scholarship on the significance of Catholicism in shaping the antiwar movement. This fact is especially true in the historiography of antiwar campus activism.¹ While scholars have written exhaustively on the larger topic of campus activism and have looked at religious aspects of the movement, few have closely examined Vietnam protests in relation to the emergence of a stronger, post-Vatican II Catholic identity.² Even those historians and theologians who specifically explored Catholic identity after Vatican II failed to connect it to the rise of demonstrations at Catholic colleges.³ One noted

exception is historian Helen Ciernick who analyzed Catholic antiwar and anti-ROTC protests in the San Francisco Bay area. While her work illustrates the aforementioned trends, it does not expand in depth to other areas of the country. This article therefore both serves to fill a historiographical gap by illustrating that similar developments occurred on East Coast urban campuses and further buttresses Ciernick's claims. Catholic identity did profoundly shape the dialogue and eventual demonstrations occurring on Catholic campuses during the Vietnam War. Activist events and discussions at both St. Joseph's and La Salle colleges demonstrate the important role of religious beliefs in shaping antiwar movements in Catholic communities.

For some Catholic Americans in the United States, escalation of the conflict in Vietnam caused an identity crisis, forcing many to reconcile their religious views with their responsibilities as secular citizens. Nowhere was this drama played out more clearly than on Catholic college campuses. Students, faculty, and administrators began to engage in open dialogue to determine how to respond to public antiwar messages embraced by more radical Catholic thinkers after witnessing the actions of militant antiwar clergy such as the Berrigan Brothers, who were arrested during Vietnam War protests.⁴ They also intently read Pope Paul VI's official statements disparaging war in his 1965 *Gaudium et Spes*.⁵ Catholic periodicals also increasingly became critical of the United States' involvement in Vietnam.⁶ Looking through the lens of their faith, Catholics made decisions affecting their positions regarding a controversial war.

This work explores the public dialogue over Catholic perspectives on the Vietnam War at two colleges in Philadelphia, St. Joseph's College and La Salle College (both now universities). Many members of these college communities in the latter half of the 1960s and early 1970s followed the lead of the Church hierarchy by using religious rhetoric in their own arguments against violence and war. Because many powerful and prominent members of the Church took a staunch stance against the Vietnam conflict, Catholics on these campuses embraced many of the moral claims espoused. These teachings legitimized the actions of individuals at St. Joseph's and La Salle. Although this article focuses on a small geographic area, it nevertheless speaks to the national and international religious trends affecting Catholic activists' outlooks toward these problems in secular society.⁷

For Catholics, the Vietnam War did not occur in a theological vacuum. Changes in the Church in the 1960s gave Catholics a sense they could and should debate major moral and religiously inflected secular issues. In addition,

the shifting composition of Catholic educational institutions contributed to a different intellectual atmosphere on campus. These changes emerged out of the most significant ecumenical council of the twentieth century: the Second Vatican Council, or Vatican II. From 1962 to 1965, bishops and cardinals from around the world met in Rome where they examined and reshaped the doctrines and practices of the Church in order to adapt to the modern world.⁸ For the laity, it provided official statements on key ideological issues they struggled with in the modern era, such as birth control and liturgical revision. Two important statements concerned the role of the laity in the Church and an official stance on war. These would influence how Catholics, especially at Catholic colleges, responded to major international events. To understand the important role doctrine played in shaping these Catholic communities, it is necessary to explore these two influential reforms.

Prior to Vatican II, the laity had a limited role; however, in 1965 bishops called on them to assume a more prominent position in order to strengthen the Church. Clergy recognized that fewer individuals joined religious orders, forcing them to rely more on the participation of nonreligious people. The Council specifically stressed the role of nonreligious men and women in education, petitioning them to become involved in Catholic schools.⁹ Many Catholic colleges throughout the United States responded to this message vigorously, oftentimes out of necessity. For example, many religious-affiliated institutions incorporated their colleges, established lay boards of trustees, and hired more nonreligious faculty and staff.¹⁰

The expansion of nonreligious involvement in Catholic colleges and universities played an integral part in shaping community activism. Students had the ability to ask the opinion of their lay professors, instead of turning solely to the clergy. More radical faculty members had greater accessibility to pupils, allowing them to easily influence student opinions on war, peace, and violence. No longer did religious orders have a monopoly on the formation of campus-wide opinions. Influential lay professors profoundly affected these communities by participating in debates and open discussions. Their voices often eclipsed more formal stances taken by religious educators and administrators.

Similar to the question of lay involvement in the Church, the issue of violence and war became a major concern. Catholic teachings on war centered on Thomas Aquinas's arguments in his *Summa Theologiae*. In this document, Aquinas declared war could only be acceptable if a sovereign declared war for a just cause.¹¹ Vatican II refocused and reapplied this treatise in a modern

context. Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris* addressed war in a nuclear era. He declared, "in this age which boasts of its atomic power, it no longer makes sense to maintain that war is a fit instrument with which to repair the violation of justice."¹² In 1965 Pope Paul VI delivered *Gaudium et Spes*, a more explicit stance on war. He stated, "Any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities . . . with their population is a crime against God and man himself. It merits . . . condemnation."¹³ As a result, Vatican II created a guideline for lay Catholics to follow as they confronted the war in Vietnam.

As fighting in Vietnam intensified, American Catholics used the new doctrine to debate, protest, and object to its escalation. At both St. Joseph's and La Salle, many students, faculty, and staff protested the presence of the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps (AFROTC) and the Army Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) on campus by focusing on the question of religion. Antiwar Catholics at these schools asserted the AFROTC and the ROTC programs had no place at a private Catholic-affiliated institution, since many in the Church hierarchy decried modern war. Preparing students for war, they claimed, contradicted key elements of their faith. Members of these communities thus had to find a way to come to terms with military programs on their campuses.

SAINT JOSEPH'S: A JESUIT COLLEGE'S IDENTITY CRISIS

Philadelphia Jesuits founded St. Joseph's College in 1851. As mainly a regional school, it attracted middle-class students from the tri-state area. Although originally a single-sex college, St. Joseph's embraced the coeducational trend by admitting female students in 1970. The Jesuits' educational philosophy focused on social justice and the *cura personalis*: the development of the whole student. Students who attended Saint Joseph's during the 1960s and 1970s were mainly Catholic; 95 percent of the student population identified with this religion and the school's mission.¹⁴ The predominance of Catholicism on campus affected how it situated itself within not only the city of Philadelphia, but also the nation and world.

During the early 1960s the college remained a politically conservative institution. Many students, for example, supported the Vietnam War because they believed, like Church officials at this time, that it prevented the spread of Communism.¹⁵ In November 1965 the student newspaper, *The Hawk*, published a poll illustrating that a majority of students either supported the

American presence in Vietnam or wanted fighting to escalate.¹⁶ Although many students remained conservative, a surge of activism emerged that grew in strength and number as the 1960s progressed. This movement, grounded in religious beliefs, occurred because of the more open community that Jesuits encouraged on campus. This change did not occur by chance, but rather grew out of the international movement begun during Vatican II. The Jesuits at St. Joseph's embraced recommendations made by the Vatican in order to keep their institution relevant in the modern world.

Tasked with creating a more liberal atmosphere, Father Terrence Toland arrived at St. Joseph's College in 1966. First as the executive vice president and eventually president from 1968 to 1976, Toland worked exhaustively to create an inclusive community where students, faculty, and administration

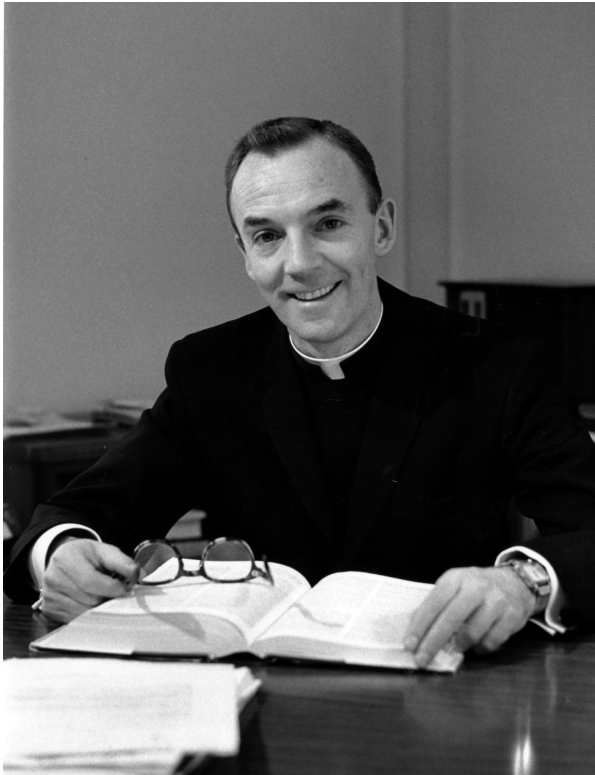


FIGURE 1 Father Terrence Toland, S. J., 1967. Photograph by Walter Holt. Courtesy of the St. Joseph's University Archives.

participated in open dialogue. Toland, for example, initiated “Dialogue Days,” instituted new bylaws that allowed for student protests, and represented the administration when questioned by activist students. Following instructions inspired by Vatican II, Toland helped shape the engagement that occurred on campus; he allowed it to unfold safely without letting it devolve into violence.¹⁷

Dialogue Days especially gave members of the campus a chance to express their opinions regarding change, with Toland declaring they were instrumental to the advancement of the community. The initial Dialogue Day occurred in October 1968 where it attempted to “identify and clarify the problems of this academic community as we perceive them and to establish priorities for a small number of issues to be selected for intensive” investigation.¹⁸ Students came forward demanding the administration abandon old educational methods in order to develop the “whole man,” an integral part of its mission as a Jesuit institution. They debated issues pertaining to residence halls, core curriculum, and student rights and responsibilities. Topics considered at this meeting shaped future Dialogue Day discussions, which occurred at the beginning of each year, and allowed the campus community to debate how such changes and reforms would create a college that more strongly embraced the Catholic-oriented mission.¹⁹

As the 1960s progressed, Dialogue Days fostered more overt activism, leading to additional assemblies where students, faculty, and staff spoke out on more volatile issues, such as the Vietnam War and the presence of AFROTC on campus. Toland, who actively sought to change St. Joseph’s, amended various campus rules so that students and faculty could express their opinions without fear of reprisal. In 1969 the College Council, which included Toland, other administrators, faculty, and students, adopted the “Policy of Freedom of Assembly.” This document protected student rights to protest college regulations under the provision that they did not disrupt campus activity. As long as they followed the policy, the “college will endeavor to protect the appropriate exercise of this freedom of assembly.”²⁰ This measure reassured members of the St. Joseph’s community that they would not be censured for their opinions on sensitive subjects like the Vietnam War.

As American participation in Vietnam escalated, the students and faculty shifted their discussions, and ultimately protests, specifically toward the AFROTC program. As more community members spoke out against AFROTC, the College Council issued the “Policy on Political Activities on Campus” in September 1972. This document emphasized that individuals at

St. Joseph's were citizens and, as such, had the right to express their opinions, even though they attended or worked at a private Catholic college. This document also protected students from discrimination based on their political ideologies.²¹ By 1972 those at St. Joseph's exercised their democratic rights by embracing more open political dialogue.

Dr. James E. Dougherty, a well-respected political scientist, also influenced the campus activist movement at St. Joseph's during this increasingly radical time.²² First as a faculty member, then as executive vice president in the Toland administration, Dougherty supported open dialogue and believed "a genuine environment of free and calm intellectual discussion" aided in problem solving and general understanding of one's peers. He, however, remained moderate in his ideas of free speech and protests on campus, and wrote an open letter where he disparaged those in the community who manipulated campus free speech in order to create a "crisis atmosphere" that hindered rational discourse.²³ Illustrating his more measured stance, Dougherty preferred to educate the larger campus population through organized discussions and debates on pertinent issues of this time. For example, he chaired an all-day conference on War and Peace in 1968 where outside speakers from Georgetown, the University of Massachusetts, and Emory University discussed their varied opinions on the war in Vietnam. Dougherty opened this conference by "noting the deep-rooted problem of war and peace and its relationship to Christianity." Before allowing panel participants to speak, Dougherty posed the main question: "How are we to assign priorities to the Christian conscience and wisdom?"²⁴ Dougherty's support for this type of forum, where panelists embraced both pacifist leanings and active military roles, exemplified the open atmosphere administrators tried to foster at St. Joseph's.

Dougherty's participation in the aforementioned forum also highlighted a main issue he grappled with in his professional career, and which affected St. Joseph's campus deeply during the Vietnam era: the importance of one's religious beliefs during war. In multiple papers, he made frequent attempts to adequately evaluate the relationship that dutiful Catholics had with the institutional church and civil society during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The attention he gave to this topic thus demonstrates not only how American Catholics faced the contradictory responsibilities as citizens and Christians, but also how they could potentially form arguments out of this discourse to gain selective conscientious objector status (SCO).²⁵



FIGURE 2 James E. Dougherty, David Marshall, and Fred J. Foley, Jr. participating in a panel discussion debating the Vietnam War before an audience of 400 students and faculty, 1967. Courtesy of the St. Joseph's University Archives.

As a political scientist at a Catholic college, Dougherty frequently discussed selective conscientious objection, which targeted lay Catholics as well as Church hierarchy. His March 1971 "Commentary on the Draft Declaration on Conscientious Objection," for example, cautioned US bishops to carefully examine "just war theory" in light of modern Church teachings. American bishops had important decisions to make, according to Dougherty, because they had

an obligation to defend to the utmost the integrity of the religious conscience. But as citizens of a constitutional democratic state, they also understand that the government is responsible for weighing the political consequences for the national common good of various courses of political action.²⁶

He recognized that Catholic bishops held dual roles as both clergy members and citizens. As official agents of the Church, however, they had to examine current military policy as religious representatives. Parishioners looked to

these bishops as exemplar Catholics who could guide them as they took their own positions on war. Dougherty therefore reminded bishops of their duties, and emphasized decisions must be based on a clear understanding of the Church's role in the twentieth century in order to properly lead the laity.

In August 1972, Dougherty wrote another work examining Catholic reaction to the current war. "War, Peace, and the Christian Conscience" traced the history of Catholic Conscientious Objectors (COs) in the United States, asserting few existed prior to the Korean Conflict. American Catholics in the latter half of the twentieth century, however, did not know how to reconcile the two, especially during Vietnam. Dougherty tried to soothe their fears in this piece by declaring a Catholic could either be a CO or a member of the military, "*provided that both are acting with the intention of serving the wider common good as they honestly perceive it* [italics in original text]."²⁷ This statement supported his earlier claims that Catholics should follow their personal religious understandings when making choices about their own participation in the war. His ideas and contributions offered recourse to the Church community by advising both the clergy and laity. Dougherty's involvement in this important debate as a lay professor and administrator showed the growing influence of those outside Church hierarchy. Men and women like Dougherty held places of influence within their own communities as well as the larger Church.

As key members of the St. Joseph's community, Toland and Dougherty fostered an environment conducive to activism. Because of changes initiated at St. Joseph's, it is unsurprising that multiple debates and protests occurred about Vietnam from 1968 to 1972. Because of Toland's emphasis regarding open dialogue, both the lay and clergy had that opportunity. Everything had fallen into place at St. Joseph's College, and a passionate issue could spark more radical activism. The presence of AFROTC on campus became that trigger.

Individuals on public and private college campuses across the country became concerned over the existence of ROTC. Academic institutions allowed ROTC programs for a variety of reasons, ranging from patriotism during the Cold War to the moralizing factor trained students could have on the growing military establishment. Certain members of the clergy and lay administration, however, more openly feared the loss of autonomy and contradictory implications the program created at religious-affiliated colleges during wartime. If they continued to allow government-sponsored programs on campus, the institution could potentially lose its ability to stand against official government policy or face participation in unjustifiable warfare.²⁸

Many such administrators at Catholic colleges keenly followed how other schools handled this difficult issue. Campus officials at St. Joseph's were aware of Marquette University's "University and Catholic: Final Report of the Special Committee on the Christian Character." In 1970 this committee at Marquette addressed ROTC's campus presence; a main criticism pointed to an incongruity in having ROTC at Catholic universities. According to the committee, "The central Christian message . . . is a message of love, and ROTC as a manifestation of warfare is in contradiction to this message." Although it made this strong statement, the Marquette committee conceded that the Church had not made an official declaration against war; only certain clergy members had individually made their antiwar feelings known. They concluded that if ROTC continued on campus, it must be closely regulated. Any given Catholic host school must stress that ROTC's mission did not reflect the mission of the institution.²⁹ Marquette's public stance helped other Catholic colleges, such as St. Joseph's, to make a decision about its own participation in the government program, albeit after a long and hotly debated struggle.

The AFROTC program began at St. Joseph's in September of 1951 because college officials feared that the Korean War, which had erupted eight months earlier, would lead to the draft of the majority of the student body. According to the official statement by James Dougherty, "practically everyone viewed the presence of the ROTC on campus as a matter of institutional survival. The favorite quote was: 'No ROTC, no opening.'"³⁰ Until 1964 the program existed as a two-year mandatory commitment for all freshmen and sophomores. In that year, members of the community who opposed the mandatory AFROTC program because it hindered the liberal arts education offered at St. Joseph's pressured the college to renegotiate the contract with the military. They ultimately pushed to make the program voluntary for all new students entering the institution.³¹ Even though students now had the option to join, radical members of the campus community wanted it completely removed. As a result, informal debates occurred in October 1971. Debaters included AFROTC students, professors, and members of the campus ministry staff. Both sides aired their grievances in order to sway the community's opinion.³²

Despite the fact that Dr. Dougherty was a well-known political scientist who had extensive knowledge on Vietnam and its relationship to religion, he did not participate in the actual debates. He instead provided the background and laid out the issues. He explained the government did not impose the AFROTC contract on the college, but, in actuality, the college

had sought it out for the aforementioned reasons. Dougherty recognized that the St. Joseph's community wanted to know the official rationale on why the program was present. He, however, simply stated there was no official reason. With this abrupt statement, he opened up the floor to presenters who argued their own opinions and ideas about its existence.

The debates dragged on for six days in the Bluett Theatre as multiple speakers delivered impassioned speeches both for and against the program in front of 400 students and faculty.³³ The Campus Peace Coalition (CPC), an influential group at St. Joseph's run by the Campus Ministry and comprised of lay and religious students, faculty, and staff, made bold statements against the AFROTC and emphasized a key statement: "This College, by allowing ROTC to remain on campus is *actively endorsing* modern military strategy [emphasis in original]." According to the CPC, the war in Vietnam was not only wrong, but also immoral because it subjected a nation of innocent people to everyday violence. By supplying men for these military actions, St. Joseph's was "morally reprehensible." They then challenged proposed rationalizations for the continuation of AFROTC. One such rationalization included providing a "liberalizing effect" to the military, meaning St. Joseph's graduates could use their Catholic education to infiltrate and influence the military system. A CPC representative argued, however, "the ROTC programs are not designated to promote moral principles learned in college, with the intention of reforming the military."³⁴ This passionate group thus pushed back against those supporting the program in order to show the community that AFROTC undermined their Catholic mission.

Father Anthony Capizzi of the Campus Ministry openly participated in the debates, taking a staunch anti-AFROTC stance. He used logic to assert that as a Catholic college St. Joseph's should not allow AFROTC on campus. He declared that the Vietnam War was sinful because it involved the killing of innocent people. Since the military killed during war, Capizzi asserted, then it too must be immoral. He concluded, "A Christian college cannot, in good conscience, condone the presence on campus of an immoral organization."³⁵ Although Capizzi did not believe AFROTC had a place on a Catholic campus, he did not disagree with its existence elsewhere; he even did not oppose St. Joseph's students joining as long as it did not occur at the college. His views seemed radical and somewhat contradictory to many onlookers. One AFROTC cadet, Teresa Kwoka, argued against Capizzi by using his contradictory answers to challenge his original syllogism, asserting he could not declare the military

immoral while at the same time condoning St. Joseph's students enlisting at off-campus locations.³⁶ Although some observers did not agree with Capizzi's passionate reasoning, the overall anti-AFROTC coalition swayed many toward their side.

The Edmund Burke Society, a conservative organization on campus, stood firmly against the arguments put forth in the debates by opponents of the AFROTC. Members of this group declared their support for the war and on-campus military training. They asserted that "history's judgment will espouse the spirit of Christian sacrifice, which compelled [the United States] . . . to donate so much so selflessly."³⁷ Preparing young men to fight in Southeast Asia, these conservatives stated, embraced the Christian message of helping those who suffer under harsh regimes. Burke members thus saw this fighting as an extension of their duty as Catholics. In order to spread their views, this group distributed "The Burke Bulletin" in the months following the debates. They handed out 1,700 copies to fight against those moralists who passed "judgment on ROTC as a pollutant in the campus community," a symbol of "the dirty hand of the military in the cookie jar of knowledge."³⁸ The Edmund Burke Society stood strong against the rising tide of antipathy toward the military and AFROTC. The organization saw the program as an asset and, as such, had to do everything in its power to preserve it.

Liberals also followed up the debates by urging continued discussion among the entire community. The staff of the Campus Ministry hoped that further dialogue would make the College Council vote in favor of the AFROTC's removal. The Campus Ministry became the main sounding board for anti-AFROTC groups, many of which identified with its position in regards to the immorality of the program. This group, which included both religious and lay men and women, felt obliged "to bring to the attention of the College Community the particular question of AFROTC's presence on our campus and its connection to warfare."³⁹ Outside of the debates, this organization did not feel that the anti-AFROTC movement had gone far enough. Because of the continual prodding of the Campus Ministry, along with its campus supporters, the College Council decided to rethink the AFROTC's presence, launching a series of investigations that they used to inform their ultimate decision.

Throughout the remaining 1971–72 academic year, the College Council heard remarks from many members of the community. For instance,

Dr. Thomas McFadden, assistant professor of theology, addressed the council May 1, 1972, stressing the importance of the moral issue. He stated, "American troops especially the Air Force, are engaged in an immoral war in Southeast Asia." He challenged the administration's character, emphasizing that it had undermined the moral environment by perpetuating its support for the program. This disparity, McFadden suggested, needed remedy. The College Council had to remove AFROTC from St. Joseph's because it had a negative effect on not only the college's reputation, but the lives of the students as well. These reasons, he asserted, were valid enough to break the government contract.⁴⁰

On September 21, 1972, the College Council voted on resolutions pertaining to the AFROTC program and most notably, rejected the resolution to terminate AFROTC as a program for credit. This decision meant the activists failed their mission, because AFROTC would continue accepting students. Their efforts, however, did not result in a complete loss. Echoing the Marquette resolution, St. Joseph's College Council decided to take more control over the program. For instance, it sought to closely regulate the AFROTC-affiliated aerospace studies program in the hopes of assuaging the fears of those who believed it had too much influence on campus. Anti-AFROTC activists also prevented the expansion of the AFROTC program, which would have made students eligible for four-year full scholarships. The proposal to grow the program for financial aid benefits, however, was ultimately voted down by the college board of directors.⁴¹ While activists such as Fathers Capizzi and Thomas McFadden pushed for complete removal rather than the aforementioned compromises, they could not persuade the majority to back their more drastic anti-AFROTC opinions.

The activist campus culture, despite taking a moral stance to appeal to Catholic concerns of war and violence, could not influence enough community members to give up their more conservative ideologies. Regardless, the case at St. Joseph's illustrates a strong link between Catholic identity and issues over participation in Vietnam. The debate over the perpetuation of the AFROTC program reinforces this connection. Individuals at all levels in this college were compelled to discuss the role of this Catholic institution in the modern world. They grappled with their dual identities as Catholics and Americans. As a result, a strong torrent of debates and protests arose in the hopes of coming to terms with their role in both the Church and civil society.

LA SALLE COLLEGE'S MANDATORY ROTC PROGRAM: AN OXYMORON LEADS TO PROTEST

The Christian Brothers founded La Salle College in 1863 in North Philadelphia with the goal of educating a predominantly Catholic immigrant population. During the 1960s, La Salle's all-male student body came from blue-collar, Catholic backgrounds.⁴² Overall the Christian Brothers' mission focused on meeting their students at their individual intellectual levels to help them achieve their greatest potential. This focus on a sound Catholic education that centered on students created an environment where undergraduates developed close relationships with one another, as well as to faculty and staff.⁴³

Like St. Joseph's, La Salle's campus experienced similar antimilitary and antiwar activism, albeit a few years earlier beginning in 1967 and culminating during the 1969 academic year. During this time, La Salle's leaders likewise questioned its place in the twentieth century as a Catholic institution in a secular society. Members of the La Salle community were preoccupied with and openly discussed their Catholic identity in a post-Vatican II world. The *La Salle Collegian*, for example, dedicated the entire November 11, 1969 issue to religion on campus, and its significance on the national and international scenes. Multiple theologians also granted interviews to the campus newspaper throughout this period to discuss modern Catholicism in terms of how it influenced an individual's stance on war, violence, and military service. One noted theologian in particular, Peter Riga, surveyed contemporary problems in a November 1968 interview, highlighting issues of war and the growing problem faced by Catholic selective conscientious objectors (SCOs) in contemporary America. He asserted that some American Catholics disagreed with SCOs' arguments by claiming these people merely wanted to avoid service in Vietnam, and used religion as an escape. He declared, "It is no longer a question of morality. It is a question of nationalism or emotionalism. When war takes over, truth is the first casualty."⁴⁴

Riga's statements highlighted the tension between religious views and civic duties that Catholics in this time period struggled to overcome. SCOs found it hard to defend their understanding of Vietnam as an unjust war, while many other Catholics held tenets of nationalism and emotionalism above one's personal religious understanding. La Salle College experienced how contention between both secular and religious morals affected its campus community throughout the late 1960s. The issue of the Vietnam War and,

more precisely, mandatory ROTC participation at La Salle forced students, faculty, and staff to confront what role a Catholic college in a secular world should have during a time of war.

To grapple with this concern, students and faculty initiated a series of activist events in the 1967 fall semester. A group of La Salle faculty and students, as well as members from neighboring colleges and universities, such as Saint Joseph's, planned an intercollegiate forum on the Vietnam War. The goal, according to the faculty organizer, Dr. John Connors of La Salle College's Sociology Department, was to inform the public about American participation in Vietnam, allowing for debate about the justification, both moral and political, of the United States' actions. The committee also sought to explain and clarify the theory set forth by United Nations Secretary General U Thant, who had asserted, "If the American people knew the facts of the Vietnam War, it would be over very quickly." In order to inform the intercollegiate audience, the planning committee invited famed American historian Henry Steele Commager, who contributed to the definition of modern liberalism, Dr. John Bennett of Union Theological Seminary, and state senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska. This event proved important to many antiwar members of the La Salle community.⁴⁵

Although Connors and the other planners feared that no one would show up at the forum on October 16, more than 1,000 crammed into the Union Ballroom to listen to the speakers' overall message: "Stop the war in Vietnam." The presenters passionately delivered their speeches in order to make their audience understand that the war should end as soon as possible; these noted orators used political, theological, and ideological reasons to persuade their audience. Bennett began his talk by solemnly proclaiming Vietnam was "the sacrificial lamb for our policy." He then followed this blanket statement by asserting that the United States destroyed the society it sought to protect, which, according to Bennett, made this war unjust. In his remaining time, he described and then undermined each supposition the US government used to justify its presence in Southeast Asia. In closing, Bennett asked a simple question to the audience: "When will conscience stop them [the government] from an unjust war and a self-defeating cause?"⁴⁶ These speeches utilized powerful rhetoric to convince the audience that the government had failed at its job, and as a result, citizens suffered. Using a collective voice, Americans had to act in order to stop this unjust war.

Although the thousand individuals in attendance applauded the speakers' message, not everyone at La Salle supported it. In a column called "Conservatively Speaking," a student named J. P. Morgan defended the conservative position against the liberals who attended the forum.⁴⁷ He forcefully declared that liberals had started this war and as its source should be held accountable. He wrote, "This is the establishment. This is their war. They may squeal like rats, but they cannot deny it."⁴⁸ Morgan's statements reflected the presence of hostility toward the liberal community at La Salle. Although he used the campus formal media outlet to express his grievances, others took a more aggressive stance and used violence to show their displeasure.

According to the *La Salle Collegian*, a group of male fraternity members in the cafeteria began verbally harassing students who wore "hippie" clothes and had attended the forum. The aggressors called their targets Communists, Viet Cong, and homosexuals; eventually they physically attacked these students. One guilty individual later commented to reporters that the growing protests on campus against the Vietnam War had created hostility in the community, which he claimed had pushed him toward violence against those who represented it.⁴⁹ This outburst, as well as more decorous disagreements throughout campus, illustrated that not everyone at La Salle agreed with the antiwar movement emerging at this school. Like at St. Joseph's, this liberal group did not make up a majority, but nevertheless gained a louder, more influential voice. As the war progressed, antiwar proponents became more vocal and numerous, especially with regard to the mandatory ROTC program.

Established in 1950 following the outbreak of the Korean War, the artillery branch of the ROTC had become a major presence at La Salle, drawing students from around the city to participate prior to the mid-1960s.⁵⁰ Although voluntary in its first two years, the program became mandatory for freshmen and sophomores in 1952 in order to boost ROTC enrollment.⁵¹ With rising criticism on the Vietnam War, however, the two-year mandatory ROTC program came under heavy fire from both students and faculty.

During the latter half of the 1967 fall semester, the *La Salle Collegian* conducted an investigation into the program because rumors had swirled across campus that the college received a sizable subsidy of \$60 for each student enrolled in ROTC. Many believed that the mandatory nature of the program derived from the financial gains the college received. Stories spread that this additional income was unethically spent on the president's

personal expenses, basketball scholarships, and even wine for the Christian Brothers. The student investigators, however, found no evidence of such a deal. The professor of military science, Colonel Stephen Silvasy, showed the *Collegian* documents that debunked this myth; the ROTC program received \$149 per advanced corps cadet. This money could only be used in the ROTC program.⁵² Therefore, the mandatory lower-division classes did not reap any financial benefit for either the school or the ROTC program. This attempted exposé, however, illustrated the shift toward a more critical and wary attitude concerning this government-sponsored program on campus.

Because of the growing discontent with the ROTC program, the Faculty Senate decided to convene in March 1968 to discuss the various opinions regarding to the mandatory nature of ROTC at La Salle. Many criticized the ROTC program from an educational standpoint, asserting it cut into other academic work and weakened the overall curriculum. Much of their discussion, however, focused on the latent issue of Catholic morality. Professor Bertram Streib of the Physics Department, for example, claimed the ROTC program reinforced the growth of national defense in a war that was against the school's Catholic identity. Other faculty members also demonstrated similar thoughts and worries. In this two-hour meeting, liberal members of the Senate openly expressed their concerns, as other more conservative participants backed the administrative decision for compulsory ROTC.⁵³ Although this meeting created a more prominent dialogue between pro and anti-ROTC faculty members, it nevertheless resulted in a loss for opponents of the program. The council voted to retain ROTC by a 10–4 vote.⁵⁴

Discussions about ROTC became more frequent, and those participating began calling for more vigorous action. In May 1968 a group of 130 students held a demonstration during the Annual ROTC Review. This demonstration remained peaceful as the cadets conducted their drills. A student participant later provided the reasons to the *La Salle Collegian* as to why they protested during the event. The anonymous student commented:

It should be obvious that a Christian community should at very least be morally repulsed by the idea of war, and such a stand should at all times be clearly and publically maintained. . . . War functions merit serious negative emphasis from those who profess to be Christians. . . . The ROTC is not only present on campus, but it is

often officially lauded, a situation which beclouds the moral status of an area which should be seen in as clear a moral context as possible.⁵⁵

This remark exposed the Catholic undertone that pervaded many of the arguments used by opponents of the ROTC program. Because the administration continued to support ROTC, while also tolerating these protests, students progressively moved toward more prominent and radical acts at La Salle. One such demonstration happened during the St. Barbara's Day parade.

The St. Barbara's Day protest occurred on December 3, 1968.⁵⁶ The annual cadet march down Broad Street to the Holy Child Church for mass became the scene of a peaceful demonstration over the ROTC program. Protestors donned black bands as they silently walked along the cadet column. Half of the forty-five participants entered the church where they held a silent prayer vigil in the aisles for the end of war and ROTC. Again, the anti-ROTC demonstrators remained peaceful as they used their religious beliefs to guide their actions. Although protestors never aggressively acted out, their actions grew more visible and drastic in order to make the administration take notice of their discontent.

In March 1969 the College Council, which included the president, vice president, and deans, reaffirmed the earlier vote conducted by the Faculty Senate, albeit by a narrow margin of 7–6. In response, both faculty and students amassed 1,750 signatures in a petition, which they presented to the council. Brother Daniel Bernian, the president of La Salle College, felt pressured to ask the council to reassess the matter and reconsider holding a campus-wide referendum that spring to decide whether or not to make ROTC voluntary.⁵⁷ A predominantly student-led ad hoc committee told Bernian during a two hour meeting, "a threat of strong student support for a sit-in and possible strike by both students and faculty" remained a likely recourse if the council did not change its decision.⁵⁸ Although the College Council conceded to allow the referendum to occur, disaffection across the college's campus remained and even escalated following the vote.

A clear majority emerged: 1,229 student and faculty members out of the 1,869 who participated favored voluntary ROTC at La Salle beginning the following year. The Ad Hoc committee assumed they had settled the issue, and that the council would listen to the majority. This supposition proved false: Brother Bernian affirmed that the administration retained the right to make the final decision, despite what the majority wanted. Handing the

decision over to the board of trustees, he removed himself from the matter. When the board declared that mandatory ROTC would continue at La Salle, students and faculty members decried the verdict. The administration threw down the gauntlet, and the students chose to respond to this indignation by planning a sit-in.

Amid the debate between the Ad Hoc committee and the College Council, the *La Salle Collegian* published a flurry of articles relating to the rising tension on campus, many of which tried to defuse the situation before the sit-in happened. Lieutenant Colonel Robert Fallon, a member of the ROTC faculty, grew increasingly exasperated at the circumstances on campus, and commented that a decision cannot be made “in an atmosphere highly charged with the hyperbole of ‘feeding the war machine.’”⁵⁹ He perhaps uttered this inflammatory rhetoric toward this predominantly peaceful movement out of frustration. He recognized the importance of the moral position, but did assert it ought not to be overly exaggerated in light of the animosity between the administration and the faculty/student population. A cadet also made a similar appeal. “No one wants peace,” this anonymous student declared, “more than those people in the military.” Both of these ROTC representatives tried to humanize cadets in the program to show that they had not been morally corrupted; many in the ROTC truly wanted the war to end as much as protestors.⁶⁰

Although members of the community attempted to neutralize the rising tide of dissent on campus, they could not prevent the four-day sit-in that began Tuesday, April 15, 1969. Not only did protestors demand the removal of compulsory ROTC, but also a restructuring of the decision-making process, which gave the board of trustees power to issue academic and curricular decisions affecting the whole campus community. Demonstrators asserted that these men did not understand the viewpoint of current members of La Salle College, since many were removed from daily campus life. In order to push for a complete overhaul, 250 students sat on the first floor of College Hall, refusing to move until they swayed the College Council’s opinions.⁶¹ Though tense moments occurred when the administration threatened legal action, the demonstration did not devolve into violence. Many influential members of the community supported the movement. Professors conducting class in the building, for instance, did not even try to stop the students. Brother Daniel Burke, La Salle’s academic vice president, reportedly even stepped over the protestors as he congratulated them on their tenacity.⁶²

Negotiations dragged on for days with neither side budging. Finally, the Ad Hoc committee demanded that the president be present for any further meetings between the administration and student-protestors; they forced the highest levels of the college to listen to them. The students insisted that either the council make the final decision in regards to ROTC or turn the decision over to the community. By Wednesday, the sit-in's support had grown. Three hundred students now lined the halls as many faculty members signed a petition in support of it. The board of trustees bowed to the demands, relinquishing their ability to make these types of decisions. By Friday of that week, not only had the students solidified which body or individuals had the right to decide college policy, but also forced the administration to concede to their demands to make ROTC voluntary.⁶³

While many celebrated the victory, others arguably criticized how those involved achieved their goals. Alumnus Paul Simon pointed out in the alumni newsletter that while the activists succeeded, their victory may arguably be hollow. He asserted, "Perhaps subconsciously, they realized it was really an unhappy victory, one predicated upon 'demands,' 'capitulation,' 'ultimatums' and, yes, 'victory.'"⁶⁴ La Salle's student and faculty population had fought hard to make their voices heard. They felt empowered to do so, however, because they felt passionately about this issue. Students, faculty, and even some administrators saw an inherent contradiction between compulsory ROTC and La Salle's Catholic identity. Many questioned how La Salle, as a Catholic college, could support and supply men for a military effort that stood at variance to institutional core beliefs. The religious significance of this matter thus led to the extreme measures used by these Catholic activists. Members of this community felt fervently about this unjust war and would not bend to an administration that forced them to participate against their will. Although this victory was not supported unanimously by everyone connected with La Salle College, the results nevertheless illustrated the power of a movement based on a communal understanding of religion and morality.

ST. JOSEPH'S AND LA SALLE COLLEGE: REPRESENTATIONS OF CATHOLIC-INSPIRED ACTIVISM

Both St. Joseph's and La Salle witnessed the growth of college activism on their respective campuses during the 1960s and 1970s. As religious institutions, however, both experienced a type of activism embedded in Catholic teachings. These schools had to contend with secular issues not only as citizens, but also

as Catholics in a church that had recently undergone extreme reform. Often these issues conflicted, resulting in a crisis of one's civic and religious morals, especially as the Vietnam War intensified in the mid-1960s. In both of these communities, a profound struggle occurred between those who supported the war and ROTC programs and those who did not. The main argument focused on their Catholicism and how to interpret religious doctrine in the twentieth century. Students, faculty, and staff confronted the question of how they, as devout Catholics, could participate in a possibly unjust war as US citizens. Many believed the teachings of the Catholic Church guided them one way, a way of peace and toleration, as the government pushed them toward war. In order to solve this dilemma, St. Joseph's and La Salle found various means to guide their communities in an open dialogue embracing communal responsibility and decision-making. The issue of ROTC at each of these schools not only proved a pertinent issue to debate in light of the Vietnam War, but also offered participants an opportunity to explore their individual faith and religion within the larger secular world.

Although this article explored two colleges in one city, it nevertheless serves as an example of how Catholic campuses in America handled these hard issues during the Vietnam era. They survived and strengthened as a result of their ability to adapt to change. In order to fully realize this argument, further research must be conducted across a wide array of Catholic colleges and universities in the United States. Analyzing the response of different types of Catholic institutions in varied settings will further buttress the claims made in this article. Members of Catholic college communities generated a new breed of activism during the Vietnam conflict, one that utilized Catholic teachings to undergird their antiwar arguments.

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NOTES

1. For more information on the general relationship between activism and religion see Dr. James J. Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997). He linked various activist associations on campuses in the 1960s through the vein of personalism. He concentrated

specifically on the interconnections between these organizations, as well as the religious undertones within each person's ideological beliefs. Doug Rossinow's *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998) argued that young people embraced the idea of authenticity through Christianity. He examined the rise of the New Left at the University of Texas by emphasizing how Christian existentialism played a major role in the formation and perpetuation of the movement. Dr. Penelope Adams Moon analyzed the actions of Catholics in her article "'Peace on Earth—Peace in Vietnam': The Catholic Peace Fellowship and Antiwar Witness, 1964–1976," *Journal of Social History* 36 (2003):1033–57. Moon explained how CPFers taught their fellow Catholics about their faith in order to inform them how they can relate to their religious and civic identities. While this article mainly focuses on the general American Catholic population, Moon does describe the transition the Church underwent with regard to its support of the Vietnam War, and also how many Church officials came to see selective conscientious objection (SCO) as an important recourse for Catholics in America.

2. For a discussion of earlier works on elite universities see William O'Neil's *Coming Apart* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2005); Todd Gitlin's *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1989); and W. J. Rorabaugh's *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). For works on activism on public campuses see Kenneth J. Heineman's *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York: New York University Press, 1993) and Paul Lyons's *The People of This Generation: The Rise and Fall of the New Left* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).
3. The scholarship on the Catholic identity crisis emerged soon after Vatican II ended. In 1968 Thomas E. Quigley edited the essay volume *American Catholics and Vietnam* (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans). Religious-affiliated men and women, as well as religious scholars and philosophers, worked on multiple essays iterating the Catholic understanding of war in Vietnam as an unjust conflict. Other scholars looked at the Catholic education system to show the transformative effects of 1960s radicalization. Father Charles E. Curran wrote *Catholic Higher Education, Theology, and Academic Freedom* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990). His chapter on "Acceptance of Academic Freedom of Catholic Higher Education in the 1960s" examined the expansion of freedom of speech among Catholic institutions as they embraced change not only in the Church, but also in secular society. As they did so, however, administrators felt as if they had abandoned their religious roots; they did not think they could embrace wholly the religious and the secular. Two recent works speak more closely to this article's argument. Sister Alice Gallin's *Negotiating Identity: Catholic Higher Education since 1960* (Notre

- Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000) clearly outlined what she called “The Americanization of Catholic Colleges and Universities.” She explained how Catholics used the creativity that began with Vatican II and Kennedy’s New Frontier by bringing in more lay teachers, administrators, and government-sponsored funding. The educational historian Stephen Denig edited *Catholic Higher Education in the 1960s: Issues of Identity, Issues of Governance* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2009), which fashioned a similar analysis to that of Gallin’s. He explored institutional changes at specific Catholic universities, but focused in on particular cases that illustrated the more general theme of reform in Catholic higher education after Vatican II.
4. For information on the Berrigan brothers see Fred Wilcox’s *Uncommon Martyrs: The Berrigans, the Catholic Left, and the Plowshares Movement* (Reading, MA: Addison-West Publishing, 1991), Murray Polner and Jim O’Grady’s *Disarmed and Dangerous: The Radical Lives and Times of Daniel and Phillip Berrigan* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), and Ross Labrie’s *The Writings of Daniel Berrigan* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989).
 5. The Second Vatican Council produced *Gaudium et Spes*, the Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World, to address many social, cultural, and theological issues both lay and religious men and women encountered mid-twentieth century. It addressed issues pertaining to social justice, poverty, marriage and family, economics, and relations between nations. Both lay and religious were directed by the council to actively contribute to the advancement of Christian values within a modern context. This more open direction from Church leadership helped centralize a mission that the entirety of the community could discuss and execute on local, national, and international levels. To access this document see http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html.
 6. Joseph G. Morgan, “A Change of Course: American Catholics, Anticommunism, and the Vietnam War,” *US Catholic Historian* 22, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 117–30. Morgan traces the change in editorial commentary in multiple Catholic publications, including *Commonweal*, *Ave Maria*, the *Brooklyn Tablet*, and the *National Catholic Reporter*. He argues that these periodicals at first supported anticommunist efforts that US officials made in Vietnam in the late 1950s; however, a marked shift occurred in the 1960s when writers began condemning the continued fighting. This change, according to Morgan, mirrored the reactions of the American Church hierarchy, which called for a quick end to the war during a 1971 national conference.
 7. While there are few works pertaining to the exploration of student antiwar protests on Catholic college campuses, a strong regional study exists for the San Francisco Bay area conducted by Helen M. Ciernick. In her 2008 article “A Matter of Conscience: The Selective Conscientious Objector,

Catholic College Students, and the Vietnam War,” *US Catholic Historian* 26 (Summer 2008): 33–50. Ciernick makes an important analysis of both Catholic and non-Catholic activists, stating: “Students’ protests of the Vietnam war took the same forms as that of their non-Catholic counterparts, for a segment of the Catholic college student population these students’ motivation was rooted in their Catholic faith.” For more on Ciernick’s work see “Catholic College Students in the San Francisco Bay Area and the Civil Rights Movement,” *US Catholic Historian* 24 (Spring 2006): 131–41. In the first article Ciernick discusses a University of San Francisco student named James McFadden who fought for SCO status in order to “live in accord with his conscience.” Ciernick traces how this collegiate environment fostered discussion about the reemerging Catholic pacifist mindset that eventually caused McFadden to contest the Selective Service System (SSS). Steadfastly against the two-year mandatory ROTC requirement on campus, McFadden published letters where he argued the University identified with the military-nationalistic structure by forcing students to participate in ROTC. In doing so, USF supported an unjust war that went against the Catholic Just War ethic. Similar to instances at St. Joseph’s and La Salle, McFadden and his fellow students argued these Catholic institutions gave away their autonomy by allowing the government onto campus and enforcing mandatory participation in this type of military-sponsored curriculum. In the end, McFadden’s fight against the SSS to become an SCO went to the US Supreme Court where it suspended judgment. Ciernick states his case nevertheless illustrates the many layers of American Catholicism, and the ways in which Church teachings could be interpreted in a twentieth-century context. The latter article analyzes “the nature of students’ on-going assimilation into American culture, and the theological and cultural changes taking places with the American Catholic community” by looking at how Catholic college students specifically understood the civil rights movements in the 1960s. Her article, broken into two parts that illustrate Catholic college students’ reactions to the early civil rights movement and how they became more involved following demonstrations and the creation of Catholic Interracial Councils at the University of San Francisco and Santa Clara University. While not looking specifically at antiwar and anti-ROTC, her thesis regarding how students at these institutions negotiated the social justice tradition of the Catholic Church with looming issues in a modern world. Both of these articles originated in Ciernick’s 2003 dissertation: “Student Life on Catholic-College Campuses in the San Francisco Bay Area during the 1960s” (Catholic University of America).

8. Frans Jozef van Beeck, SJ, *Catholic Identity after Vatican II: Three Types of Faith in the One Church* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1983), 3.
9. Chapter VI, “Formation of the Apostolate,” in Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity, *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, Pope Paul VI, November 18, 1965,

- http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19651118_apostolicam-actuositatem_en.html.
10. Alice Gallin, OSU, *Negotiating Identity, Catholic Higher Education since 1960* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 43. St. Joseph's, for example, followed this trend. According to historian David Contosta, in *Saint Joseph's: Philadelphia's Jesuit University 150 Years*, the Jesuits had become less prominent on campus throughout the 1960s as lay faculty and staff filled new and existing positions. By the early 1970s, the Jesuits established a separate corporation for the college and handed over control to a lay board of trustees. These events arose out of need due to a shortage of religious men, changing demographic shifts in the Philadelphia area, and the emergence of a more open Church in a post-Vatican II world.
 11. Thomas Aquinas, "Whether it is always sinful to wage war," *Summa Theologica*, <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/3040.htm>. The most recent definition of "Just War Theory" can be found in paragraph 2309 of *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*. It states: "The strict conditions for *legitimate defense by military force* require rigorous consideration. The gravity of such a decision makes it subject to rigorous conditions of moral legitimacy. At one and the same time: the damage inflicted by the aggressor on the nation or community of nations must be lasting, grave, and certain; all other means of putting an end to it must have been shown to be impractical or ineffective; there must be serious prospects of success; the use of arms must not produce evils and disorders graver than the evil to be eliminated. The power of modern means of destruction weighs very heavily in evaluating this condition. These are the traditional elements enumerated in what is called the 'just war' doctrine."
 12. Pope John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_11041963_pacem_en.html.
 13. Pope Paul VI, "The Avoidance of War," *Gaudium et Spes*, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html.
 14. David Contosta, *Saint Joseph's: Philadelphia's Jesuit University 150 Years* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2000), 257. Contosta explains the decision to become a coeducational institution arose for multiple reasons, citing demographic shifts following the construction and 1959 dedication of the Schuylkill Expressway, and increased suburbanization further away from St. Joseph's campus. The population in the neighborhood surrounding St. Joseph's, that is, the area from which it drew a large amount of its student body, dropped significantly resulting in a proportional loss of students. Contosta states the percentage of Philadelphia residents forming the student body dropped from a high of 55 percent to 30.6 percent by 1970.
 15. Moon, "Peace on Earth—Peace in Vietnam," 1038.

16. Joseph R. Weak, "Poll Reveals Majority Favor Continuing War in Viet Nam," *The Hawk*, November 18, 1965, <http://thehawkarchive.sju.edu/Default/Skins/TheHawk/Client.asp?skin=TheHawk&AW=1367930864779&AppName=2>. It is also worth noting Contosta asserted *The Hawk* had previously been pro-administration, meaning many articles agreed with University policy. Students wrote pieces that did not spur contention in the community. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the paper's stance had indeed shifted.
17. Contosta, *Saint Joseph's*, 252.
18. Tom Neuberger, "College Plans Dialogue Day," *The Hawk*, September 27, 1968.
19. Jack Murtagh, "After One Year, the Dream Emerges," *The Hawk*, May 19, 1969; Jack Borland, "Dialogue Day II Examines Educational Goals," *The Hawk*, October 27, 1969.
20. College Council, "Statement of Policy on Freedom of Assembly," March 13, 1969, Student Association Box, 0230.SLSA, St. Joseph's Archives (hereafter cited as SJA).
21. College Council, "Policy on Political Activities on Campus by Members of the College Community," September 12, 1972, Student Association Box, 0230.SLSA.I, SJA.
22. James E. Dougherty was a former enlisted soldier in the army after he graduated high school in 1942. Following his service in World War II, he earned graduate degrees from Fordham University and the University of Pennsylvania. While Dougherty was an influential member of the St. Joseph's community, he also served as a faculty member at the National War College in Washington, DC, from 1964 to 1965. He also acted as a research associate at the Foreign Policy Research Institute from 1956 to 1968. From 1973 to 1976, Dougherty also was an associate editor for *Orbis*, a journal for world affairs. Dougherty was thus well known and revered in the political science and international relations fields. "James E. Dougherty," Dougherty Folder (hereafter cited as DF), SJA.
23. James E. Dougherty, "A Statement by James E. Dougherty," undated, SJA. Dougherty did not only specifically address issues at St. Joseph's in this statement, but also the general atmosphere on most university campuses during the 1960s and 1970s.
24. Tom Ryan, "War: Problems and Alternatives Explored," *The Hawk*, February 21, 1968.
25. Selective Conscientious Objection refers to the right of members of the Catholic Church to object to specific wars, such as Vietnam, that they viewed as unjust. Dougherty cautioned that SCO possibilities could lead to corruption among Church members who could use this stance as a way to get out of serving.

26. James E. Dougherty, "Commentary on the Draft Declaration on Conscientious Objection," DF.
27. James E. Dougherty, "War, Peace, and the Christian Conscience," August 1972, DF.
28. "What Do You Think of the ROTC Program?" *The Hawk*, February 18, 1965.
29. "University and Catholic: Final Report of the Special Committee on the Christian Character of Marquette University," December 10, 1969, AFROTC, Box 0175.DPTAF.2, SJA.
30. James E. Dougherty, "Statement on ROTC at Saint Joseph's University," November 1, 1971, SJA.
31. James E. Dougherty, "Statement on ROTC at Saint Joseph's University," October 1, 1971, SJA.
32. "SA Organizing ROTC Debates," October 1, 1971, *The Hawk*, SJA.
33. The debates occurred from October 1 to October 6, 1971.
34. Campus Peace Coalition, October 1971, AFROTC, Box 0175.DPTAF.2, SJA.
35. Father Anthony Capizzi, "Some Moral Implications of AFROTC Presence on the Saint Joseph's Campus," November 3, 1971, AFROTC, Box 0175.DPTAF.2, SJA.
36. Richard Costello, "Letter," *The Hawk*, November 15, 1971. It should be noted that this letter merely restates what Capizzi said at the debates. Few of the original speeches and notes survive. On Kwoka's argument, see Contosta, *Saint Joseph's*, 251. AFROTC allowed women in its ranks beginning in 1972. Saint Joseph's began accepting women into the University's Day School in 1970. Two years later, St. Joseph's admitted women to the AFROTC program, thus following the national trend.
37. The Edmund Burke Society, May, 6, 1970, 14, Special Interest Clubs Box, 0251: SLCLBS.
38. "Local Conference to Re-Evaluate Viet Conflict," *The Hawk*, October 4, 1967. Saint Joseph's sent two faculty and one student representative to the forum. These individuals included the following: Rev. Michael Smith, SJ, Dr. David Marshall, both of the philosophy department, and student Tom McCoog.
39. "Memorandum, The Campus Ministry Staff to The College Community," Discussions on AFROTC at St. Joseph's College, November 3, 1971, AFROTC Box, 0175.DPTAF.2, SJA.
40. Remarks of Dr. Thomas McFadden to the College Council, May 1, 1972, "On the Continuance of the Air Force ROTC Program," AFROTC Box, 0175.DPTAF.2, SJA.
41. John Foster, "EP Subcommittee Approves ROTC Expansion," *The Hawk*, November 22, 1974;
42. La Salle did not admit women until 1970.
43. "Mission Integration," La Salle University website, <http://www.lasalle.edu/missionoffice/index.php?page=history&group=history>.

44. John DeWald, "Modern Theologian Peter Riga Surveys Contemporary Problems," *La Salle Collegian*, November 15, 1968, 1968–1969 *Collegian* Folder (hereafter CF), La Salle University Archives (hereafter LUA).
45. Edward Longacre, "Vietnam War Truths Subject of Forum," *La Salle Collegian*, October 3, 1967, 1967–1968 CF, LUA.
46. Bernie Krimm, "Commager, Bennet and Gruening Attack Washington's Viet Policy," *La Salle Collegian*, October 20, 1967, 1967–1968 CF, LUA.
47. In an interview conducted by the author June 6, 2016, Francis J. Ryan, Ed.D., a participant in the 1969 sit-in, recalled that many conservative students hailed from the business school, while many of the anti-ROTC and antiwar students studied the liberal arts. He asserted that the focus on discussion and free thinking in the liberal arts fostered in these students the ability to seek out answers to questions and analyze situations from a different point of view than perhaps business courses did. Ryan ('69) studied English and represented the English Club at faculty meetings following a student-body push for greater undergraduate involvement in academic affairs.
48. J. P. Morgan, "Viet Forum Viewed as Farce," *La Salle Collegian*, October 20, 1967, 1967–1968 CF, LUA.
49. "Student Strong in Cafeteria Over War Protest Argument," *La Salle Collegian*, October 30, 1967, 1967–1968 CF, LUA.
50. John Rossi, *Living the Promise: A History of La Salle University* (Philadelphia: La Salle University Press, 2012, 107.
51. In an interview conducted by the author on June 6, 2016, John Rossi stated the military pressured La Salle University to boost its enrollment. If not, La Salle risked losing the program and any potential government support.
52. "ROTC Myths Refuted; No Subsidy to School," *La Salle Collegian*, December 11, 1967, 1967–1968, LUA.
53. Tom Smith, "Compulsory ROTC Questioned in Faculty Senate," *La Salle Collegian*, March 1, 1968, 1967–1968 CF, LUA. In conjunction with the Faculty Senate meeting, the administration also allowed students to conduct a poll regarding whether or not mandatory ROTC should continue. This poll, however, was haphazard; therefore, the administration told them to redo it in order to have it reviewed. Although the Faculty Senate meeting and poll of the student body did not spark immediate change, it was nevertheless significant in that La Salle had an environment conducive to open dialogue.
54. Rossi, *Living the Promise*, 109.
55. "Christian Commitment," *La Salle Collegian*, May 10, 1968, 1968–1969 CF, LUA.
56. La Salle University, "La Salle College Bulletin Student Handbook 1968–1969" (1968). *La Salle Student Handbooks*, Book 25, http://digitalcommons.lasalle.edu/student_handbooks/25.

57. John P. Corr, "1750 Seek to Abolish La Salle ROTC Rule," March 20, 1969, Mutual Press Clipping, LUA.
58. Liberal faculty members also participated in the Ad Hoc Committee. Some noted names include John Connors and Richard Leonard from the Sociology Department, Bert Strieb from the Physics Department, Russ Naughton of the Philosophy Department, and John McNelis who ran La Salle University's outreach center. Rossi, *Living the Promise*, 108.
59. "Moral Position Summarized," *La Salle Collegian*, April 1, 1969, 1968–1969 CF, LUA.
60. "Cadet Claims ROTC Program Would Die If Made Voluntary," in *ibid.*
61. "Sit-in Wins Complete Victory," *La Salle Collegian*, April 22, 1969, 1968–1969 CF, LUA.
62. Rossi, *Living the Promise*, III.
63. "Sit-in Wins Complete Victory," *La Salle Collegian*, April 22, 1969, 1968–1969 CF, LUA.
64. "College Hall Sit-In: Sound of Silence," *La Salle: A Quarterly La Salle College Magazine* (Summer 1969): 40.