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Give Peace a Chance: Responses to the Vietnam War on Catholic College Campuses

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FIGURES

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

On the evening of October 15, 1969, a crowd of Providence College students and faculty gathered outside of the college's premier academic and administrative building, Harkins Hall. "Arm in arm and five abreast," these individuals began marching down River Avenue towards Smith Street at approximately 7:00 p.m., where they merged with a contingent from Rhode Island College.[1] As the group made its way towards downtown Providence singing Beatles music, patrons began coming out of the local bars lining Smith Street, stunned by the size of the crowd.[2] After completing the roughly two-mile trek to the Rhode Island State House, the Providence College students and faculty joined a larger crowd of over 12,000 members of the greater Providence community who were making peace signs with their fingers and chanting slogans such as "no more war!" and "all we are saying is give peace a chance." They were there to express their firm opposition to the Vietnam War.[3]

While peaceful scenes such as this constituted a sizeable portion of the anti-Vietnam War movement, too often they are overpowered by the more violent and antagonistic scenes commonly associated with the Vietnam War—scenes such as student strikers wrestling with police officers

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[1] "'Lost War' Speech Keys Moratorium Day at PC," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), October 22, 1969.

[2] Dr. Richard Grace, interview by author, November 2019.

[3] "'Lost War' Speech," *The Cowl*, October 22, 1969.

on the floor of the library at Columbia University,[4] riot police swinging clubs and students fleeing from clouds of tear gas with gushing head wounds at the University of Wisconsin-Madison,[5] four students getting shot and killed at Kent State University, or President Richard Nixon referring to radical student protestors as "bums. . .blowing up the campuses."[6] Scenes of destruction, barbarity, and bitter division dominate our national memory.

Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, colleges and universities were at the center of the anti-Vietnam War movement in the United States. While there were certainly moments of tense, violent protest at American institutions such as Columbia University and the University of Wisconsin-Madison, there were many more moments of nonviolent, peaceful protest at other institutions, particularly Catholic colleges and universities such as Providence College, Notre Dame University, and its sister school St. Mary's College. While Catholic college students were not the only American students to employ peaceful methods of protest in conveying their opposition to the war, they comprised a significant faction of nonviolent student activists. Always working to differentiate themselves from the radical anti-war movement and emphasizing their commitment to peaceful, nonviolent methods of protest, students at Catholic colleges and universities could appeal to their respective communities in ways that violent student protestors could not. Whereas the violent, chaotic movements at some secular colleges and universities often alienated the general public, the public was much more receptive to and understanding of the peaceful movements at Catholic universities. In turn, Catholic college students served as

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[4] "Spring '68: Alumni Recall a Tumultuous Time and How It Changed Their Lives," *Columbia College Today* (New York, NY), May/June 2008, https://www.college.columbia.edu/cct/archive/may_jun08/cover_story.

[5] "Photos: Look Back at Historic Dow Chemical anti-Vietnam War Protests at UW-Madison," *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI), October 25, 2019.

[6] Juan de Onis, "Nixon Puts 'Bums' Label on Some College Radicals," *New York Times*, May 2, 1970.

productive catalysts for change in their communities, inspiring groups of both Catholics and non-Catholics to join the nonviolent charge against American participation in the Vietnam War.

The Secular Student Movement

When discussing the student-led, anti-Vietnam War movement in the United States, scholars often point to students who caused the most destruction or garnered the most national attention, such as the members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The SDS was a national student-led organization that was originally founded in 1960 to protest broad societal issues such as racism and "corporate power."[7] Individuals who were members of the SDS felt disheartened with the state of American affairs in the 1960s, and wanted to enact change for future generations. This feeling of dissatisfaction was particularly evident in the opening line of the SDS's manifesto, the Port Huron Statement: "We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit."[8] Throughout the 1960s, this initial focus on problematic societal structures evolved into a more specific focus on protesting the Vietnam War, and the SDS simultaneously developed a more confrontational reputation. While the SDS had its strongest roots in secular institutions such as Columbia University that had active SDS chapters by the early 1960s, the few Catholic colleges that established SDS chapters typically did not do so until the end of the decade. In some cases,

[7] Todd Gitlin, "What Was the Protest Group Students for a Democratic Society? Five Questions Answered," *Smithsonian Magazine* (Washington, D.C.), May 4, 2017, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/what-was-protest-group-students-democratic-society-five-questions-answered-180963138/.

[8] Benjamin T. Harrison, "Roots of The American Protest of the 60's," *Peace Research* 24, no. 3 (August 1992): 26, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23607211.

Catholic institutions such as Notre Dame University tried to establish chapters that either fell apart or never came to fruition.[9]

Most scholars who have examined demonstrations at specific colleges and universities have narrowly focused on those schools that made national headlines or had prestigious reputations. For example, some of the most well-known and talked about protests happened at Ivy League schools like Columbia University. Like other Ivy League institutions, the Columbia student body was still dominated by white, wealthy males during the Vietnam War.[10] The height of anti-war activities at Columbia occurred in April of 1968, when leaders of Columbia's chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society arranged an indoor protest against Columbia's "involvement with the Institute for Defense Analysis and weapons research for the military."[11] However, scholars Louis Lusky and Mary Lusky speculate that "perhaps the actual motivation was the simple adolescent desire to attain leadership for its own sake," as the Columbia student body repeatedly questioned and challenged the authority of university administrators and sought to be "rebellious."[12]

When these SDS leaders were disciplined by the university for violating an indoor demonstration rule on campus, Columbia's student body erupted in protest, showing their solidarity with the SDS leaders and their opposition to the university's involvement with the

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[9] Amanda Miller, "Mapping American Social Movements Project: SDS Chapters 1962-1969," University of Washington, accessed September 20, 2020, https://depts.washington.edu/moves/sds_map.shtml.

[10] Genevieve Carlton, "A History of Privilege in American Higher Education," *Best Colleges* (blog), July 17, 2020, https://www.bestcolleges.com/blog/history-privilege-higher-education/.

[11] Levy, "Behind the Anti-War Protests that Swept America in 1968," *Time*, January 19, 2018, https://time.com/5106608/protest-1968/.

[12] Louis Lusky and Mary H. Lusky, "Columbia 1968: The Wound Unhealed," *Political Science Quarterly* 84, no. 2 (June 1969): 174, https://doi.org/10.2307/2147260.

Institute for Defense Analysis.[13] In his article "The Columbia Crisis: Campus, Vietnam and the Ghetto," author Allen Barton explains that the Columbia students occupied several classroom buildings, blockaded Dean Coleman of Columbia College in his office, and broke into the university's main administrative building, where they "occupied President Kirk's office, searched his files, and began copying correspondence that interested them."[14] The situation at Columbia eventually became so intense that the university's administration called upon nearly 1,000 New York City police officers to clear out the occupied buildings, which resulted in "many injuries and 700 arrests."[15] While some students violently resisted being carried out of the occupied buildings by hurling objects at the officers, others did not resist at all, yet were still beaten. Later on, students and faculty showed their "outrage against the police action" by boycotting classes, or by holding classes outside and not in classrooms.[16] While the student body and faculty at Columbia largely supported the protestors' main goal, to convince the university to end its ties with the Institute for Defense Analysis, "only a small minority favored the tactics of the sit-in demonstrators."[17] Moreover, the larger public also expressed disapproval over the student protests at Columbia, as

[13] Lusky and Lusky, "The Wound Unhealed," 175.

[14] Allen H. Barton, "The Columbia Crisis: Campus, Vietnam, and the Ghetto," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (1968): 333-334.

[15] Daniel S. Levy, "Behind the Anti-War Protests," *Time*, January 19, 2018; Barton, "The Columbia Crisis," 334.

[16] Barton, "The Columbia Crisis," 334.

[17] Barton, "The Columbia Crisis," 335.

the *New York Times* described the student protestors as a "boisterous group" of "rebels" who "cripple[d] [Columbia's] campus."[18]

Another distinguished institution that scholars often highlight when analyzing student opposition to Vietnam is the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Similar to Columbia, most students at UW-Madison came from the middle and upper classes during this time.[19] On October 18, 1967, Wisconsin students organized a sit-in as a means of protesting "Dow Chemical's presence as a recruiter on campus." As in the case of Columbia, members of the SDS were involved in the protest at UW-Madison. These SDS members, however, were just a small subset of an overall group of students who were not all officially affiliated with SDS.[20] These students did not want representatives from Dow Chemical at their school because Dow Chemical manufactured napalm, a chemical weapon that was used by American military forces in Vietnam. According to the *Wisconsin State Journal*, after "the university ordered the students to disperse" and the students refused, the university called in the Madison police.[21] In his book, *They Marched into Sunlight: War and Peace, Vietnam and America*, author David Maraniss describes, in graphic detail, the confrontation that then ensued between the Madison police and the University of Wisconsin-Madison students who conducted the sit-in. Specifically, Maraniss explains that the police swung

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[18] David Bird, "300 Protesting Columbia Students Barricade Office of College Dean," *New York Times*, April 24, 1968; F.M.H., "Columbia is the Target," *New York Times*, May 5, 1968; Murray Schumach, "Columbia Board Scores 'Minority' Crippling Campus," *New York Times*, April 28, 1968.

[19] Jillian Berman, "Why Big State Colleges Are Increasingly Dominated by Wealthy Students," *MarketWatch*, April 11, 2016, https://www.marketwatch.com/story/why-big-public-colleges-are-increasingly-dominated-by-wealthy-students-2016-04-08.

[20] "1960-1969," University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives and Records Management, accessed April 14, 2021, https://www.library.wisc.edu/archives/exhibits/campus-history-projects/protests-social-action-at-uw-madison-during-the-20th-century/1960-1969/.

[21] "Dow Chemical anti-Vietnam War Protests at UW-Madison," *Wisconsin State Journal*, October 25, 2019.

their clubs at the crowd and released tear gas as the students laid on the ground, kicking, spitting, and cursing at the officers. Dozens of individuals were injured in the chaotic violence, and "forty-seven students were treated [at the hospital], half of them with head wounds."[22] Like the situation at Columbia, the public mainly spoke about the protestors' violent tactics rather than their reasons for protesting in the first place—and they spoke about it distastefully. The *Chicago Tribune* reported on a "mob" that "[fought] police" in a "riot" that ended with "tear gas" and "more than 70 persons. . .injured."[23]

What is entirely unclear from these sources on protests at such elite, secular institutions, however, is why the students were protesting the Vietnam War in the first place. There are countless newspaper articles, journal articles, and books that depict in vivid detail the violence that unfolded at schools such as Columbia and UW-Madison, but none seem to identify the motivations behind this violence. Perhaps this gap in our understanding of the student-led, anti-Vietnam War movement could stem from the fact that violent protests distracted scholars, the media, and the public from the true motivations behind the movement. Watching students raid administrative buildings and engage in physical fights with the police may have made it difficult for the general American populace to grasp the anti-war message that students tried to convey through their aggressive actions. While students at Columbia and UW-Madison effectively showed that they were angry with their respective institutions for having ties to organizations involved in the war, they did not necessarily show why they were anti-war in the first place.

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[22] David Maraniss, *They Marched into Sunlight: War and Peace, Vietnam and America, October 1967* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2004), 383, http://archive.org/details/theymarchedintos00davi_0.

[23] "Tear Gas Ends Madison Riot," *Chicago Tribune*, October 19, 1967.

Although these types of violent protest and the SDS presence on elite campuses were an important part of the student-led, anti-Vietnam War movement in the United States, many scholars fail to acknowledge that they were not the only part. Scholar Andrew Hunt highlights this problem when he states that "the significance [of the SDS] has been inflated by sixties scholars for the purpose of establishing a consensus history of the era." This "consensus history" is what Hunt perceives to be an agreement among some scholars that the unrest of the 1960s can be sufficiently explained by analyzing and delineating the history of the SDS. However, by only focusing on protests involving the SDS and using these SDS activities to speak for all student anti-war activities, many previous scholars of the Vietnam War have failed to recognize the "breadth and diversity of protest activity in the 1960s and 1970s" that occurred at different colleges and universities all across the country. As Hunt points out, "so much dissent and grass-roots resistance occurred outside of SDS's spotlight that it would be a terrible mistake to allow the group's evolution and decline to dictate the boundaries of sixties history and research." In this vein, it would be inaccurate to apply an analysis of the impact of the SDS to the impact of the student-led, anti-war movement as a whole.[24]

Although the SDS amassed nearly 100,000 members by the end of the 1960s, the organization essentially fizzled out in 1969 thanks to the violent, radical actions of the Weathermen, who represented only a small faction of the SDS. The Weathermen's mission was to "bring the war home" —in other words, to create so much devastation in the United States that the American government would be "forc[ed]. . .out of Vietnam to deal with a violent domestic revolt." The Weathermen "bomb[ed] dozens of government and corporate targets," causing death

[24] Andrew Hunt, "When Did the Sixties Happen?" Searching for New Directions," *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 1 (1999): 148, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3789465.

and destruction and leading a majority of the SDS's membership and the American public in general to abandon the entire organization. While the American public was largely repelled by the actions of the Weathermen, it was not repelled by the actions of all student anti-war protestors.[25]

While the protests at Columbia and Wisconsin offer strong examples of the presence of the anti-Vietnam War movement on American college campuses, they are not the only instances of student anti-war protest that are important to consider. In his book *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era*, author Kenneth J. Heineman criticizes the fact that "almost every study of campus-based anti-Vietnam War protest in the 1960s and early 1970s has argued that student disaffection blossomed at elite state and private universities such as Berkeley, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Michigan, and Wisconsin." Heineman suggests that scholars tend to make these claims about elite state and private universities because present-day scholars were either educated at these institutions themselves or "shared school ties" with them. This tendency has created a void in the larger study of the student-led, anti-Vietnam War movement over time in the sense that it has allowed anti-war protests at smaller or less prestigious universities to slip through the cracks.[26]

In order to challenge the assumption that "student disaffection blossomed" at colleges like Columbia and UW-Madison, Heineman offers a detailed analysis of anti-war campaigns at larger state colleges with less prestigious reputations, such as the State University of New York at Buffalo and Pennsylvania State University. From Heineman's perspective, "one cannot simply superimpose the Berkeley or Columbia model on other universities, thereby ignoring the differing

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[25] Todd Gitlin, "Five Questions Answered," *Smithsonian Magazine*, May 4, 2017.

[26] Kenneth J. Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York University Press, 1994), 2-3.

cultural and historical context of each campus community and the ways in which those differences affected antiwar protest." Heineman recognizes the importance of studying the anti-Vietnam War movement at colleges and universities of varying size and reputation, as he understands that the movement took on different forms at different campuses.[27]

Anti-War Movements at Catholic Colleges and Universities

Like Heineman, scholar Helen Ciernick believes that researchers must consider the cultural and historical identity of a college or university when analyzing its reaction to the Vietnam War. However, Ciernick takes Heineman's argument a step further by suggesting that scholars studying campus-based, anti-war activities should pay special attention to one cultural and historical identity in particular: Catholicism. In her groundbreaking article "A Matter of Conscience: The Selective Conscientious Objector, Catholic College Students, and the Vietnam War," Ciernick asserts that responses to the Vietnam War on Catholic college campuses had a unique religious dimension. While she acknowledges that Catholic college students were similar to secular college students in the sense that both groups largely "believed that [the Vietnam War] was an imperialistic war sponsored by the military-industrial complex," Ciernick is one of the only scholars to argue that "many Catholic students' involvement in the anti-war movement was also motivated and shaped by their strong Catholic faith." Specifically, Ciernick contends that "the Catholic campus [was distinguished] from its secular counterparts" because Catholic colleges "constant[ly] structur[ed] the terms of debate and discussion in moral and ethical language," and because many "young Catholic men. . .decided to file for [conscientious objector] status or actively resist the draft in

[27] Heineman, *Campus Wars*, 2-3.

order to follow their consciences."[28] Ciernick's claim about Catholic conscientious objectors is supported by the fact that between 1967 and 1969, the percent of Catholic men "classified for alternative service as conscientious objectors" rose from "2.8 percent to. . .7.28 percent—a percentage larger than any other religious body."[29]

In her 2017 article "Catholic Activism: How Religious Identity Shaped College Peace and Anti-ROTC Movements in Philadelphia," historian Lauren Michele De Angelis echoes many of Ciernick's convictions. Like Ciernick, De Angelis suggests that scholars have not focused enough on the role that Catholicism played in shaping anti-Vietnam War protests on Catholic college campuses. Specifically, De Angelis criticizes the fact that "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." However, De Angelis notes that Ciernick is an "exception" to this general rule, and applauds Ciernick for pioneering a study that focuses specifically on the relationship between Catholicism and campus-based, anti-war activism.[30]

Building on Ciernick's original article, De Angelis explores student opposition to the Vietnam War at St. Joseph's University and La Salle University, paying special attention to the Catholic identity of these schools. Through her research, De Angelis finds that student activism at these two Philadelphia universities was profoundly influenced by the Second Vatican Council and

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[28] Helen M. Ciernick, "A Matter of Conscience: The Selective Conscientious Objector, Catholic College Students, and the Vietnam War," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 26, no. 3 (2008): 35, www.jstor.org/stable/25156676.

[29] Patricia McNeal, "Catholic Conscientious Objection during World War II," *The Catholic Historical Review* 61, no. 2 (1975): 222, www.jstor.org/stable/25019675.

[30] Lauren Michele De Angelis, "Catholic Activism: How Religious Identity Shaped College Peace and Anti-ROTC Movements in Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 84, no. 1 (Winter 2017): 2.

the Catholic just war theory. For example, De Angelis argues that after the "bishops called on [the laity] to assume a more prominent position [in the Church]" at Vatican II, many Catholic students and faculty felt more encouraged to speak out against the injustice they perceived in the world. In regard to just war theory, De Angelis cites Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, which "declared war could only be acceptable if a sovereign declared war for a just cause." With this idea in mind, many Catholics felt that there was no just cause behind the United States' participation in the Vietnam War, and therefore, these Catholics decided to protest against the conflict. De Angelis also argues that student activism at St. Joseph's and La Salle had a religious dimension because "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." In this way, De Angelis contends that anti-Vietnam War protests at St. Joseph's University and La Salle University were unique from protests at secular institutions in the sense that they were largely motivated by Catholic teachings and principles.[31]

Although De Angelis' article provides an in-depth analysis of the impact of Catholicism on campus-based, anti-Vietnam War protests, she insists that "further research must be conducted across a wide array of Catholic colleges and universities in the United States. . .[in order to] buttress the claims made in [her] article."[32] This project seeks to answer De Angelis' call, at least in a partial way, by examining responses to the Vietnam War on Catholic college campuses including Providence College (PC), Notre Dame University, and (to a lesser extent) St. Mary's College.

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[31] De Angelis, "Catholic Activism," 3.

[32] De Angelis, "Catholic Activism," 21.

I chose to examine Providence College and Notre Dame University because each institution has different characteristics under the umbrella categorization of "Catholic." Providence College is a private, liberal arts institution located in Providence, Rhode Island. It is the only college in the United States operated by the Dominican Order of Preachers. During the 1960s, it was a relatively small college with an all-male student body of approximately 2,300 students that were mostly white.[33] Notre Dame University is a private research university located in South Bend, Indiana. It is affiliated with the Congregation of the Holy Cross. During the Vietnam War, it was a larger institution with a student body composed of about 6,200 students, excluding students from the law and graduate schools. These students were also all male and mostly white. At the time, Notre Dame also had a more prestigious and recognized reputation. St. Mary's is the sister school to Notre Dame, also located in South Bend, and founded by the Sisters of the Holy Cross. It was composed of a small, all-female student body of approximately 1,400 students during the 1960s. Because of its close proximity to Notre Dame, students often participated in protests together. Thus, I will discuss the experiences of St. Mary's students alongside those at Notre Dame. A particularly notable characteristic of both Providence and Notre Dame is that both institutions are deeply involved with their surrounding communities. While Providence College is centrally located in the small city of Providence, Notre Dame is essentially the epicenter of the isolated city of South Bend.[34]

These different colleges and universities are appropriate for this study because they represent Catholic institutions of different size, geography, and Catholic order. I investigate

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[33] *Providence* (Providence, RI), October 1970, General College Records, Providence College Archives and Special Collections.

[34] *The Official Catholic Directory* (New York: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1969), Notre Dame Archives.

multiple Catholic colleges and universities in an effort not to make the same mistake of some sixties scholars in using the experience of one anti-war group (the SDS) to speak for the experiences of all. I understand that each college and university, whether secular or non-secular, had its own story during the Vietnam War—so while my research seeks to contribute to the overall conversation on Catholic colleges and the Vietnam War, it does not attempt to establish absolute conclusions about how Catholic institutions responded to the conflict. Moreover, by investigating the anti-war movement at two Catholic institutions that differ in size, geographic location, and Catholic order, not only am I able to investigate the impact of these schools' Catholic association on their anti-war activities, but I am also able to scrutinize nuances between the colleges and their respective reactions to the war.

In addition to describing *what* anti-war events happened at Providence and Notre Dame during the Vietnam War, this project also explains *why* such anti-war activities even occurred in the first place. Existing research on student protests at Columbia and UW-Madison reveals that scholars have yet to investigate the specific reasons why students and faculty felt compelled to take up the anti-war position on campus. This project seeks to fill part of the gap in our understanding of the motivations behind student-led, anti-Vietnam War protests by examining motivations behind protests at specifically Catholic colleges and universities. While this research is not the main focus of the project and cannot possibly account for all of the reasons why students and faculty came to oppose the Vietnam War, it contributes to a wider conversation and seeks to inspire other scholars to dive deeper into a largely unanswered question.

In order to gain a holistic and accurate understanding of the scope of anti-war activity at Providence and Notre Dame, I primarily examine yearbooks, student newspaper articles, and interviews conducted with individuals who were on the campuses during the war. Using these

sources, I argue that the ways in which the three schools responded and reacted to the Vietnam War were at least partially shaped by their status as Catholic institutions. In turn, I hope to shed light on the importance of studying anti-war activities at different types of colleges and universities, since the student-led, anti-Vietnam War movement took on different forms on campuses of varying shapes and sizes all across the United States. By highlighting differences between anti-war protests at elite universities that have already been studied and anti-war protests at Catholic colleges that have received less examination, I showcase the need for scholars of the student-led, anti-Vietnam War movement to extend their studies beyond large, prestigious universities, as individual colleges and universities had varying reactions to the Vietnam War based on their cultural and historical identities.

Perhaps most importantly, this project seeks to analyze the public's reaction to anti-war activities at Catholic colleges and universities, and how it differed from the public's reaction to anti-war activities at secular institutions. It is important to study anti-Vietnam War movements on Catholic college campuses because these movements had significant impacts on the communities surrounding these campuses. While the public largely disapproved of the violent, radical movements at some secular and state universities, the public was much more receptive to and understanding of the peaceful, nonviolent movements at Catholic universities. Peaceful protests appealed to the public in a way that violent protests did not, as the public did not typically consider Catholic university students to be "radical" in their anti-war activities. Although it is important to note that nonviolent anti-war movements were not exclusive to Catholic colleges and universities, Catholic schools helped to lead the nonviolent charge against the Vietnam War, inspiring groups of both Catholics and non-Catholics to join them.

CHAPTER 1: MOTIVATIONS FOR PROTEST AT PC AND NOTRE DAME

Dr. Richard Grace, Professor Emeritus of History at Providence College, has become somewhat of an icon at PC over the course of his long and accomplished career. He began teaching at the college in 1965 and has stayed ever since, which has enabled him to become a living, breathing artifact of Providence College's history over the last six decades. When he sat down with me in the fall of 2019 to reflect upon his participation in the anti-Vietnam War movement during the early years of his teaching career, Grace spoke with light in his eyes and passion in his voice. He admitted that he did not hold convictions about the war as soon as it began, but rather developed a gradual opposition to the war over time through discussions with various members of the Providence College community. These individuals included Charles Bargamian, a man who was in charge of audio and visual operations at the college; Gerard Vanderhaar, a Dominican Friar who assisted in organizing the Providence College Students for Peace; and a student named Daniel Foley.[1]

Charles Bargamian reportedly viewed the topic of the Vietnam War from a political perspective, arguing that the war was not based on "political good sense." In contrast, Dr. Grace said that Father Vanderhaar contemplated the issue from a more theological perspective, insisting that the Christian conscience demanded opposition. Foley approached Professor Grace one night

[1] Dr. Richard Grace, interview by author, November 2019 and March 2021.

in the Providence College library, seeking faculty support for his already strong anti-war position.[2] Foley saw the war as a useless conflict that only led to the destruction of Vietnam and the death of innocent civilians.[3] Grace says that it was this combination of diverse perspectives that truly influenced his anti-war mindset, which subsequently motivated his participation in countless anti-war efforts including teach-ins, peaceful protest marches, and political campaigns. Through these conversations and experiences, Grace went from being a relatively new and perhaps unknown professor to one who became deeply involved in his campus community and beyond as an anti-war activist and leader.[4]

Dr. Grace's explanation of how he came to oppose the Vietnam War can largely speak for how the majority of the Providence College community came to oppose the war. Like Dr. Grace, the wider Providence College community needed time to develop its opinions and to engage in intellectual conversations before declaring a firm anti-war position. Although college students largely led the national anti-war movement during the mid-1960s, PC students were not a part of this movement at the time. Examining class yearbooks and student newspaper articles, there is little evidence to suggest that students were particularly opposed to the war (or at least, that they were very outspoken about it) in 1965 or 1966. Rather, many PC students actually supported the war in the mid-1960s, seeing American participation in Vietnam as a patriotic endeavor. Moreover, Dr. Grace's analysis of his own opposition to the war points to the diverse array of factors that motivated the anti-war movement at Providence College. As members of a Catholic institution,

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[2] Grace, interview by author, November 2019 and March 2021. Dr. Grace believes that he first spoke with Foley about the war in the fall of 1968.

[3] Daniel Foley, "Letter to the Editor," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), September 25, 1969.

[4] Grace, interview by author, November 2019.

Providence College's students and faculty came to oppose the war not simply because of the political factors prevalent on secular campuses, but also because of ideals related to the teachings and tenets of the Catholic faith.[5]

Ideological Disputes on Campus

Although the Vietnam War began in the mid-1950s, vocal, public opposition to the war did not begin until much later. The American public largely ignored or did not know much about the conflict when it first began, and therefore adopted a fairly apathetic position on the war. However, as American involvement in the conflict grew in size and intensity, the war became harder and harder for the public to disregard. In 1964, President Johnson ordered air strikes on North Vietnamese patrol boat bases after the North Vietnamese allegedly attacked the American *USS Maddox* in the Gulf of Tonkin. In 1965, the American government sent 50,000 troops to Vietnam, and watched as "nearly 300 Americans [were] killed and hundreds more injured in the first large-scale battle of the war, the Battle of la Drang Valley." In 1967, *Ramparts* magazine published color photographs of Vietnamese children mutilated by napalm. With each passing year, the war took up more and more space in the American consciousness, persuading increasing numbers of Americans to join the anti-war movement. For example, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) initially began as an organization to protest general societal problems such as racism and corporate greed, but became increasingly focused on leading the anti-Vietnam War movement by the mid-1960s. Although they were largely uninterested in SDS, members of the Providence and

[5] Grace, interview by author, November 2019.

Notre Dame campus communities joined this growing national anti-war movement by the late-1960s, as they became more aware of the war's details and consequences.[6]

In the mid-1960s, many PC students supported the Vietnam War. An article in a 1965 issue of PC's student newspaper, *The Cowl*, condemned SDS activists for protesting the war by burning their draft cards. The article rhetorically asked, "Patriotism? Loyalty? Devotion to duty and country? Do these concepts have any meaning today?" which essentially suggested that *The Cowl* editorial board believed that burning draft cards went against traditional American values. The article went on to explicitly condemn the SDS, saying that the board "believe[d] [that] this SDS organization, as well as the young man in New York who burned his draft card represent a disgraceful and certainly unhealthy attitude on the part of many Americans."[7]

A week after this article was published, a small group of Providence College students joined a crowd of about 300 students from Brown University, Rhode Island College, and Rhode Island Junior College to march in front of the Rhode Island Capitol Building in order to demonstrate their support for the war. A Providence College senior named Christopher Dodd helped to organize the demonstration. Dodd was the son of Thomas Dodd, a Democratic Senator from Connecticut, who was "one of the strongest supporters of the President's policy in Vietnam" in the mid-1960s. The younger Dodd (who himself would later serve as a Democratic Senator for Connecticut from 1981-2011) explained that the demonstration "was meant to prove that there are many students who still believe in patriotism." The pro-war students "carried such signs as

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[6] "Vietnam War: A Timeline of U.S. Entanglement," *USA Today*, September 15, 2017, https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2017/09/11/vietnam-war-timeline-u-s-involvement-over-decades/653693001/; "Napalm and The Dow Chemical Company," PBS, accessed April 14, 2020, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/two-days-in-october-dow-chemical-and-use-napalm/; "Vietnam War Timeline," The History Channel, last modified February 26, 2020, https://www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/vietnam-war-timeline.

[7] "Is Patriotism Dead?" *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), October 20, 1965.

'appeasement means surrender,' 'fight communism at home and abroad,' and 'we're with you all the way Mr. President. Call us if you need us.'" Like *The Cowl* editorial board, Christopher Dodd and his fellow marchers believed that supporting the war was an act of American patriotism. From their perspective, the war was a necessary step in rooting out communism.[8] Given that *The Cowl* editorial board showed support for the war on its own, it is no surprise that the board applauded the students who participated in the pro-Vietnam rally, stating, "Will this demonstration be labelled a success? Has it instilled any positive effects in the hearts of the American public? To this we must answer affirmatively. If only to let the public know that there are people who actually support their government's policy it has been successful."[9]

Although the PC students' demonstration and *The Cowl* editorial board's response to the demonstration show that segments of the Providence College community actively supported the war in the mid-1960s, there were ideological differences on the Providence campus. In a "Letter to the Editor" published in *The Cowl* in November of 1965, a student from the class of 1967 named Michael McCarthy condemned *The Cowl* editorial board for applauding the pro-war marchers. McCarthy criticized the board, saying that "the 'patriotism' [the board] describe[d] is not acceptable to all PC students. It is unfortunate that [the board] espouse[d] [its] cause under the façade of holiness and goodness, because this seems to imply that jingoism is the ideal for the PC gentleman." McCarthy then went on to say that "not all PC students wish to overlook the moral issues involved in Vietnam. . .when will we realize the South Vietnamese are also human? I hardly believe that the South Vietnamese mother, with her child burned by Napalm will appreciate our attempts to 'free them.'" McCarthy's language in his "Letter to the Editor" reveals that there were

[8] "P.C. Students March in Viet Demonstration," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), October 27, 1965.

[9] "They Made a Stand," *The Cowl*, (Providence, RI), October 27, 1965.

disagreements on the Providence campus in the mid-1960s about the integrity of the Vietnam War. Moreover, McCarthy's criticism highlights one of the main elements of the Vietnam War that turned the tide on how the Providence College community felt about the war: the detrimental effects that the war had on Vietnamese civilians. Throughout the second half of the decade, Providence College students like McCarthy came to realize how the war negatively affected the native Vietnamese population, and began to condemn the war in response to this realization.[10]

Interestingly, some Providence College students changed their position on the war over the course of the conflict. After helping to organize the pro-war demonstration at the Rhode Island Capitol Building in 1965, the future senator Chris Dodd would go on to oppose the war by 1968. Dodd said that he initially joined the pro-war effort because he was disheartened by the ways in which American soldiers were treated. From his perspective, it was wrong for the American population to blame the conflict on the rank-and-file troops, as these soldiers were not the ones in positions of power who could determine the direction of the war. Moreover, Dodd was influenced by his father, Thomas Dodd, who served as the number two prosecutor in the U.S. contingent in the Nuremberg trials after the Second World War. The trials exposed Thomas Dodd to the atrocities that had happened in Nazi Germany. Participation in the trials had a profound effect on the elder Dodd, leading him to support American involvement in the Vietnam War as a method of protecting Vietnamese civilians from the kinds of human rights violations that were permissible in Nazi Germany. These sentiments, in turn, impacted the younger Dodd, who greatly admired and respected his father.[11]

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[10] Michael McCarthy, "Letter to the Editor," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), November 12, 1965.

[11] Senator Christopher Dodd, interview by author, March 2021.

However, after serving as a member of the Peace Corps in the Dominican Republic upon his graduation from Providence College in 1966, Chris Dodd's feelings on the conflict began to change. While in the Dominican Republic, Dodd lived and served in a small, poor village, which allowed him to see firsthand how many people in the country lived. He witnessed how these Dominicans fought for a better, more secure life, and he was able to relate this experience to the situation in Vietnam. Like civilians in the Dominican Republic, civilians in Vietnam lived in difficult circumstances. Dodd began to understand that Vietnamese civilians simply wanted to live better lives—in his words, he began to sympathize with the fact that what the Vietnamese "were fighting against was really bad." He also noted that the United States he returned to from the Dominican Republic in 1968 was very different from the United States he had left in 1966, as the anti-war movement had grown and progressed tremendously by 1968. All of these factors led Dodd to become opposed to the Vietnam War, and he went so far as to vote against funding for the conflict during his time in the U.S. Congress. Dodd's experience highlights that students at Providence College were not stubborn in their respective stances on the Vietnam War. Students like Dodd were willing to listen, to learn, and to grow, engaging themselves in life experiences and dialogue that would allow them to develop meaningful positions on the Vietnam War that were grounded in solid reasoning.[12]

Concerns About the Moral Implications of the War

Like students at Providence College, students at Notre Dame felt disturbed by the moral implications of the war. The campus community at Notre Dame recognized the dire effects that the war had on Vietnamese civilians, which helped to persuade members of the community to take

[12] Dodd, interview by author, March 2021.

part in the anti-war movement. For example, in a board-wide editorial published in a 1966 issue of Notre Dame's student newspaper, *The Observer*, the student editors noted that "with its routine destruction of a small beautiful country, the United States daily offends the moral imagination of the world. . .the war is a gash in the American conscience, a monotonous evil formulated by incompetent policy makers and executed by their military commanders."[13] The authors of this editorial articulated strong concern for the safety of Vietnam and its civilians, as they lamented the "routine destruction" of the country. Not only did the editors of *The Observer* condemn such destruction because they saw it as innately harmful to the Vietnamese people, but also because they saw it as a violation of "American conscience" and character. Proud Americans often tout the United States as the "land of the free," a nation whose constitution upholds the idea that all citizens have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Taking these traditional American values into account, these students suggested that American political leaders acted hypocritically in destroying Vietnamese civilians' basic rights to life and the pursuit of happiness by fighting a violent war on their land. For these student editors, the Vietnam War was wrong for reasons much deeper than politics—it was about attacking the physical land and lives of the Vietnamese, and the moral foundation of the United States.[14]

This board-wide editorial also criticized the American Catholic hierarchy for its position on the war. While the Pope greatly lamented the violence and destruction caused by the conflict and made repeated calls for peace, most American Catholic bishops actually held "a sympathetic stance toward the war" because of "their staunch anti-communism and empathy for the Catholic

[13] "Peace in the Midst of War," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), December 8, 1966.

[14] "Peace in the Midst of War," *The Observer*, December 8, 1966.

minority in South Vietnam."[15] The editors of *The Observer* felt that the bishops' pro-war position contradicted the morality of their Catholic faith. Specifically, in this board-wide editorial, the editors explained:

> Last month [November 1966] American Catholic bishops met in Washington and reported on Viet Nam in a befuddled and passion-less statement. One Catholic paper headlined the story: "No Stand on U.S. War Policy." This is an accurate evaluation. . .When they wash their hands of the moral issues, the bishops are safe enough, but their irresoluteness may be contrasted with the specific charges of Pope Paul's great 1965 United Nations speech.

In this statement, *The Observer* editorial board tried to hold Catholic leaders accountable by praising those whom they believed upheld Catholic values and denouncing those whom they believed did not. In his UN speech, Pope Paul VI spoke "in the name of the great Catholic family" to urge the world to work toward a collective reduction of armaments and global peace. In contrast, the National Council of Catholic Bishops actually declared in their November pastoral that "it is reasonable to argue that our presence in Vietnam is justified."[16] Although the Pope did not explicitly call for peace in Vietnam, his call for global peace indirectly showed his distaste for the war and its associated injustices. By contrasting the two writings and condemning the bishops for their "irresoluteness," the editors of *The Observer* effectively upbraided the bishops for failing to recognize the moral consequences of the war, and implored the bishops to adapt a position more akin to that of their hierarchical leader. *The Observer* editors' decision to write this editorial marked an important example of early anti-war protest on the Notre Dame campus, as these

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[15] Lawrence J. McAndrews, *What They Wished For: American Catholics and American Presidents, 1960-2004* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2014), 57.

[16] Pope Paul VI, "Address of the Holy Father Paul VI to the United Nations Organization," October 4, 1965, http://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/speeches/1965/documents/hf_p-vi_spe_19651004_united-nations.html; McAndrews, *What They Wished For*, 58.

students openly and peacefully broke with the Catholic bishops' position on the war and called for greater accountability within the American Catholic hierarchy.[17]

Although Providence College students' sentiments about the war were arguably more mixed during this time, their opposition to the war gradually began to build in the latter half of the 1960s. One of the first substantive anti-war responses to the Vietnam War at Providence College occurred in 1967, when Father Gerard Vanderhaar and Dr. Rodney Delasanta of the English department helped to organize the Providence College Students for Peace. In December of 1967, this organization published an informational advertisement in *The Cowl* that was critical of the U.S. military's use of napalm in the Vietnam War (see fig. 1). The advertisement included a photograph of Vietnamese civilians suffering from the effects of napalm, and explained that napalm killed "significant numbers of innocent civilians. . .every day in South Vietnam."[18] Similar to students at UW-Madison, members of the Providence College Students for Peace were particularly angry over the Dow Chemical Company's involvement in the Vietnam War during this time. Like the anonymous editorial published in the Notre Dame *Observer*, this advertisement conveyed concern for the lives and well-being of Vietnamese civilians. The advertisement explained that Dow Chemical was the one "who profits" off the deaths of innocent Vietnamese civilians, as the company manufactured the napalm used to kill these people. Of course, the ways in which students from UW-Madison and students from Providence expressed their frustration with Dow Chemical could not have been more different: while UW-Madison students staged a violent and physical protest, members of the Providence College Students for Peace posted an informational advertisement in their school newspaper. Although the UW-Madison protest caught

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[17] "Peace in the Midst of War," *The Observer*, December 8, 1966.

[18] Advertisement from the Providence College Students for Peace, *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), December 7, 1967.

significant attention, the advertisement posted by the Providence College Students for Peace was arguably more effective in conveying anti-war sentiment, as it outlined an articulate and coherent anti-war argument backed by specific evidence regarding the negative consequences of napalm.[19]

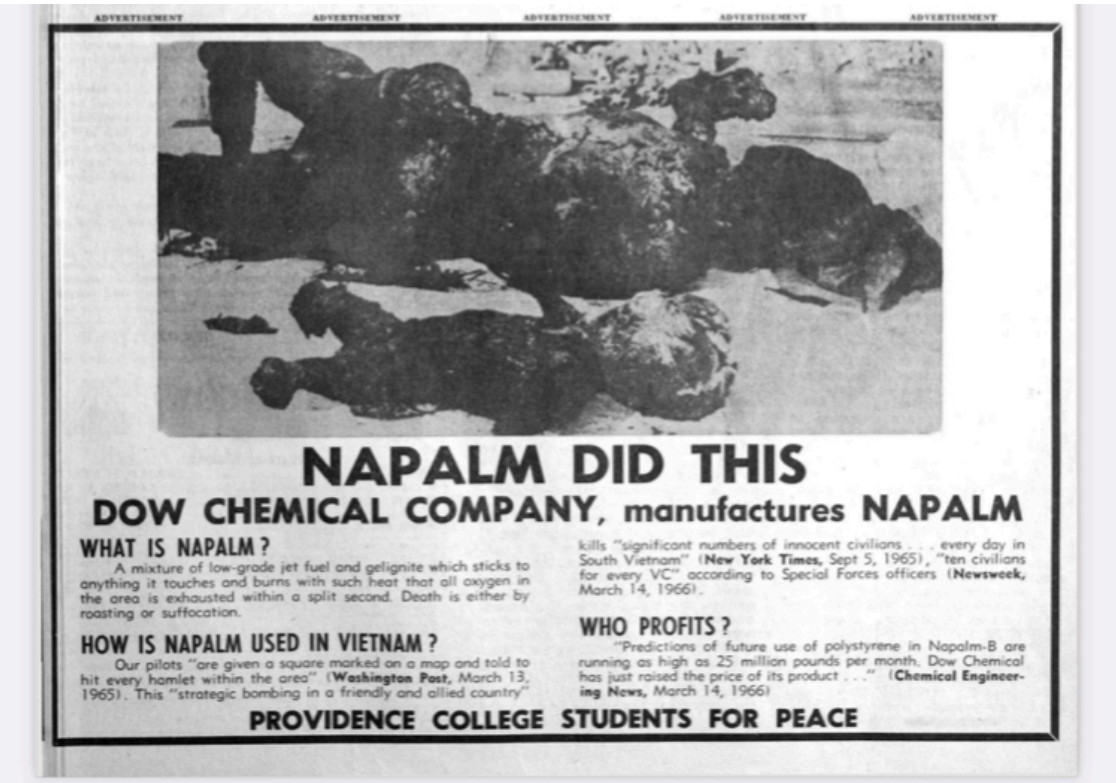

Figure 1. An advertisement in a 1967 issue of *The Cowl* criticized the use of napalm in the Vietnam War. *Source*: *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), December 7, 1967.

While the United States' participation in the Vietnamese conflict had moral consequences, it also had practical implications, which further convinced segments of the Providence and Notre Dame communities to oppose the war. For example, at Notre Dame, several students expressed concern over the way the government allocated resources during the war period. In 1967, students were worried that "The Neighborhood study Help Program, the Notre Dame and Saint Mary's

[19] Providence College Students for Peace Advertisement, *The Cowl*, December 7, 1967.

dominated tutoring project for economically and culturally impoverished youths," would lose its $80,000 grant in federal funds, since so much "money [had] been swept away by the Office of Economic Opportunity's cost cutting drive, a drive necessitated by expenditures for the war in Viet Nam." Although students were certainly disturbed by the war's life-altering effects on the Vietnamese population, this example highlights that students also felt anxious over the war's harmful effects on the home front. As the American government dedicated more and more of its resources to the Vietnamese conflict, the government increasingly had to shrink or eliminate domestic funds and programs. Students like those at the University of Notre Dame recognized that, in turn, American participation in Vietnam took opportunities away from their local communities, helping to contribute to their overall anti-war positions.[20]

In September of 1969, about a year after he first conversed with PC Professor Grace about the war, Daniel Foley wrote a letter to the editor in *The Cowl* that reflected his strong personal opposition to the Vietnamese conflict. In his piece, Foley commended Company A of the Third Battalion, 196th Light Infantry Brigade for "refus[ing] to enter into further battle in the war in Vietnam." This military unit decided to disobey their commander, Lieutenant Eugene Schurtz, Jr., after engaging in intense combat against North Vietnamese forces for five consecutive days. According to Schurtz, the soldiers in his unit "had refused to follow his order to move out because they had 'simply had enough' and . . .were 'broken.'"[21] Specifically, Foley applauded the unit for "rais[ing] [their] voices to speak of the uselessness of fighting a war in South East Asia which has killed countless numbers of men, women and children, destroyed a country, and brought the world

[20] "NSHP Viet War Casualty, May Lose $80,000 Grant," *The Observer*, February 9, 1967.

[21] "U.S. Unit Refuses Commander's Order," The History Channel, last modified July 28, 2019, https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/u-s-unit-refuses-commanders-order.

a further threat of nuclear disaster." He concluded his piece by remarking, "I totally support [the company's] refusal."[22]

Taken together with the advertisement published by the Providence College Students for Peace in *The Cowl*, Foley's editorial demonstrates that the suffering and death of Vietnamese civilians was a major concern among the Providence College community. Both the Providence College Students for Peace and Daniel Foley expressed anger over the fact that the United States helped to create an unsafe situation for thousands of native Vietnamese people by participating in the Vietnamese conflict. Daniel Foley's editorial also helps to illustrate how numerous factors persuaded PC students and faculty to oppose the war. While Foley condemned the unnecessary suffering of innocent Vietnamese civilians, he also expressed fear over the possibility of nuclear conflict. One could argue that both concerns were motivated by a mixture of moral and logical reasoning, supporting the idea that a multitude of factors persuaded the Providence College community into adopting an anti-war mindset in the late 1960s.

While many students at Catholic colleges saw the war as a violation of general ethics and moral principles, some students saw it as a violation of specifically *Christian* morality. Dr. Raymond Sickinger, Professor Emeritus of History at Providence College who was a student at the college during the Vietnam War, opposed U.S. involvement in the Vietnamese conflict largely because of the implications of the Catholic just war theory. In an interview conducted in the fall of 2019, Sickinger said that he, and many other students on campus, became increasingly "conscious of the Catholic Church's teaching on a just war," and felt that the Vietnam War did not meet the criteria for a just war.[23] Members of the Notre Dame campus community also considered

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[22] Foley, "Letter to the Editor," *The Cowl*, September 25, 1969.

[23] Dr. Raymond Sickinger, interview by author, November 2019.

the just war theory when evaluating the morality of the Vietnam War. In a panel discussion at the LaFortune Student Center on the Notre Dame campus in 1970, Rev. John L. McKenzie, S.J., a Notre Dame professor, outlined the qualifications necessary for a conflict to be classified as a just war. Specifically, Father McKenzie stated that "the just war was equal to the 'ethic of adultery,'" presumably emphasizing that conflicts only qualify as just wars in extremely rare instances. Just war would only be acceptable "where all other means have been exhausted, there is a proportion between the means used and the ends desired, and there is a reasonable hope of success." Father McKenzie and the rest of the panel concluded that the Vietnam War did not fit these criteria, calling it "a totally immoral operation." This reasoning supports Lauren Michele De Angelis' argument that the Catholic just war theory played a role in influencing Catholic college students to oppose the Vietnam War.[24]

Sickinger also noted that he was influenced by the college's curriculum, which put a strong emphasis on Catholic social teaching. According to Professor Grace, students were required to take eighteen credits in philosophy and eighteen credits in theology. He agreed with Sickinger that this theologically and philosophically centered curriculum helped to shape student perspectives on the war. Professor Grace said that while the draft was a critical concern for many students, most students also contemplated the war in philosophical and intellectual ways, leading them to oppose the war from a moral standpoint.[25]

A minority of students were opposed to the war to such an extent that they chose to file for conscientious objector status with the United States government. Conscientious objectors are individuals opposed to all types of warfare—from their perspective, no war is a just war—and they

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[24] Rich Smith, "Claim the War Unjust," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), May 15, 1970.

[25] Grace, interview by author, March 2021.

can come from all religions and backgrounds. Essentially, individuals who filed for conscientious objector status during the Vietnam War declared to the United States government that they were opposed to the war and that they would not fight in the conflict if they were drafted. Conscientious objectors could, however, be assigned to alternative service jobs that supported the country but did not involve physical combat, such as working in medical care or education.[26] Other conscientious objectors could be assigned to serve in "the military but in a noncombatant capacity" without weapons, if their "beliefs allow[ed]."[27] Although conscientious objectors came from a variety of religious backgrounds, Catholics did, in fact, make up a sizeable portion of the total conscientious objector population during the Vietnam War. Specifically, between 1967 and 1969, the percent of Catholic men "classified for alternative service as conscientious objectors" rose from "2.8 percent to. . .7.28 percent – a percentage larger than any other religious body." This data supports Helen Ciernick's findings regarding the increase of Catholic conscientious objectors during the Vietnam War. At Providence College, Dr. Grace helped a former student from the class of 1968 in claiming conscientious objector status by contacting a Rhode Island Congressman on the student's behalf. While Dr. Grace would not reveal the name or specific qualities of the student for privacy reasons, he did disclose that the student had actually participated in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program at the college during his undergraduate career. Perhaps more Catholic men felt inclined to become conscientious objectors than men of other backgrounds because they were moved by the ethical teachings of their religion.[28]

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[26] "Conscientious Objectors," U.S. Selective Service System, accessed April 16, 2021, https://www.sss.gov/conscientious-objectors/.

[27] "Conscientious Objectors," U.S. Selective Service System.

[28] Patricia McNeal, "Catholic Conscientious Objection during World War II," *The Catholic Historical Review* 61, no. 2 (1975): 222, www.jstor.org/stable/25019675; Grace, interview by author, November 201

Concerns over Government Motivations

Other students at Providence and Notre Dame came to oppose the Vietnam War because they believed that the United States was involved in the conflict for the wrong reasons. Specifically, although the U.S. government insisted that it had initially intervened in Vietnam to promote freedom and democracy in the region, many students believed that the government intervened in the conflict more so because of its desire for power and world domination. In the Notre Dame *Observer*, the editorial board asserted in 1969 that "[they] could stand no more firmly committed to the use of American prestige, effort, wealth, and military might for the defense of freedom throughout the world. But the picture throughout all of South East Asia does not clearly show which governments are fighting for freedom and 'liberation' and which are fighting to suppress people under similar banners." The board's words reflect the idea that the U.S. government embarked on an empty crusade in Vietnam. Hiding behind commonly accepted American ideals like "freedom" and "liberty and justice for all," the government tried to justify its participation in the Vietnamese conflict by asserting that the United States was involved to promote democratic ideals in the region. While this justification gave many Americans a reason to support the war, other Americans, such as the Catholic college students who wrote this article in *The Observer*, saw through it, believing that American participation in Vietnam was more about furthering American economic and geopolitical interests than Vietnamese interests.[29]

A 1969 letter to the editor in *The Observer* supports this perspective. In the piece, the student author, Steve Trost, questioned:

> Why are we in Viet Nam? Are we fighting for a people's freedom, a freedom for *them* to live with, a freedom to choose *their* form of Government or are we fighting in order to assure a 'Democratic' form of Government patterned after our own. If it's the latter, and I believe it is, I feel that we are inhibiting the cause of freedom

[29] "Vietnam," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), October 14, 1969.

> and should withdraw our forces immediately. I believe the people of Viet Nam should be given their freedom to make their choice regarding their form of Government.

In these words, Trost took the argument laid out in the article written by *The Observer* editorial staff a step further. Not only did Trost believe that American participation in Vietnam did not help to facilitate freedom for Vietnamese civilians, but he actually felt that American participation "inhibited the cause of freedom." Trost recognized that imposing democracy on other nations is, by definition, undemocratic. By forcing democracy upon Vietnam while simultaneously preaching democratic ideals, the United States acted hypocritically. Thus, from Trost's perspective, the United States effectively violated Vietnamese freedom by trying to meddle in the nation's conflicts and mold Vietnam into a westernized, democratic state.[30]

Concerns Over the Draft

Another major reason why the Providence and Notre Dame campus communities felt opposed to the Vietnam War was because they disagreed with the concept of the military draft. Although males over the age of eighteen had to enlist in the draft, the American government granted college students draft deferments during their years of study. Providence and Notre Dame students were therefore shielded from the draft during their years on campus, yet unlike students at more elite schools, they often came from families and communities where large segments of the population did not attend college. They were thus fearful for their friends and family who did not qualify for deferments, as well as for themselves and their futures after graduation, when they would no longer be exempt from the draft.

[30] Steve Trost, "Why Fight?" *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), October 15, 1969.

Students at Notre Dame recognized their privilege as college students, expressing concern for young men who did not attend college and who were not exempt from the draft. In a 1969 issue of *The Observer*, a sophomore lamented how "it [was] unfair for [him] to have an advantage over anyone else in this country in getting a draft deferment."[31] In that same vein, a professor named Jim Douglass of the Notre Dame Non-Violent Studies Department asserted that "anyone with a 2-S [a deferment option for students] [was] saying 'Leave me alone. I have to study while you force another to die in my place.'" Both students and faculty at Notre Dame believed the draft was unfair, as the system rewarded those who were wealthy enough to attend college and punished those who were not. The fact that the draft forced American men, and particularly less educated and less wealthy men, to put their lives at risk to fight in Vietnam helped to persuade the Notre Dame community to oppose the war.[32]

Similarly, students and faculty at Providence College had qualms over the draft. Sickinger remembers that he and his friends saw the draft as a growing concern, especially as people they knew were selected.[33] Dr. Roy Peter Clark, a senior scholar at the Poynter Institute for Media Studies who was also a student at Providence College during the Vietnam War, similarly remembers the draft as a source of unease. He can remember sitting with his roommates in their River Avenue apartment in December of 1969, huddled around a television set to watch the national draft lottery. While Clark drew a high lottery number of 250 (putting him at low risk for getting drafted), two of his roommates drew low numbers, and would go on to military service

[31] "Moratoriuming it at Notre Dame," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), October 16, 1969.

[32] "Crosses for ND Dead Placed at ROTC Building," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), October 16, 1969.

[33] Sickinger, interview by author, November 2019.

after graduation. Clark believes that this experience can serve as a "microcosm of American anxiety" about the draft.[34]

The draft became such a mounting problem among students on campus that the college established a Draft Counseling Center in December of 1969. The first day of operations for the center was just one day after the national draft lottery. Frank Scuito, Chairman of the Counseling Center, explained that "most of the students coming into the center [sought] information about the operation of the lottery and the jeopardy that they might [have been in] because of their lottery numbers." The fact that Providence felt compelled enough to organize this initiative for its students indicates what a pressing concern the draft was for members of the Providence College community and their loved ones. Students and faculty at Providence and Notre Dame saw the war as a violation of individual freedom and an unfair burden on regular Americans. As long as they (and other innocent American boys) could be forced to fight in a foreign nation for a cause they may not even support, these students and faculty would oppose the war with zeal.[35]

Reasons for Continued Support of the War

Although most members of the Providence and Notre Dame campus communities opposed the Vietnam War, a minority approved of American participation in the conflict. This group was overwhelmingly composed of individuals associated with Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) programs. Of course, it is important to note that members of the ROTC would likely support the war because their program trained them to be enthusiastic members of the American

[34] Dr. Roy Peter Clark, interview by author, March 2021. While one of Clark's roommates was commissioned as an officer and sent to Vietnam, his other roommate decided to commit to military service after receiving a low draft number, but was not sent to Vietnam.

[35] "Draft Center Busy; Post-Lottery Rush," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), December 11, 1969.

military. At Notre Dame, Captain Larry McIntosh and Captain Walter Burns of the military science department voiced their support for the war based on traditional American ideals such as patriotism and anti-Communism. Specifically, in a 1967 issue of *The Observer*, Captain McIntosh stated that "The people [in Vietnam] are free now—free to go to church, free to go to market, free to choose the jobs they want. They wouldn't have that under Communism." From McIntosh's perspective, the United States protected the Vietnamese population from the evils of a Communist society by participating in the war, which justified his support for the war effort. McIntosh believed that supporting the war and participating in the war effort was an American, patriotic duty, as evident by the fact that he felt "disgust[ed]" by students seeking to avoid the draft.[36]

Members of the ROTC program at Providence College expressed sentiments similar to Captain McIntosh. At Providence's Moratorium Day in 1969, "Lt. Col [Lieutenant Colonel] Hevenor of the Military Science department [gave] an argument in favor of the war."[37] While I was unable to find any specifics regarding Hevenor's speech in my research, Hevenor likely approached the war from a patriotic standpoint, believing that supporting the war was an American duty. This is supported by comments that Hevenor made just a few months later, in December of 1969. When some upperclass members of ROTC drew high numbers in the national draft lottery, a few sought to withdraw from ROTC, seeing that there was "little likelihood that they would be drafted." When asked about these students, Hevenor affirmed that they could not withdraw from ROTC because they had a duty to serve their country, stating, "students [should] keep in mind that they are under contract. . .[and] should realize that a change in the draft procedures really doesn't affect their status in ROTC." From his perspective, members of ROTC had to uphold their

[36] Ron Chandonia, "Vietnam: For Freedom or Cadillacs?" *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), March 16, 1967.

[37] "Steering Committee Plans Moratorium Day Proceedings," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), October 1, 1969.

commitment to their country, no matter what kinds of developments manifested over the course of the Vietnam War.[38]

Despite these examples of ROTC individuals who supported the war at Providence and Notre Dame, it is important to emphasize that these individuals were in the minority. Moreover, it should be noted that this minority grew smaller and smaller as the war continued. A student writer for *The Cowl* remarked that "a decline in freshmen ROTC enrollment in colleges throughout the country [had] reached the P.C. campus" by 1969, since the number of freshmen enrolled in the program had dropped from 125 students in 1968 to 59 students in 1969. This statistic indicates that Providence College was largely in step with other American colleges and universities on the topic of ROTC. Major Richard Drenzek, who was head of the freshmen recruits in ROTC at PC, "stated that the main reasons for the decline in enrollment [were] the Vietnam War and the attitude against established conservative elements in society." This information indicates that supporting the Vietnam War had become an increasingly unpopular position on the Providence campus by the late 1960s.[39]

Conclusion

From this analysis, the campus communities at Providence and Notre Dame demonstrated thoughtfulness in their anti-war positions. While it is difficult to compare these students' motivations for opposition with students from larger or more elite secular schools such as Columbia and UW-Madison given the lack of research done by scholars of the secular student

[38] William M. Buckley, "Despite Lottery, Little Chance for ROTC Change," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), December 11, 1969.

[39] "ROTC Numbers Drop; Major Cites Causes," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), October 1, 1969.

anti-war movement, students at Providence and Notre Dame did not rebel against the American war effort simply for the sake of rebelling. Rather, they showed genuine concern over the effects that the Vietnam War had on both the Vietnamese population and the home front. Moreover, it is evident that the Providence College and Notre Dame communities were influenced by a multitude of factors as they developed their anti-war stances, stemming from both moral and practical reasoning. Because students at these Catholic schools held such strong, passionate convictions about the war, they were easily able to transmit their views to their wider communities. It was easier for the Providence and South Bend communities to support or even join the campus anti-war efforts because these campuses so clearly articulated why they were opposed to the war in the first place. Moreover, with such a range of reasons for opposition, it was easier for community members to resonate and identify with the students' motivations for protest.

CHAPTER 2: MODES OF ANTI-WAR PROTEST AT PROVIDENCE COLLEGE

On May 6, 1970, Providence students gathered outside of Aquinas Hall, anxiously awaiting the outcome of a Faculty Senate meeting.[1] Just two days earlier, the Ohio National Guard had shot and killed four students at Kent State University during an anti-war protest. Seeing the Kent State shootings as an example of nationwide institutional corruption as well as a brutal attack on the anti-war movement, students across the country demanded that their colleges shut down in protest. The campus climate at hundreds of colleges and universities was tense, as over 500 colleges decided to close in response to the shootings.[2] The situation was no different at Providence College. The Faculty Senate gathered in an emergency meeting on the first floor of Aquinas Hall, a hallmark building on campus. The students had called upon the faculty to endorse their strike from all classes, and the faculty had to decide what to do. After a tense and passionate period of debate in which "people's blood pressure was up," the Faculty Senate voted to support a shutdown "by great majorities." The Faculty Senate also passed about twenty resolutions "addressing the situation of the war and how it affected the college."[3] Father William Haas, O.P., president of the college, immediately began signing bill after bill to implement the closure. Two members of the Faculty Senate later told Professor Grace, who was also a member of the Faculty Senate, that they

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[1] Faculty Senate Minutes, May 6, 1970, General College Records, Providence College Functions, Providence College Archives and Special Collections.

[2] Mitchell K. Hall, "The Vietnam Era Antiwar Movement," *OAH Magazine of History* 18, no. 5 (2004): 15, http://doi.org/10.1093/maghis/18.5.13.

were unsure whether or not they had voted the right way in supporting the shutdown, suggesting that some may have gotten caught up in the palpable fervor and overall "spirit of the night."[4] Professor Grace said that "[he] shall always remember the faces of the students pressed up against those floor-to-ceiling windows, waiting to see whether the faculty was with them or not—we were."[5]

Providence College's decision to close down its campus in May of 1970 as a means of protesting the Kent State shootings was the pinnacle of the college's participation in the anti-war movement. By shutting the campus down in strike, the Providence administration and faculty effectively declared solidarity with Providence students who stood so fervently against the war. However, it had taken several years for the college to reach this point of conveying such a strong anti-war message to the outside community. Dr. Grace recalls that the years between 1968 and 1970 were the "peak" of anti-war protests on the Providence College campus, culminating with the 1970 shutdown.[6]

As Providence students developed a more active anti-war ideology during the late 1960s, they began putting their beliefs into action. During 1968, Raymond Sickinger, his friend Ted Wysocki, and a small group of other Providence students joined Professor MacKay of the chemistry department in traveling to Washington, D.C. to convey their anti-war sentiments to Rhode Island congressmen. Sickinger remembers that the congressmen gave the students a

[4] Dr. Richard Grace, interview by author, March 2021.

[5] Vicki-Ann Downing, "Moments of Grace: Dr. Grace '62 Reflects on his Providence College History," Providence College, October 18, 2016, https://news.providence.edu/moments-of-grace.

[6] Grace, interview by author, November 2019.

"respectful reception," but that they were "cautious in what they said to [the students]."[7] These Democratic congressmen remained supportive of Lyndon Johnson's presidency and American participation in the war.[8] During their visit to Washington, D.C., Professor MacKay and the students stayed at the Dominican House of Studies, a long-standing center for Dominican theological studies and a seminary of the Order of Preachers serving the Province of St. Joseph.[9] The fact that the PC contingent stayed at this specifically Catholic institution illustrates the religious undercurrent of PC's participation in the anti-war movement. This trip to the U.S. capital marked a significant step in Providence College's participation in the anti-war movement because it involved students actively trying to work with individuals outside of their campus community to create change. The students could have simply written letters or made phone calls to convey their opinions to the congressmen, but instead, they decided to leave the state of Rhode Island and embark on the long journey to Washington, D.C. to talk to the congressmen in person. These efforts reveal that the students and Professor MacKay held firm, passionate commitments to ending the war in Vietnam.[10]

On April 26, 1968, the Providence College community joined "a national day of protest of the war in Vietnam, social and racial injustices and the Selective Service Law." Students and faculty alike engaged in a boycott of classes, instead attending teach-ins about "the various implications" of the war, social and racial injustices, and the draft. Several members of the campus

[7] Sickinger recalls that this trip to Washington, D.C. was one of his first experiences seeing the separation between the African-American community and other American ethnicities first hand. Sickinger, Wysocki, and the other students who took the trip were the only white students on a public transport bus in Washington that they took from the Dominican House of Studies to meet the congressmen.

[8] Dr. Raymond Sickinger, interview by author, November 2019.

[9] "Priory of the Immaculate Conception at the Dominican House of Studies," Dominican House of Studies, 2021, accessed April 15, 2021, https://dhspriory.org.

[10] Sickinger, interview by author, November 2019.

community as well the greater Providence community led the teach-ins, including Rev. Albert Q. Perry, minister of the Church of the Meditation in Providence; Rev. Henry Shelton of the Catholic Inner City Apostolate; Dr. John Hennedy, a professor of English; Rev. Gerard Vanderhaar of the Providence College Students for Peace group; and Professor Grace. These clergy and professors came together in order to argue that the Vietnam War and racial injustice were intimately connected. As Rev. Perry noted, "as a result of gearing [U.S.] national power and economic planning toward war. . .the cities must suffer and the urban crisis will continue." Claims such as Rev. Perry's exemplify a community concern for the domestic repercussions of the war. These leaders of the teach-ins understood that devoting resources to the war in Vietnam deprived many domestic urban communities, and many communities of color, of much-needed government support. Thus, they decided to put their ideologies into practice, leading teach-ins that served as learning opportunities for members of the Providence College community to develop informed anti-war positions. Attendance at the event "fluctuated between 50 and 100 students" at a time, showing that students were interested in learning more about the war and its implications.[11]

One of Providence College's most significant demonstrations of anti-war protest was its participation in the national Moratorium Day that occurred on October 15, 1969. This Moratorium Day was a nationwide anti-war effort in which "two million people in cities and towns across the country took the day off to recite the names of the war dead, hold teach-ins and vigils, and march."[12] Students, faculty, staff, and members of the greater Providence community participated

[11] "Boycott on Campus; Cites War, Injustice," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), May 2, 1968; "Build the Strike," Providence College Committee for Student-Faculty Strike to PC Faculty, April 26, 1968, General College Records, Providence College Functions, Providence College Archives and Special Collections.

[12] Clara Bingham, "50 Years Ago Today, a March Against the President Made a Big Difference," CNN, November 15, 2019, https://www.cnn.com/2019/11/15/opinions/moratorium-march-50th-anniversary-trump-nixon-bingham.

in this anti-war demonstration on the PC campus by attending teach-ins, listening to speeches, watching anti-war films, praying at a requiem Mass, and marching to the Rhode Island Statehouse. "Several hundred students" attended these events, boycotting their classes and showing an eagerness to convey their opposition to the war.[13]

On the Moratorium Day, PC faculty published an advertisement in the *Providence Journal* that raised awareness for the Moratorium Day and encouraged local Providence residents to get involved in the day's activities. The advertisement rhetorically asked, "What will you do to stop the killing?" and demanded that President Nixon "initiate immediate and complete withdrawal of American military forces from Vietnam as quickly as logistically possible." Forty-one faculty members from various disciplines signed the advertisement, including sixteen Dominicans as well as Father Haas, the president of the college. The publication of this advertisement marked a critical moment in PC's involvement in the anti-war movement because it signaled that the Providence College faculty supported their students in their anti-war endeavors. The Moratorium Day was not solely a student or faculty demonstration, but rather a collective campus effort to protest the Vietnam War and to get members of the outside community involved.[14]

The Moratorium Day events began with teach-ins and speeches given in the morning. Professor Grace gave a "historical summation" of the Vietnam War, and then Lt. Col. Hevenor of the ROTC program and Father Coskren presented their "differing opinions" on the conflict; Lt. Col. Hevenor supported the war while Father Coskren condemned it. Although Professor Grace does not remember the specific details of either of these speeches, he does remember that Father

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[13] "'Lost War' Speech Keys Moratorium Day at PC," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), October 22, 1969.

[14] Advertisement from the Providence College Faculty, *Providence Journal* (Providence, RI), October 15, 1969.

Coskren criticized the war from a "spiritual and moral" perspective, rather than a political one.[15] Although Lt. Col. Hevenor represented a minority of the Providence College community in his support for the Vietnam War, Dr. Grace remembers that the students were not hostile towards Hevenor. Even if they did not agree with his arguments, the people who participated in the Moratorium Day listened to Hevenor's speech with courtesy and respect.[16]

Both students and faculty led another set of teach-ins during the afternoon. Photos of students sitting and listening to the teach-ins on the lawn outside of Aquinas Hall indicate that the teach-ins were peaceful (see fig. 2). The masses of student faces show no expressions of anger or malice, but rather show a willingness to listen and to learn from what the students and faculty hosting the teach-ins had to say.[17]

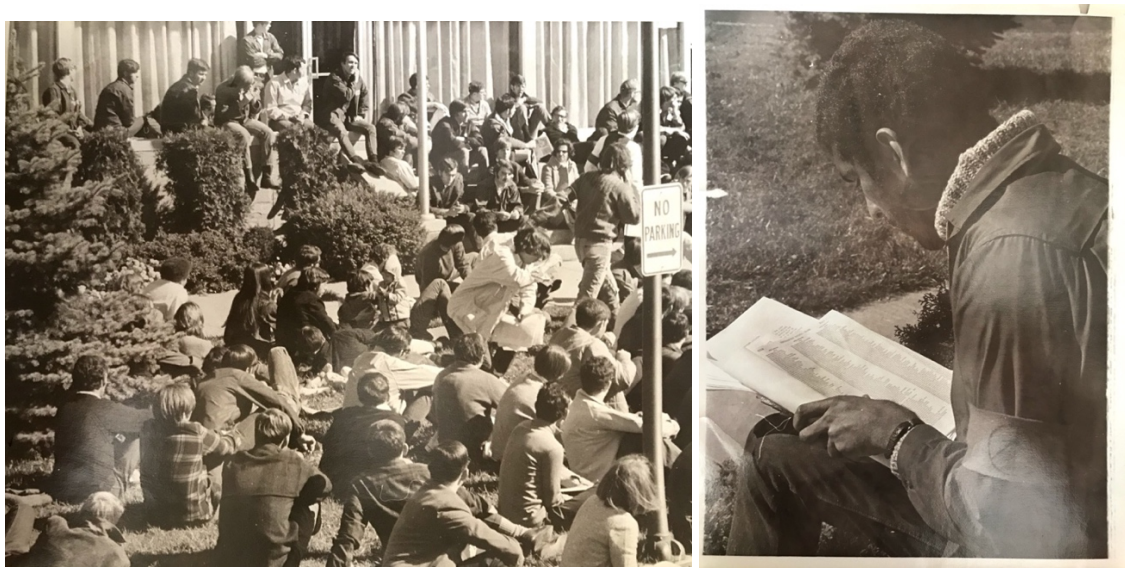

Figure 2. Students gathered on the PC campus to listen to teach-ins and speeches on the Moratorium Day. *Source*: Moratorium Day Photos, October 15, 1969, General College Records, Providence College Functions, Providence College Archives and Special Collections.

[15] Grace, interview by author, March 2021.

[16] Grace, interview by author, November 2019.

[17] Moratorium Day Photos, October 15, 1969, General College Records, Providence College Functions, Providence College Archives and Special Collections.

In addition to giving speeches and holding teach-ins, students and faculty found ways to incorporate the arts into their Moratorium Day protests. For example, "anti-war films were shown in Albertus Magnus Hall in the late afternoon."[18] Additionally, Sickinger and his future brother-in-law Jack Falcone gave a performance on the steps of Aquinas Hall, with Sickinger singing and playing the guitar and Falcone playing the slap bass (see fig. 3). Sickinger recalls singing songs such as Bob Dylan's "The Times They Are A-Changin'" and Peter, Paul and Mary's "Where Have All the Flowers Gone." Both songs have lyrics that convey strong anti-war messages.[19]

Figure 3. Raymond Sickinger and his future brother-in-law, Jack Falcone, performed anti-war songs on the steps of Aquinas Hall on the Moratorium Day on October 15, 1969. *Source*: Performance by Raymond Sickinger '71 and brother in-law Jack Falcone '70 on the Moratorium Day, October 15, 1969, General College Records, Providence College Functions, Providence College Archives and Special Collections.

[18] "'Lost War' Speech," *The Cowl*, October 22, 1969.

[19] Sickinger, interview by author, November 2019; Performance by Raymond Sickinger '71 and brother in-law Jack Falcone '70 on the Moratorium Day, October 15, 1969, General College Records, Providence College Functions, Providence College Archives and Special Collections.

One of the most powerful events of the Moratorium Day was the requiem Mass that students, faculty, and college priests attended in the evening. A requiem Mass is "a votive Mass on behalf of the dead" incorporated into the Roman Catholic tradition.[20] According to *The Cowl*, Providence's Moratorium Day requiem Mass "was held in the grotto at twilight. Twelve members of the Dominican community offered the liturgy in memory of those who [had] given their lives. The congregation gathered around the altar with lighted candles and sang antiphons for peace and 'We Shall Overcome.'" The choice to sing "We Shall Overcome" also points to the interconnectedness of the anti-war movement and the civil rights movement, as the song was specifically associated with efforts by American people of color to overcome the trials and discrimination they faced in society during the 1960s. The peaceful description of the requiem Mass exemplifies how Providence College integrated its religious identity into its methods of anti-war protest. The Providence community was able to use its Dominican priests and Catholic traditions such as the Mass in order to protest the war in a uniquely Catholic way, thus separating itself from secular schools.[21]

After the Mass, Providence College students, faculty, and staff marched to the Rhode Island State House for a city-wide, anti-war rally. Over 12,000 individuals from the greater Providence community attended this event, making it the largest in the state on Moratorium Day. The principal speakers at the event were Rhode Island Governor Frank Licht, Harvard University Professor Edwin O. Reischauer, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology Professor Jerome Weisner. *The Cowl* editorial board explained that Reischauer "received the standing ovation," as

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[20] Theodore Karp, Fabrice Fitch and Basil Smallman, "Requiem Mass," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.43221.

[21] "'Lost War' Speech," *The Cowl*, October 22, 1969.

he called for an "end [to the] killing as soon as possible."[22] While it does not appear that any Providence faculty members or Catholic priests spoke at this rally, faculty and priests were involved in the activities of the day. Professor Grace recalls that he marched with Father Danilowicz to the rally. Like at the teach-ins earlier in the Moratorium Day, students at the city-wide rally demonstrated engagement and resolve. Photos show that students had serious expressions and strong, even paces as they marched to the State House. Moreover, photos indicate that students formed an engaged, respectful audience once they arrived at the State House. They held up peace signs and listened intently to what the speakers had to say (see figs. 4 and 5).[23]

Although Providence College's Moratorium Day activities demonstrated the existence of strong anti-war sentiments at the college, Daniel Foley noted that the Moratorium Day marked "the embryo stage of [PC] locking arms with other colleges and universities in America, in protest over the 'war.'" Foley's statements indicate that PC students were aware of the large-scale, anti-war protests occurring at other schools across the country, such as Columbia and UW-Madison. Despite the significance of PC's participation in the nationwide Moratorium Day, Foley felt that PC's anti-war demonstrations did not match the magnitude of anti-war demonstrations at other colleges and universities. This belief likely stemmed from the fact that the Providence College community had such a delayed entrance into the anti-war movement. Whereas other schools like Columbia and UW-Madison began protesting the Vietnam War in the early 1960s, Providence did

[22] "'Lost War' Speech," *The Cowl*, October 22, 1969.

[23] Moratorium Day Photos, October 15, 1969, General College Records, Providence College Functions, Providence College Archives and Special Collections.

not join the movement until the late 1960s, which made the Moratorium Day one of Providence's earliest demonstrations against the war.[24]

Figure 4. Providence College students marched to the Rhode Island Capitol Building on the evening of the Moratorium Day on October 15, 1969. Given that Providence still had an all-male student body in 1969, the women depicted in the photo on the right were likely friends, relatives, or girlfriends of the male students. *Source*: Moratorium Day Photos, October 15, 1969, General College Records, Providence College Functions, Providence College Archives and Special Collections.

Figure 5. Providence College students and other members of the greater Providence community gathered to listen to speeches and teach-ins on the Moratorium Day on October 15, 1969. *Source*: Moratorium Day Photos, October 15, 1969, General College Records, Providence College Functions, Providence College Archives and Special Collections.

[24] Daniel Foley, "War Moratorium Boycott Planned," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), Sept. 25, 1969.

Another important way in which members of the Providence College community conveyed their opposition to the Vietnam War was by participating in political peace campaigns. Professor Grace in particular became deeply involved in campaigning for Bertram A. Yaffe, "a reform-minded [anti-war] Democrat" who ran in the 1970 election for the tenth congressional seat in Fall River, Massachusetts. Mr. Yaffe served in the Marine Corps during World War II and received "the purple heart and two Bronze stars for his service during the campaigns of Bougainville, Guam, and Iwo Jima." Reflecting back on his experience campaigning for Yaffe, Dr. Grace noted that Yaffe's opposition to the Vietnam War was notable because it was somewhat uncommon for veterans to speak out against the war. Yaffe believed that American involvement in the Vietnam War was politically wrong, and that human lives were wasted as a result of the conflict.[25]

Professor Grace encouraged members of the Providence College community to join his campaign efforts for Yaffe, urging "students and faculty interesting in working for peace candidates [in the fall of 1970] to contact him." Students readily answered Professor Grace's call, as they helped to form a sizable group of volunteers that made Yaffe's campaign competitive. In the weeks preceding the election, Professor Grace commented in *The Cowl* that "We have had dedicated student workers taking part in the campaign all summer, and they have really been of vital importance to [Yaffe's] candidacy. There is a tremendous bond of respect between [Yaffe] and the student volunteers." Although Yaffe ultimately lost the congressional race, student participation in the campaign process was still significant. By campaigning for Yaffe as a specifically anti-war candidate, Professor Grace and the PC students who volunteered for Yaffe's campaign helped to raise awareness for the anti-war movement in communities outside of the college. Moreover, the Yaffe campaign helped to inspire other PC students to involve themselves

[25] Grace, interview by author, November 2019 and March 2021.

in other political peace campaigns, as Professor Grace "indicated that students who live in neighboring states and would prefer to work for peace candidates in their home areas. . . could contact him and he would put them in touch with the campaign coordinators for the candidates they would like to work for." In this way, with Grace's support, Providence students were able to take the anti-war sentiments they developed at the college and share these sentiments with communities across the northern United States.[26]

In addition to traveling to Washington, D.C., leading and attending teach-ins, marching in rallies, and volunteering for political peace campaigns, Providence College students and faculty found other creative ways to convey their opposition to the Vietnamese conflict. For example, the yearbook for the Providence College class of 1969 included a photo of a large peace-sign banner hanging from the top of McVinney Hall, a dormitory on Providence's campus (see fig. 6).[27] Dr. Grace also recalls that one of Providence's Dominican priests led a group of students off-campus to a nearby street and blocked traffic in order to hold an impromptu teach-in. Dr. Grace remembers that even this confrontational situation did not erupt into violence (although President Hass and the Providence police were not very happy). In these peaceful moments of protest, PC students and faculty created powerful visuals of anti-war sentiment for their community. [28]

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[26] Grace, interview by author, November 2019; "Clearing House Open for Peace Movement," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), September 25, 1970.

[27] Photo of McVinney Hall, 1969, General College Records, Providence College Functions, Providence College Archives and Special Collections.

[28] Grace, interview by author, November 2019.

Figure 6. Students hung a banner with the peace symbol from the top of McVinney Hall in order to convey their opposition to the Vietnam War. *Source*: Photo of McVinney Hall, 1969, General College Records, Providence College Functions, Providence College Archives and Special Collections.

It is critical to emphasize that as members of the Providence College community expanded their anti-war efforts and extended these efforts into neighboring communities, Providence students, faculty, and staff maintained a strong belief in non-violent methods of protest. In the yearbook for the class of 1970, a senior named Jack Reed remarked that "seizing buildings, burning banks, shouting down speakers or rioting in the streets offer little evidence of our distaste for war, violence and the lack of free speech. We must find a fair system of justice, not merely a different one." In this comment, Reed acknowledged and criticized violent anti-war protests at prominent schools like Columbia University and the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Expressing his distaste for savage anti-war demonstrations, Reed tried to differentiate himself and the PC campus as a whole from those methods of protest. From Reed's perspective, destructive methods of protest could not accomplish long-term change or peace.[29]

[29] Providence College, *Veritas* (Providence, RI, 1970), 314. Despite the similarity of name and age, this student was not future Rhode Island Senator Jack Reed.

Roy Peter Clark echoed Reed's sentiments in the class oration that he gave in the spring of 1970, on the night before graduation. The class of 1970 was unique in the history of Providence College, as members of this class did not complete their final month of college due to the Faculty Senate's decision to enact the campus shutdown following the Kent State shootings. When talking to his class, Clark focused on themes like virtue and peace. Specifically, Clark reminded his classmates that they did not have to be left-wing, anti-war protestors in order to be "[people] of peace," and he encouraged them to uphold both Christian and secular values. In a time of such pain, strife, and uncertainty, Clark wanted to inspire members of his class to be peaceful in whatever they chose to do after graduation. Clark's focus on peace and virtue in his class oration points to the kinds of lessons and values that students learned during their time at the college—lessons and values that they would apply not only to their methods of anti-war protest, but also to their regular adult lives.[30]

In a similar vein, Ted Wysocki, Dr. Sickinger's friend, expressed distaste over violent anti-war protests in an article published in *The Cowl* in the fall of 1970. Specifically, Wysocki argued that it did not matter how people protested against the Vietnam War, "as long as [their] rejection [was] of the non-violent nature." Wysocki then went on to say, "to try to change the direction of this country by violence is not to change the direction of the country but rather just to replace the war-mongers with hate-mongers of a different breed. One cannot bring about constructive change with destructive means." In this way, not only did Reed and Wysocki believe that violent anti-war protests were morally wrong, but they also argued that violent, domestic protests could not bring about peace in Vietnam. From their perspective, violent, anti-war protestors did not effectively

[30] Dr. Roy Peter Clark, interview by author, March 2021.

challenge American participation in Vietnam, but rather contributed to a culture of hatred, brutality, and destruction incited by the war itself.[31]

Providence College's Catholic identity arguably influenced this focus on and belief in nonviolent methods of protest. Grounded in the moral and social teachings of Catholicism, the Providence College community likely felt inclined to reject the violent methods of protest used by certain secular schools in favor of peaceful protests such as teach-ins, marches, and political peace campaigns. This argument is especially supported by the words of President Haas at the 1970 Academic Convocation. In his speech, Father Haas suggested that by engaging in nonviolent and "cooperative" methods of protest, Providence College students, faculty, and staff were "bringing to bear on the problems of the secular world the profound truths of [their] Catholic faith about man and God." These words support Helen Ciernick's claim that Catholic colleges structured the "terms of the debate and discussion" regarding the Vietnam War in moral language.[32]

Although Father Haas admitted that the previous academic year (1969-1970) had been "the most difficult year in [his] life and perhaps in the life of Providence College," he also said that it had been the "most satisfying" year. He attributed this satisfaction to the fact that "there was greater evidence of understanding and unity than [he] had seen to date," citing "an extraordinary degree of faculty, student and alumni cooperation." From Father Haas' perspective, the challenges of the previous year (such as the campus shutdown) had been worth it because they had allowed members of the college community to come together and bond over a shared commitment to non-violence and meaningful discussion. While the Vietnam War incited chaotic violence and estrangement between students and faculty on some college campuses, it inspired peaceful

[31] Ted Wysocki, "Peace: Love and Trust," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), September 25, 1970.

[32] "Text of Convocation," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), September 25, 1970.

demonstrations and dialogue as well as solidarity between students and faculty on other college campuses.[33]

Conclusion

Overall, the ways in which the Providence College community protested the Vietnam War were significant for two main reasons. First, Providence students and faculty maintained a commitment to peaceful methods of protest, differentiating themselves from students at some of the more famous, secular schools that engaged in anti-war activities. In contrast to students at institutions like Columbia University and the University of Wisconsin-Madison, students at Providence College clearly articulated their opposition to the war and demonstrated this opposition through teach-ins, marches, requiem Masses, and other non-violent means rather than inciting chaos and destroying property.

Second, Providence College's anti-war activities were significant because they involved faculty as well as members of the greater Providence community. By upholding a commitment to nonviolence, students at Providence College made their anti-war protests more accessible and understandable to both faculty and the general public. While it was harder to identify the motivations for protests at Columbia and UW-Madison because of the violent chaos associated with these protests, it was much easier to identify the motivations for protests at Providence because the students there made a conscious effort to coherently explain and discuss their anti-war sentiments in a peaceful way. Faculty and outside community members likely felt comfortable participating in such anti-war activities because the peaceful nature of these activities made them

[33] "Text of Convocation," *The Cowl* (Providence, RI), September 25, 1970.

much more appealing and approachable than some of the violent and even deadly anti-war activities that they may have read about in the media. As anti-war sentiments continued to grow on campus and Providence students and faculty encouraged their friends, colleagues, and neighbors to join in demonstrations such as the Moratorium Day, these students and faculty effectively helped to solidify more support for their cause, which is one of the main goals of any protest movement. In this way, peaceful protests at Providence College were much more productive than violent protests at institutions like Columbia and UW-Madison because protests at Providence generated positive awareness for the national anti-war movement.

CHAPTER 3: MODES OF ANTI-WAR PROTEST AT NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY

On the evening of October 15, 1969, the day of the nationwide Moratorium Day, students and faculty from Notre Dame University and St. Mary's College gathered on the mall of Notre Dame's Memorial Library for Mass. As members of two Catholic institutions, these students and faculty gathered for Mass quite regularly; however, this Mass was no ordinary service—it was a Resistance Mass. As a way to culminate their participation in the Moratorium Day and to demonstrate their unwavering commitment to the anti-war movement, several students and faculty members from both Notre Dame and St. Mary's decided to place their draft cards in the offertory baskets at the Mass.[1] Tim MacCarry, one of the students who turned in his draft card, explained that the individuals saw this act "as a fair serious step to finding Christ, and in Him justice for our brothers from Vietnam to Harlem."[2] Although essentially an act of civil disobedience, the ceremony was serene, and offered hope for a more harmonious American future. After the men placed their cards in the baskets and a woman from St. Mary's tore up the cards, the men "put their arms over each others [*sic*] shoulders and stood at the Epistle side of the altar. . .smiling." As "orange banners with the peace symbol and blue banners with the outline of a dove waved above

[1] "Christian Peace, Love at Resistance Mass," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), October 16, 1969. While no members of the all-female student body at St. Mary's had draft cards to turn in, Peter Smith, an assistant professor of mathematics at St. Mary's, was one of the individuals to turn in his card at the Mass.

[2] Tim MacCarry, "From Dissent to Resistance," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), October 14, 1969.

the large crowd [of over 2,000 people] which filled in the mall," five musicians from the Moreau Seminary played hopeful songs like "Turn, Turn, Turn" and "Let's Get Together." Just before Communion, "the whole body recited the Lord's Prayer and everyone shook hands with the greeting, 'Peace.'" At the end of the service, a student approached Father Bartell, one of the priests who led the Mass, and said, "Now I know what it means to go to a Christian University."[3]

Like Providence College, Notre Dame's participation in the anti-Vietnam War movement peaked in the late 1960s, culminating with this Resistance Mass and other activities inspired by the Moratorium Day. Although members of the Notre Dame and St. Mary's communities demonstrated their opposition to the war through acts of protest beginning a few years earlier, the Resistance Mass marked a pivotal moment in which members of the two communities came together in order to collectively defy the American government and to "signify [their] non-cooperation with evil." In comparison to some of the more disorderly protests at institutions like Columbia University and the University of Wisconsin Madison, the students and faculty who participated in the Resistance Mass at Notre Dame showed that bold acts of protest did not have to be violent acts of protest. While the men who destroyed their draft cards directly disobeyed the law, they did so peacefully, effectively carrying out an act of civil disobedience. Through the Resistance Mass, members of the Notre Dame and St. Mary's communities used facets of their Catholic tradition to convey their opposition to the war and to promote their cause in a unique and peaceful way that encouraged outside members of the community to join them.[4]

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[3] "Resistance Mass," *The Observer*, October 16, 1969; Tim O'Meilia, "A Little Hope," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), October 16, 1969.

[4] "Resistance Mass," *The Observer*, October 16, 1969.

One of the earliest acts of anti-war protest on the Notre Dame campus in the years preceding the Moratorium Day was the attempted formation of a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) chapter in 1965.[5] A student named Lenny Joyce was the leader of this effort. Remembered by his classmates as "perhaps the most controversial student of the [1960s]" at Notre Dame,[6] Joyce had a "boldness and fire" that led him to advocate strongly for racial justice and the anti-war movement.[7] Joyce tried to form an SDS chapter at Notre Dame in order to further his political convictions and to garner support for the causes he was passionate about. Although Joyce worked hard to develop the chapter, it was never considered more than a "provisional" SDS chapter because of technical details.[8] In an interview with *Scholastic*, Notre Dame's student news magazine, Joyce remarked, "we tried to get official Administration from McCarragher [Rev. Charles I. McCarragher, C.S.C., the vice president for student affairs at the time]. . .he said to do so he'd have to have a full membership list which both the FBI wanted and he wanted to give them. We said no." Rev. McCarragher's request for an official membership list for the FBI was not unfounded, especially considering how much destruction some SDS chapters had caused in other areas of the country, such as at Columbia University. Likewise, Joyce's decision not to provide an official list and to subsequently abandon gaining official recognition from the university

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[5] Amanda Miller, "SDS Chapter 1962-1969," *Mapping American Social Movements Through the 20th Century*, University of Washington, accessed September 20, 2020, https://depts.washington.edu/moves/sds_map.shtml.

[6] "Time Present & Time Past," *The Scholastic* (South Bend, IN), November 14, 1969, http://archives.nd.edu/Scholastic/VOL_0111/VOL_0111_ISSUE_0008.pdf.

[7] "Class Notes Submitted May 1, 2015," *Notre Dame Class of 1968* (blog), May 4, 2015, http://www.ndclass1968.com/2015/05/.

[8] Miller, "SDS Chapters 1962-1969."

was also not surprising, given that one of the SDS's central aims was to rebel against bureaucracy and figures of authority in society, such as the FBI and college administrators.[9]

Notre Dame was not the only Catholic college or university without an official SDS chapter. An interactive map of nationwide SDS chapters from 1962-1969 includes very few Catholic colleges and universities, and the ones that are on the map have mostly provisional status, just like Notre Dame. Although a few Catholic colleges are shown as having official chapters (such as Xavier University, Villanova University, Fordham University, and the College of the Holy Cross), these chapters were not founded until 1969, just before the SDS fizzled out altogether. It is possible that this lack of SDS involvement on the part of Catholic colleges and universities could be attributed to the fact that most Catholic bishops did not explicitly condemn the Vietnam War until late 1968.[10]

Although Notre Dame's SDS chapter never gained official recognition, Notre Dame students continued to advocate for the anti-war movement. In 1967, many students engaged in more active methods of protest. Since 1954, Notre Dame has given an annual Patriot of the Year Award to honor "a public figure 'who exemplifies the American ideals of justice, personal integrity and service to country.'"[11] In 1967, the ceremony was held at the Morris Inn, where "officers of the Senior Class presented the 1967 Patriot of the Year Award to General William Westmoreland in absentia."[12] General Westmoreland was the Commander of United States forces in Vietnam

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[9] "Time Present & Time Past," *The Scholastic* (South Bend, IN), November 14, 1969, http://archives.nd.edu/Scholastic/VOL_0111/VOL_0111_ISSUE_0008.pdf.

[10] Miller, "SDS Chapters 1962-1969."

[11] "Patriot of the Year Award," Notre Dame Archives, September 30, 2010, http://www.archives.nd.edu/about/news/index.php/2010/patriot-of-the-year-award/.

[12] "Pickets Protest Patriot Presentation," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), February 23, 1967.

from 1964-1968. Believing that an American military officer who served in Vietnam was undeserving of this award, between 75 and 100 students gathered outside of the inn during the ceremony to voice their opposition.[13]

This demonstration was a key instance of anti-war protest on the Notre Dame campus for three main reasons. First, the picketers formed "the largest number of demonstrators to turn out in recent years," showing that the anti-war movement was growing within the student body at the university. Second, it is notable that the picketers chose to demonstrate peacefully. *The Observer* explained that the ceremony "was orderly and almost without incident," with "the single marring factor occur[ing] when the picketers were snow-balled by some non- participating students."[14] Third, the fact that the senior class officers chose to give the Patriot Award to Westmoreland, and other students protested this choice, reveals that there were tensions and disagreements between students on the Notre Dame campus. While more and more students adopted anti-war sentiments, other students, like the senior class officers, maintained the belief that the war was a patriotic endeavor worthy of honorable recognition. Although student opposition to the war increased at Notre Dame by 1967, it was still not a unified, collective opposition at that point in time.[15]

In April of 1967, Notre Dame students who opposed the Vietnam War worked to spread the anti-war movement to outside communities by holding a Peace Parley. A parley can be defined as a conference in which opposing sides come together to discuss their views and to settle their disagreements—this particular parley involved various sectors of the South Bend community coming together to discuss matters of peace in Vietnam. The group known as the "South Bend-

[13] "Pickets," *The Observer*, February 23, 1967.

[14] "Pickets," *The Observer*, February 23, 1967.

[15] "Pickets," *The Observer*, February 23, 1967.

Notre Dame Committee of Residents and Students to End the War" organized this conference in an effort to educate South Bend community members in anti-war perspectives and to persuade more members of the community to join the anti-war movement. Lenny Joyce (the student who worked to form a Notre Dame SDS chapter) was a member of the organizing committee, and explained that the purpose of the parley was to "reach the broadest group of people" in order to "fuse an alliance between those groups who have an overlap of interests but who, because of various factors, [were not] in communication." Joyce also noted that "most importantly, students and South Bend citizens [would try] to hash out a continuing peace organization" at the meeting.[16]

The South Bend-Notre Dame Committee of Residents and Students to End the War in Vietnam organized the event into speeches and workshops, and provided a free lunch to attendants in the middle of the day. Rev. Roy Ktatyama of the St. Joseph County Council of Churches, an African-American worker in South Bend named David Simms, and Lenny Joyce gave the speeches.[17] The workshops were divided into four categories: "(1) Students, the draft, and University involvement in the war; (2) Minority groups and the impact of the war; (3) Community action presently being conducted; and (4) Moral Concerns, Church groups, conscientious objection and the like." These four categories highlighted some of the main reasons why Notre Dame students opposed the war in the first place. The inclusion of the fourth category is particularly important, as it shows that the South Bend community included and considered Catholic concerns

[16] Lenny Joyce, "Viet War Parley Set for Saturday," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), April 13, 1967.

[17] Joyce, "Viet War Parley," *The Observer*, April 13, 1967; In *The Observer* article outlining who would be giving speeches at the Parley, Lenny Joyce is identified as "Lenny Joyce of Notre Dame SDS." Although this title suggests that the Notre Dame SDS was an official organization, it was not an official chapter of the nationwide SDS. Rather, it was a group of students who shared anti-war sentiments and identified with the SDS mission, but never obtained official status with the organization. The fact that Lenny Joyce himself was the author of the article supports this point: while Joyce saw himself as an official member of the SDS, the SDS as a nationwide organization did not.

over the war in their decision to oppose the conflict. As a whole, the parley was important because it strengthened an anti-war partnership between the Notre Dame community and the surrounding South Bend community. As anti-war sentiments and demonstrations grew in strength and frequency on the Notre Dame campus, students who opposed the war decided to extend their efforts into the outside community, working to persuade more South Bend residents to see the negative impacts of the war. By facilitating conversations between themselves and the South Bend community, anti-war students at Notre Dame raised awareness for their cause in a productive and peaceful way.[18]

In February of 1968, "more than two hundred persons, roughly two-thirds Notre Dame student[s], gathered at the Administration Building [on the Notre Dame campus]. . .to protest the recruitment interviews being held by the Dow Chemical Company," seeing Dow Chemical as "a symbol of what they considered the immorality of America's conduct in Vietnam." Like the students at UW-Madison in 1967, the students at Notre Dame protested the Dow recruiters' presence because they opposed the company's involvement in manufacturing napalm for the Vietnam War; the main difference, however, was that the Notre Dame students did not erupt into violent protest like the UW-Madison students did. One student remarked that "if we're going to have a demonstration for peace. . .let's make it a peaceful demonstration." There were even "scriptural readings by a number of those who opposed the war basically on Christian moral grounds." Moreover, no students were punished for participating in the protest. *The Observer* noted that this "protest [was] a landmark in Notre Dame student activism, in that it mark[ed] the first time a 'radical' demonstration [had] been permitted within the walls of a University building."

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[18] Joyce, "Viet War Parley," *The Observer*, April 13, 1967.

Not only did this protest show that anti-war sentiments were building within the Notre Dame student body by 1968, but it also showed that students were becoming more comfortable with speaking out and conveying these anti-war sentiments, as this protest was supposedly the first anti-war student demonstration to occur inside a university facility.[19]

Notre Dame's president, Father Theodore Hesburgh, was evidently moved by the peaceful resolve of his students. Hesburgh was quite active on the national political stage, as he held sixteen presidential appointments for various committees under nine U.S. presidents. In the early months of 1969, President Nixon asked Hesburgh to "advise Vice President Spiro Agnew about federal legislation to control student violence on campuses because the vice president would be meeting with all the state governors to discuss and vote on the issue." Hesburgh strongly discouraged Agnew from pursing any kind of federal legislation on the topic, asserting that student anti-war protestors "were often being portrayed unfairly and inaccurately. . .[and] that the colleges and universities themselves were better suited to deal with their own communities." In making this recommendation, Hesburgh recognized that peaceful anti-war protests, although more numerous, were being overshadowed by violent anti-war protests that more readily captured media attention, thereby clouding the perceptions of politicians like President Nixon and the public more broadly. Seeing a commitment to nonviolent activism on his own campus, Hesburgh understood that most students had no desire to cause trouble or to be destructive through their anti-war demonstrations. He also recognized that colleges and universities themselves were most capable of handling their own campus communities, as individual institutions could understand and communicate with their respective student bodies in ways that the distanced federal government could not. Hesburgh's

[19] Dennis Gallagher, "200 Protest Dow Interviews Under Dome," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), February 9, 1968.

recommendation proved to be incredibly impactful: "when the governors first gathered, more than 40 of them were prepared to vote for federal action, but after reading Father Hesburgh's [recommendations], more than 40 of them voted against federal legislation."[20]

Father Hesburgh continued to support his students in their nonviolent, anti-war activities in various ways, such as by participating in Notre Dame's Moratorium Day events in October of 1969. Like the anti-war movement at Providence College, the anti-war movement at Notre Dame reached significant heights with the university community's involvement in the nationwide Moratorium Day. Notre Dame students and faculty participated in a wide range of activities throughout the day, both on and off campus. In the morning, Notre Dame students supported local high school students in their walk-out efforts. *The Observer* explained that students from the local Adams High School "stag[ed] a walk-out at 8:15 and march[ed] to Howard Park," where they then met up with Notre Dame students and "[broke] up into small discussion groups."[21]

This coordination between Notre Dame students and local high school students in protesting the war indicates that the Notre Dame community continued to make efforts of outreach to South Bend residents as the anti-war movement gained momentum on campus. Notre Dame students believed that forging a partnership between themselves and the surrounding community was vital to the success of their anti-war efforts. A student named Jim Prisby noted in *The Observer* that "the purpose of the Moratorium is to provoke discussion and expression of views not only among ND students, but with the South Bend community as well." In that same vein, Tim MacCarry asserted that "'the idea of the moratorium is not that we simply skip classes or get

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[20] "The 1960s and Student Activism," University of Notre Dame, accessed March 31, 2021, https://hesburgh.nd.edu/fr-teds-life/the-notre-dame-president/the-60s-and-student-activism/.

[21] Jim Prisby, "Moratorium Events Begin," *The Observ*er (South Bend, IN), October 14, 1969.

together with those that agree with us, but that we also go out and work for peace in the local community, in places like the churches." The Notre Dame students understood that asserting their views to like-minded people in their own campus bubble would not further the anti-war movement or enact meaningful change—rather, they knew they had to extend their efforts into surrounding communities, having conversations with South Bend residents of all different perspectives in order to convince more people to oppose the war.[22]

Notre Dame faculty and administrators joined in the students' anti-war efforts on the Moratorium Day. For example, Father Hesburgh joined the presidents of seventy-eight other private colleges and universities in signing a petition leading up to the Moratorium Day "which [called] on President Nixon for a 'stepped-up timetable' for withdrawing from Vietnam." The other institutions represented on the petition included a number of highly-ranked, prestigious schools such as Princeton University, Swarthmore College, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In the petition, the presidents asserted that they found American withdrawal from Vietnam "'to be in [their] highest interest, at home and abroad.'" The presidents went on to explain that they spoke "'as individuals who work with young men and women,'" believing that "the 'accumulated costs' of the Vietnam conflict went beyond men and material to 'its effects on young peoples' beliefs.'"[23]

This petition signified that seventy-eight university presidents, including Father Hesburgh, held firm, anti-war convictions by 1968. *The Observer*'s coverage of the petition and of Father Hesburgh's decision to sign it was quite positive, indicating that many Notre Dame students supported the petition and the sentiments that it conveyed. Moreover, by focusing so heavily on

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[22] Prisby, "Moratorium Events Begin," *The Observ*er, October 14, 1969.

[23] "Moratorium: Key Issue at ND, St. Mary's," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), October 14, 1969.

how the war specifically impacted students, the petition showed that the university presidents' respective anti-war positions were at least partially informed by their students' beliefs and demonstrations. The presidents who signed this petition recognized the profound effects that the war had on their students. Between the draft, cuts to domestic expenditures, and the sheer death and destruction incited by the war, students expressed fear for themselves, their loved ones, and the future of their nation through various acts of protest. By signing this petition leading up to the Moratorium Day and attending the Resistance Mass on the Moratorium Day itself, Father Hesburgh showed that he heard his students' concerns, and decided to act with his students and support them on the Moratorium Day in order to call attention to their deep anxiety for the future.[24]

In addition to Father Hesburgh, female students from St. Mary's College joined the Notre Dame students in protesting the war on the Moratorium Day. Seven girls from St. Mary's took part in a twenty-four hour fast "in support of the Moratorium." Like the Notre Dame students, the St. Mary's students encouraged the rest of their community to participate in their anti-war demonstration, as they "issued [a] statement. . .asking other members of the St. Mary's Community [to] join them" in the fast.[25] Moreover, members of the St. Mary's community supported the Moratorium Day by leading an "informal discussion from 9:30 to 12:00 Wednesday [the day of the Moratorium] at the SMC Coffeehouse." The two topics that guided the discussion were "Michael Noval's 'Ten Points for Peace' and 'Women's Role in Vietnam Protest,'" with Sister Franzita Kane from St. Mary's leading the discussion on the latter. By engaging in these anti-war activities, members of the St. Mary's community showed that protesting the Vietnam War was not limited to men. As members of Notre Dame's sister school, students and faculty at St. Mary's

[24] "Key issue at ND, St. Mary's," *The Observer*, October 14, 1969.

[25] "Girls to Fast," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), October 14, 1969.

supported the Notre Dame men in Notre Dame's Moratorium efforts while simultaneously organizing independent anti-war activities of their own. In this way, the women of St. Mary's helped to further the anti-war movement in the South Bend community.[26]

Like the hundreds of college and university communities that participated in the Moratorium Day across the country, the Notre Dame community's main Moratorium Day activities consisted of speeches, teach-ins, and marches. The speakers included a wide variety of figures such as Notre Dame Student Body President Phil McKenna; Brother David Darst, F.C.S. of the Catonsville Nine (a group of nine Catholic activists who burned their draft cards in 1968 to protest the war); a Notre Dame graduate student of sociology named Gil Cardenaz; Karen Weller of St. Mary's; and Archbishop T.D. Roberts (an English peace advocate at the Second Vatican Council who served in the Archdiocese of Bombay, India).[27] Archbishop Roberts' presence was particularly notable, as it showed that a prominent member of the Catholic hierarchy supported Notre Dame's peaceful demonstration against the Vietnam War. Each of the speakers called for an end to the war while emphasizing the need for peaceful and nonviolent methods of protest. For example, "Darst asked for an act of faith. Not too many people believe peace is possible, he said. To believe that requires an act of faith in mankind." In that same vein, Cardenaz "also addressed himself to non-violence," calling it "a beautiful thing." As these individuals spoke, the majority of the crowd looked on as an engaged and supportive audience.[28]

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[26] Prisby, "Moratorium Events Begin," *The Observer*, October 14, 1969.

[27] "Archbishop Roberts Begins Moratorium Events," *The Observer* (Sound Bend, IN), October 10, 1969; Maggie Astor, "Their Protest Helped End the Draft. 50 Years Later, It's Still Controversial." *New York Times*, May 19, 2018 https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/19/us/catonsville-nine-anniversary.html.

[28] Bro. Patrick Carney and Jim Graif, "Speakers Address Student Rally on Main Quad," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), October 16, 1969.

However, a small minority of students stood out in the crowd as they demonstrated their opposition to the anti-war movement by holding up a large "Bomb the Cong" sign. When Student Body President Phil McKenna saw this sign, he did not try to silence the students holding it, but rather, "invited representatives of this point of view to present their case. When two came forward, [McKenna] asked the assembly if they wanted to hear one or both. The body replied 'both.'" One of the men who came forward was a former Hungarian Freedom Fighter named Joseph Szalay, who explained that his experiences under a Communist government made him feel that the Vietnam War was a necessary means of suppressing Communism and its effects on Vietnamese society and the rest of the world. Szalay said "that in a Communist Society one would not even be able to enjoy the freedom of speech which was being exercised on the campus at the time," and that even if the war ended, a new conflict "[would] just start up in another place." The fact that McKenna provided Szalay with a platform to convey his pro-war sentiments shows that Notre Dame students wanted to participate in meaningful dialogue about the war. Rather than simply disregarding or accosting those who supported the war, Notre Dame students demonstrated a willingness to converse with these people and to listen to their reasoning with courtesy and respect.[29]

After the speeches and teach-ins, members of both the Notre Dame and St. Mary's communities participated in a "Silent Peace Walk. . .in mourning for all the Notre Dame students killed in Vietnam." During the procession, "approximately equal numbers of Notre Dame men and St. Mary's women" carried "crosses with the names of ND's war casualties [that were then] planted in the field across from the ROTC building." The decision to plant the crosses across from the ROTC building was symbolically important, as it drew a direct connection between military

[29] Bro. Carney and Graif, "Student Rally," *The Observer*, October 16, 1969.

groups like ROTC and the suffering inflicted by the Vietnam War. As a further demonstration of honor and respect, "several of the [marchers] knelt and prayed silently in front of the implanted cross[es]." This peace walk served to highlight the Notre Dame community's personal connections to the war. Although many Notre Dame students and faculty members opposed the war because of reasons like the draft, moral principles, and domestic funding, many others opposed the war because they personally knew people who were drafted or had lost their lives to the conflict.[30]

Notre Dame's participation in the Moratorium Day culminated with the Resistance Mass. Archbishop Roberts, one of the clergymen who concelebrated the service, "noted that Notre Dame might be the only place in the country where the mass [was] connected with draft cards." Although he acknowledged that this connection "might shock some people," Roberts suggested that the Resistance Mass exemplified the notion of living in accordance with Catholic ideals. "'When we go to mass, especially daily mass,' the cleric said, 'we often celebrate the feast of a martyr. Nearly all were put to death for some form of disobedience.' Pointing out that these saints follow their conscience, Archbishop Roberts urged that 'we ought to obey God rather than men.'" While the Resistance Mass was an unusual way of protesting the war, it was arguably one of Notre Dame's most significant moments of protest. Not only did it provide over 2,000 members of the Notre Dame and St. Mary's communities with a method of peacefully conveying their opposition to the war, but it also provided them with an opportunity to act on their views by placing their draft cards in the offertory basket while simultaneously celebrating their Catholic faith.[31]

After the Moratorium Day, Notre Dame students and faculty continued to expand their anti-war activities. In November of 1969, representatives from Dow Chemical returned to Notre

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[30] "Crosses for ND Dead," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), October 16, 1969.

[31] Bro. Carney and Graif, "Student Rally," *The Observer*, October 16, 1969.

Dame to recruit students to work at their company. On November 19, about 75 students "gathered in the rotunda of the Administration Building by 9:00 a.m. planning to stop the interviews at the Placement Bureau office." Faced with the protesting crowd, the Dow recruiters decided to cancel the interviews and leave campus, "[feeling] that [they] could achieve nothing by remaining on campus."[32] Like the protest against Dow Chemical that had occurred in February of 1968 on the Notre Dame campus, this protest was entirely nonviolent, although some students were disciplined in this second Dow Chemical protest. The university expelled five students and suspended five other students based on charges of "participation in an unregistered demonstration" and "participation in a disruptive demonstration." However, no police force had to come to campus to break up the confrontation, no weapons were used, and nobody was hurt. The only reason the Notre Dame administration punished ten students at all was because the students caused "disorder" on campus, and the administration was only able to identify these students for punishment because they were the unlucky few whose ID cards were confiscated at the protest. The Notre Dame students' decision to peacefully protest against Dow Chemical was particularly significant in light of the protest at UW-Madison two years earlier. The students at Notre Dame could have followed the UW-Madison students' example and caused a destructive scene, but instead, they consciously decided to use nonviolent methods of conveying their position.[33]

Even after the Dow recruiters left, however, the demonstration that day did not stop. Father David Burrell of the philosophy department approached the crowd of students, and "suggested that

[32] It should be noted that this protest occurred in 1969, while the UW-Madison protest occurred in 1967. It is possible that the Dow Chemical recruiters learned from the violence that occurred when they recruited at schools like UW-Madison in previous years, and simply decided that it was best to leave Notre Dame out of fear that such violence could happen again.

[33] Cliff Wintrode, "Five Students Expelled in CIA-Dow Protests, University Suspends Five Others," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), November 20, 1969.

even though the recruiters had gone the group should take some time to discuss the issues of the protest." Professor James Douglass of the Non-Violent Studies Department echoed Burrell's request, asking the students "to discuss what would be done if the recruiters returned." The protesting students then sat with the two professors and had a conversation with them in the rotunda, making a pathway for people to pass through into the Administrative Building. While *The Observer* described the "hour-long rap session which followed" as "rambling and disorganized," it nevertheless gave students an opportunity to discuss their perspectives and to assist them in understanding why they even protested in the first place. Some students concluded that "the university should not sponsor the interviews of any corporation by allowing them to recruit on campus," not just companies associated with the war.[34]

In this way, these Notre Dame students conducted a productive, peaceful protest. Even *The Observer*'s headline for the protest explained, "Potential disorder becomes peaceful protest." Although the Notre Dame students could have easily incited a violent confrontation in response to the presence of Dow recruiters like the UW-Madison students did, they decided to adhere to civil methods of protest. Not only was the protest itself nonviolent, but the dialogue that followed proved that there was true meaning behind the demonstration. The students did not protest for the sake of protesting, but rather, they did so in order to convey the passionate convictions they held. The Dow Chemical protest also highlighted the key relationship between students and faculty in furthering the anti-war movement. The faculty understood that the students had concerns over the

[34] Jim Holsinger, "Potential Disorder Becomes Peaceful Rap," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), November 20, 1969.

war, and wanted to support them in expressing those concerns through productive dialogue and demonstrations.[35]

In May of 1970, Notre Dame joined Providence College and hundreds of other colleges and universities across the country in holding a strike from classes in response to the Kent State shootings. On the day of the shootings, Student Body President David Krashna stood in front of a crowd of nearly 1000 students, and "called for a general boycott of classes. . . [citing] the Cambodian expansion as the 'catalyst' prompting him to propose the boycott." Krashna proposed striking from regular classes so that students and faculty could lead and attend teach-ins on the war and specific topics such as "militarism, racism, and sexism." While Krashna identified the American government's decision to bomb Cambodia as the driving force behind his proposed boycott, the student body was undeniably appalled and influenced by the shootings at Kent State, too. It was no accident that Krashna called for the boycott the same day of the shootings. Moreover, a political cartoon in *The Observer* mimicked Francisco Goya's famous "The Third of May 1808" painting, portraying the Kent State students as innocent martyrs of the anti-war movement (see fig. 7).[36]

[35] Holsinger, "Peaceful Rap," *The Observer*, November 20, 1969.

[36] Dave McCarthy, "Krashna: Strike Now," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), May 5, 1970.

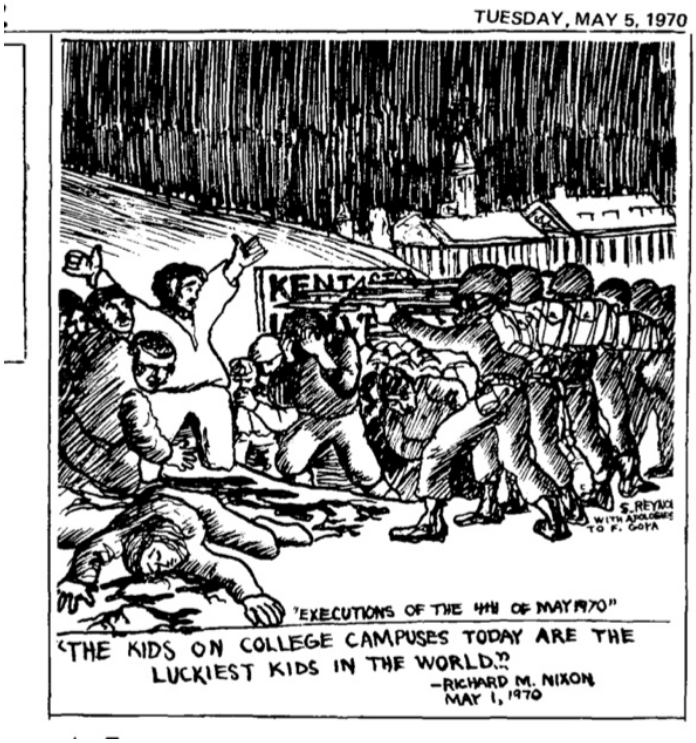

Figure 7. A political cartoon in a 1970 issue of *The Observer* depicted the students who died at the Kent State University shooting as martyrs. *Source*: *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), May 5, 1970.

At first, reactions to Krashna's proposal were mixed. Professor and Chairman of the History Department Bernard Norling said that he thought "the strike would not achieve anything."[37] Similarly, Father Hesburgh expressed weariness over a potential strike, stating that "cutting off your education. . .is the worst thing you could do at this time, since your education and your growth in competence are what the world needs most, if the leadership of the future is going to be better than the leadership of the past and present."[38] Krashna and Father Hesburgh actually had a conversation the night of May 4 in an attempt to settle their differences. Krashna described the meeting between the two as "tense," with Father Hesburgh asking Krashna, "David,

[37] Mark Walbran, "Faculty Reaction Mixed," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), May 6, 1970.

[38] "Hesburgh Condemns Nixon," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), May 5, 1970.

when is this going to end?" However, "despite a tough meeting, Hesburgh and Krashna agreed to keep communications open," demonstrating the partnership between the Notre Dame students and faculty that existed during this time.[39] While some Notre Dame faculty showed hesitation to cancel classes, other faculty members, like Professor John Houck of the College of Business, showed support for the strike, calling it "'intriguing'" and "express[ing] the hope that. . .the Administration, faculty, and students [would] be able to discuss peacefully the war and other related issues." These conflicting views showed that the campus was not in complete agreement on the best way to respond to the Kent State shootings or the Vietnam War more broadly.[40]

In short time, however, the administration showed support for Krashna's initiative and for the student body's desire to showcase their anti-war sentiments. The Vice President of Academic Affairs, John E. Walsh, C.S.C., "released a letter to all teaching and research faculty members" outlining the "student Life Council Resolution. . .for the suspension of classes" on May 6 and May 7. The purpose of this break from classes was to allow for "an intensive study of all sides of this profound and complicated problem [the Vietnam War] which involves the moral and spiritual, as well as the intellectual, quality of our national life and public policy."[41] After this two-day suspension from classes, Notre Dame students held a meeting and decided to extend the strike themselves to May 15. The decision to extend the strike won 1,309 student votes to 250 student votes, which points to the growing momentum of the anti-war movement on the Notre Dame campus during this time. While the faculty were not involved in the vote to extend the student

[39] Michael B. Murphy, "Conscientious Objections," *Notre Dame Magazine* (South Bend, IN), Spring 2020, https://magazine.nd.edu/stories/conscientious-objections/.

[40] Walbran, "Faculty Reaction Mixed," *The Observer*, May 6, 1970.

[41] John Powers, "Walsh Suspends Normal Routine," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), May 6, 1970.

strike, the Academic Council agreed to give "excused absences" to students who missed class during this time, showing that the Notre Dame faculty supported the students in their anti-war efforts. It should be noted that the differences between Providence's response to the Kent State shootings and Notre Dame's response to the Kent State shootings were quite considerable. While the Providence Faculty Senate swiftly voted to cancel classes for the rest of the semester following the shootings, the Notre Dame faculty were more divided on the issue, only deciding to officially cancel classes for a mere two days. It was the students at Notre Dame who ultimately shaped the university's anti-war strike, with supportive faculty following from behind.[42]

Father Hesburgh also "sign[ed] a statement addressed to President Nixon. . .denounc[ing] our [American] increased activity and favor[ing] our withdrawal from Southeast Asia."[43] Student canvassers worked to get over 20,000 people from St. Joseph County to sign the statement in less than two weeks, highlighting the interconnectedness between Notre Dame and its surrounding communities. *The Observer* reported that "on the average, between 75 and 100 students canvassed every day," and that "an estimated 1000 students, at one time or another, canvassed in Stouch [*sic*] Bend and St. Joseph County." The sheer number of students who collected signatures shows that Notre Dame students were passionate about working together to fight for the anti-war movement.[44]

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[42] Murphy, "Conscientious Objections," *Notre Dame Magazine*, Spring 2020.

[43] McCarthy, "Krashna: Strike Now," *The Observer*, May 5, 1970.

[44] Tom Bornholdt, "Canvassing Continues: 21,000 Signatures Obtained in Drive," *The Observer* (South Bend, IN), May 15, 1970.

Conclusion

When comparing the anti-war protests at Providence College to the protests at Notre Dame University, several similarities are evident. First, and perhaps most importantly, the students and faculty at both Providence and Notre Dame protested peacefully. While there were certainly moments of disagreement and even confrontation on the Notre Dame campus, the Notre Dame community handled these situations through non-violent means. Second, just like the students and faculty at Providence, the students and faculty at Notre Dame worked to incorporate members of the surrounding community in their anti-war demonstrations. Whether it be organizing a peace parley or hosting open-invitation activities during the Moratorium Day, the Notre Dame community worked to integrate its protests with those of the greater South Bend community, recognizing how important it was to garner as much support for their side as possible. Third, like Providence College, the students and faculty at Notre Dame largely worked together to convey their anti-war sentiments. The faculty were influenced by the students and the concern that they expressed through their anti-war demonstrations, and supported the students accordingly.

CONCLUSION

In a 1971 interview with the *Partisan Review*, American poet Allen Ginsberg reflected on the intense level of media coverage devoted to violent protests in the 1960s. Specifically, he said that such coverage "[was] indulging in murderous violence on so vast a scale that nobody's mind [could] contain it."[1] In other words, the mainstream media focused so heavily on the violent elements of 1960s activism that such elements came to dominate the public's perceptions of 1960s activism altogether. Even though violent protests made up a relatively small proportion of all anti-war activism, these violent protests unfairly clouded the public's vision, leading many to see the entire anti-war movement in a negative light. Ginsberg's words point to a larger phenomenon in human story-telling: too often, we as a society place overwhelming focus on violence and negativity when we document and remember historical events. We let the violent words and actions of a few drown out the largely peaceful words and actions of many. As Father Hesburgh pointed out in his recommendations in 1969, this trend has dangerous implications for students of history, as it can prevent us from recognizing the true impact and importance of nonviolent historical moments.

This trend of focusing on violence in history is evident in the overall study of anti-Vietnam War activism in the United States, as historians have devoted great attention to studying the

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[1] Richard Boyd, "Representing Political Violence: The Mainstream Media and the Weatherman 'Days of Rage,'" *American Studies* 41, no. 1 (2000): 141, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40643120.

aggressive and destructive aspects of the anti-Vietnam War movement. From the radical activities of groups like the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) to the campus protests at prestigious colleges and universities like Columbia University or the University of Wisconsin-Madison, scholars have focused their investigations on the historical moments when anti-war sentiments among students devolved into destructive chaos. On the other side of the spectrum, historians have also spent considerable time investigating how Catholics reacted to the Vietnam War. Pastorals written by the Catholic bishops and comments made by Pope Paul VI provide scholars with fascinating examples of how members of the Catholic hierarchy chose to speak out (or not speak out) against the war, and to lead their congregations towards peace.

While student anti-war protests and Catholic anti-war protests are interesting topics on their own, few scholars have chosen to merge these topics together in order to study how *students* (and faculty) at *Catholic* college campuses protested the Vietnam War. I find this lack of investigation to be an egregious gap in the overall study of the anti-war movement, because protests at Catholic colleges and universities contributed to the anti-war movement in significant and worthwhile ways. Although anti-war activities at Catholic campuses shared some similarities with anti-war activities at secular campuses, communities of Catholic colleges like Providence College and Notre Dame University incorporated unique elements into their demonstrations that made their acts of protest particularly meaningful.

First, students and faculty at Catholic colleges and universities made their reasons for protest apparent. To be sure, these campus community members had different qualms about the war—qualms like the consequences the war would have on the Vietnamese people, the draft and the safety of American soldiers, religious implications of the conflict, or a mix of these concerns and more. Yet, no matter their specific motivations for protesting the Vietnam War, students and

faculty at Providence and Notre Dame made sure to make their motivations heard. From writing editorials, to holding teach-ins, to simply engaging in meaningful discussion with their peers, the campus communities at these two Catholic schools made it known that they were not protesting the war simply for the sake of protesting, but rather, because they truly saw the war as a critical and troublesome conflict that needed to end.

This is not to say that students and faculty at secular colleges and universities did not have specific reasons for protesting the war. Their reasons, however, were much less apparent. I was unable to find any scholarly analysis of the specific reasons why students and faculty at Columbia and UW-Madison chose to protest the war, and newspaper articles that covered anti-war activities at these two secular campuses focused primarily on how violent these activities became rather than why they even began. Perhaps more research needs to be done on the motivations behind anti-war protest at secular colleges and universities, but it certainly seems as though the students at some schools (and their surrounding communities) got too caught up in the violence of anti-war protest to remember *why* they even protested in the first place.

Second, students and faculty at Catholic schools like Providence and Notre Dame showed a commitment to nonviolent methods of protest. When students at universities like Columbia and UW-Madison resorted to violent and even injurious anti-war activities, students at Providence and Notre Dame did not let these violent activities sway their own—in fact, they criticized violent anti-war activities, seeing such activities as ineffective means to bringing about the end of the war. Even in potentially tense moments of protest, students and faculty remained peaceful. The instance when anti-war students at Notre Dame invited pro-war students to share their perspectives on the Moratorium Day is a particularly powerful example. Instead of violently shutting down the opposition, the anti-war students were willing to listen peacefully to what the opposition had to

say. This example highlights that students and faculty at Providence and Notre Dame were not involved in protests because they wanted to cause trouble, but rather, because they wanted to participate in meaningful and productive dialogue about the war.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, anti-war protestors at Providence and Notre Dame were able to involve their greater communities in ways that protestors at many secular schools could not. While students at secular schools like Columbia and UW-Madison largely positioned themselves *against* their faculty and university presidents by holding sit-ins and staging protests against them, seeing them as symbols of bureaucratic authority, students at Providence and Notre Dame made a conscious effort to work *with* their faculty and university presidents, seeing them as potential partners in promoting the anti-war cause. From students like Daniel Foley at Providence who reached out directly to faculty members like Professor Grace for support in organizing anti-war activities, to students like Tim MacCarry at Notre Dame who joined with faculty members like James Douglass to tear up their draft cards at a Resistance Mass in protest of the war, students at these Catholic schools understood that faculty were their common allies. Because they were peaceful and sincere in their anti-war message, anti-war students at Providence and Notre Dame were successful in garnering support from faculty members who also opposed the war.

When faculty members actively endorsed and participated in anti-war activities, they helped to give the student anti-war movement a greater sense of legitimacy. For young, naïve college students to protest the war was one thing—but for respectable, distinguished scholars with years of education and life experience to join in this protest was another. The petition that Father Hesburgh sent to President Nixon in opposition of the war serves as a strong example. Although hundreds of Notre Dame students (and thousands of members from the surrounding community) signed the statement, it arguably carried significantly more weight simply because Father

Hesburgh signed it. When faculty members and presidents of these Catholic schools supported their students in opposing the war, they showed the American government and people in positions of political and military authority that student anti-war protests were not frivolous acts of defiance, but rather serious acts of protest meant to articulate legitimate concerns about the war.

In the same vein, with their ability to effectively convey their reasons for opposition and their ability to showcase their anti-war opposition in nonviolent ways, students were able to partner with members of the surrounding communities outside of their campus walls in their anti-war cause. Whereas the communities surrounding secular schools like Columbia and UW-Madison were largely put off by the student protestors' aggressive behavior, communities around Providence and Notre Dame were more accepting and understanding of student protestors at these institutions because they conveyed their anti-war sentiments in articulate and peaceful ways. It was much more feasible and productive for an outside community member to attend a teach-in about the war at an institution like Providence or Notre Dame than it was to participate in a confrontational sit-in or to engage in violent and bloody combat with the police at an institution like Columbia or UW-Madison.

The extent of these Catholic colleges' outreach was far and wide. Students at both Providence and Notre Dame invited members of the communities surrounding their respective campuses to observe and even join in some of their anti-war protests, such as the activities that took place on the nationwide Moratorium Day. Through this invitation, Providence and Notre Dame helped to expose outside community members to productive and sincere anti-war arguments and gave community members who opposed the war a platform to convey their sentiments. Moreover, students at Notre Dame organized workshops to consider the implications of the war with residents of South Bend at a local library, and supported high school students who staged a

walk-out in protest of the war by meeting these students in a local park to discuss their motivations and the war in general. Students of these Catholic colleges understood that they could not insulate themselves on their respective campuses if they wanted to have a real impact on the debate over the Vietnam War. In order to further the anti-war cause, these students knew that they had to reach out to as many people of diverse backgrounds as possible, working to build up an anti-war movement that would speak loud enough for those in power to hear.

Despite these common themes and major similarities between Providence and Notre Dame, the anti-war movements at these two Catholic institutions were not identical. In many cases, Notre Dame's anti-war activities were larger and more frequent. This can be attributed to the fact that Notre Dame was (and still is) a larger school than Providence. Moreover, Notre Dame students documented their anti-war efforts much more frequently than Providence students; whereas *The Cowl* published once a week, *The Observer* published every few days, and sometimes every day during particularly important time periods on campus. While Notre Dame almost certainly had more anti-war activities than Providence due to its larger size, it is possible that Providence had even more anti-war activities than were documented simply due to *The Cowl*'s publication schedule.

It can also be argued that acts of protest on the Notre Dame campus were often more intense or bold than acts of protest on the Providence campus. The tearing up of draft cards at the Resistance Mass during Notre Dame's Moratorium Day events exemplifies this claim; while students at Providence were quite outspoken and passionate about their anti-war beliefs, I could find no evidence of Providence students destroying their draft cards or otherwise putting themselves at risk with the law. This difference could stem from the fact that not only was Notre Dame larger than Providence, but it also had a more prestigious reputation than Providence at the

time of the Vietnam War. Students may have felt more confident or emboldened in defying the law by burning their draft cards with the support of a strong and esteemed institution behind them.

It should also be noted that the involvement of St. Mary's students in Notre Dame protests gave the anti-war movement at Notre Dame a uniquely feminine feature that the anti-war movement at Providence did not necessarily have. While some female members of the surrounding community are pictured at various anti-war activities at Providence, there was no coordinated effort among women on the Providence campus to protest the war in the way there was on the Notre Dame campus. Of course, this difference can be attributed to the fact that although both Notre Dame and Providence were all-male institutions throughout most of the Vietnam War, Notre Dame had a sister school in St. Mary's, while Providence had no such equivalent.[2] These differences between two Catholic schools and their anti-war movements highlight how critical it is for scholars to study anti-war movements on a vast array of diverse college campuses. Each individual college or university has its own unique story to tell—no one institution can speak for the anti-war events at all institutions of its kind. Although colleges may share important characteristics such as religious identity, no two institutions had the same experience during the Vietnam War, and therefore, all institutions deserve to have their historical experiences heard and ultimately preserved.

Although anti-war protests at Catholic college campuses have not received as much attention as anti-war protests at some of the more elite, secular college campuses, peaceful anti-war protests at Catholic college campuses may actually have been more effective in contributing

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[2] Providence first began to enroll women in 1971, while Notre Dame first began to enroll women in 1972."History: Highlights 1971-1984," Providence College, accessed April 16, 2021, https://about.providence.edu/mission/history/1971-1984/; "Notre Dame's Alumnae before 1972," Notre Dame Archives, June 12, 2017, http://www.archives.nd.edu/about/news/index.php/2017/notre-dames-alumnae-before-1972/.

to the end of the Vietnam War than violent anti-war protests at some secular colleges. Student protestors at Catholic institutions like Providence and Notre Dame garnered support and understanding in ways that student protestors at places like Columbia and UW-Madison did not, inviting more and more people to understand and eventually join their anti-war cause. The Second Vatican Council encouraged the laity to actively live out their faith, which is a directive that Providence and Notre Dame students manifested in their efforts to grapple with the war through a Catholic lens. Rather than blindly following the Catholic hierarchy in support of the war, students at institutions like Providence and Notre Dame became peaceful, anti-war leaders whose opposition to the war was uniquely based on their Catholic views and culture. More research needs to be done on anti-war activities on Catholic college campuses in order to confirm whether or not the examples of Providence and Notre Dame can speak for most or all Catholic colleges. However, my research points to the importance of studying anti-war activities at more than just the large, prestigious, secular schools. While schools like Columbia and UW-Madison are the schools who often get the most attention in the study of the anti-war movement, our attention should shift to the smaller or less prominent schools that arguably may have made an even larger impact.

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