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# "WE WANT AGGIES, NOT MAGGIES:" JAMES EARL RUDDER AND THE COEDUCATION OF TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

### By Christopher Bean

In 1930, when twenty-year old James Earl Rudder enrolled at A&M College of Texas, two Texas institutions converged for the first time – one already established, the other yet to be. For the next four decades, through depression, a world conflagration, and post war uncertainty, an unbreakable bond remained. Late in the 1950s Rudder returned to the school as its president, a second convergence that proved a blessing to the college, because just on the horizon awaited one of the most trying times in the long history of A&MC – the 1960s. With leadership, discipline, and vision, Rudder guided the school through this most turbulent of times. Prior to Rudder's tenure, A&M was an all-male, segregated, provincial military school. Afterward, it became one of the Southwest's premier educational institutions. Although aided and assisted by other administrators and faculty, Rudder remains the seminal figure in this transition.

The Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas opened its doors in 1876 with a class of 106 students. The school began as an all-male military institution with compulsory participation in the Corps of Cadets, an organization that became the most visible symbol of the school and one that played an integral role in its initial growth. The school consequently developed a strong military character. It regularly commissioned more officers than any of the service academies, including West Point. Former students achieved outstanding records in all of the country's wars from the Spanish-American War to the present. More than 20,000 former students served during World War II, twenty-nine of them at the rank of general.

After the First World War, the A&MC experienced rapid growth and became recognized for its programs in agriculture, engineering, and veterinary and military sciences. The college even branched out, establishing complexes throughout the state. These changes resulted in the organization of limited graduate degree programs by 1936. Driving this growth was the discovery of oil on state lands during the 1920s. Beginning in 1931, A&M received onethird of the income derived from the state's Permanent University Fund. These oil revenues kept costs and tuition down and spurred enrollment growth even during the Great Depression. By the 1950s, A&M College confronted many new challenges; changing population dynamics; decreasing enrollment; and developing fissures between the student body and faculty. "[At this time] Texas A&M confronted change without really changing," wrote historian Henry C. Dethlof, while another historian argued that this was a time of "turmoil, unrest, and lack of progress; indeed, the institution appeared to be in retrogression, with loss of student members, and agitation among the faculty and the student body."2

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Despite this situation, no leader pushed for change. Various issues loomed ahead for not only the school, but also for the nation as a whole. Coeducation, racial integration, curricular and administrative changes, elective military training, and the admission of civilian students were topics that the college would have to address soon. Furthermore, with explosive growth in the state's population, concerns about a broader university complex and a focus on research and academics surfaced. The future of the college depended on how the administration approached these matters.<sup>3</sup>

This was the situation that faced James Earl Rudder when he arrived as vice-president of the college early in 1958. Born on May 6, 1910, in Eden (Concho County), Rudder was one of thirteen children. From his father he received an indelible work ethic and from his mother a moral compass. After excelling at football for two years at John Tarleton Agricultural College, Rudder transferred to A&MC in 1930, where for the next two years he helped anchor the offensive line for the Aggie football team. After a brief stint coaching at Brady High School, where he met his future wife, Margaret Williamson, and at Tarleton College, Rudder was called to active military duty in the summer of 1941. For the next year or so, he moved from one assignment to another, advancing to company commander at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, and executive officer and Army component operations staff officer (G-3) for the 83<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Division. In the summer of 1943, Rudder received orders giving him command of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ranger Battalion.<sup>4</sup>

During the D-Day landings on June 6, 1944, "Rudder's Rangers" scaled the one-hundred-foot Pointe-du-Hoc cliffs and destroyed a German battery that threatened the landing. After the war, General Omar Bradley remarked "No soldier in my command has ever been wished a more difficult task than that which befell James Earl Rudder." In November 1944, Rudder received orders reassigning him to the 109th Infantry Regiment, 29th Infantry Division. Army brass wanted Rudder to transform the 109th as he had the Rangers. Eight days after he took command, the Germans launched what would become the Battle of the Bulge. In spite of the suddenness of the attack, Rudder led the 109th through the battle admirably. By war's end, Rudder had received every military decoration except the Congressional Medal of Honor. After the war, he served as vice president of labor relations for the Brady Aviation Company and three terms as mayor of Brady. While mayor, Rudder befriended several powerful men, including future president Lyndon B. Johnson and Governor Allan Shivers. In 1955 Governor Shivers appointed Rudder Texas Land Commissioner in order to clean up the corrupt mess left by Bascom Giles. With the land commissioner's office restored to its proper place, Rudder, realizing that his work was completed, decided to accept the position of vice president of A&MC.3

The title of vice-president made Rudder the principal administrator of the college. Marion Thomas Harrington held the joint title of president of the college and of the college system, but Rudder was, in effect, the real "president." Harrington's position was more like that of chancellor at a modern university system. Regardless of his impressive accomplishments in public service,

Rudder appeared to be a questionable choice for the position. "[M]ost academic people counted him at best an 'unlikely' candidate to head a major university," wrote one historian of the school. "Rudder gave every appearance of being an Aggie of the old school, with old-school ties, loyalties, traditions, and basic conservatism. A university in the throes of change, many anticipated, would not be helped along the way by such a man as Earl Rudder." He had reservations about taking the job for this reason. According to his wife, Rudder believed that the "academics" would resent him because he was not one of them.

Prior to Rudder's arrival, the first salvos on several major issues that he would face had already been fired. An internecine conflict had erupted over compulsory military training. In 1957 President David W. Williams, at the request of the board of directors, distributed a questionnaire among the faculty seeking opinions on a variety of policy questions, one of which pertained to compulsory military training. In spite of the faculty's vote (forty-nine to one in favor of optional military training) school officials retained compulsory military training for freshmen and sophomores. The conflict soon became public. What made this quarrel significant was that it involved nearly every constituent body of the university – the president, chancellor, board of directors, and the faculty – plus outside forces such as state officials and local merchants.

The question of coeducation crept into the discussion, and soon the two issues became one. This inevitably brought the student body, which generally held views completely opposite those of administrators, into campus politics. Joe Tindel, editor of the school newspaper Battalion, advocated the admission of women to the college. The Bryan Daily Eagle, concurring with Tindel, editorialized, "The world changes and A&M must change with it." The student senate, however, voted eleven to five in favor of a resolution calling for Tindel's resignation. The dispute became violent when William Boyd Metts, creator of the Aggie Association for the Advancement of Coeducation, was hospitalized after inhaling fumes from a bomb thrown into his room. The controversy expanded when several women filed suit against the college in 1958 and 1959, asking to be admitted into the school. The cases reached the state supreme court and, in one instance, the United States Supreme Court. Both courts, however, refused to hear the case. With each new chapter in the saga, one newspaper noticed that the school appeared to be "redividing like a swirling amoeba."8

In an interview with the College Station Battalion, Rudder described his position on the issue. "[T]he decision is in keeping with the Board of Directors' desire – it is my job to run A&M as the Board wants it to run," he replied. When the interviewer asked Rudder about the future, he retorted, "I don't have a crystal ball." As a result, Rudder was labeled as wanting to retain the "old school" in spite of changing times. In reality, his authority was limited by the board of directors; rather than dictating policy, he was implementing that of the board."

In a sense Rudder was "old school." He was sympathetic to the college that he remembered—all male and military. Now he was an administrator, partly responsible for the day-to-day activities and future policy of the school,

and like any good leader, he did what was best, even if that contradicted his personal prejudices and attitudes.

Almost unnoticed and with little fanfare, Rudder was named president of Texas A&M on July 1, 1959, when Harrington advanced to the position of chancellor. With this promotion, Rudder gained authority and a proximity to the board that he had lacked as vice-president. Now he was "at the helm" with the power and influence to take the school in the direction he desired. Rudder could "batten down the hatches" against the coeducation advocates or accept that the time for coeducation at the college had come. But with the position came sole responsibility for those policy decisions. With the spotlight on him, Rudder was in his element.

On March 26, 1960, when he was inaugurated, Rudder did not directly address the coeducational issue, although he did mention how the school was to provide the young men of Texas the greatest of benefits. Instead, he stressed the role of A&M College in the history and future development of Texas and the nation. Rudder also addressed the need for the school to lead the charge in a nation relying ever more heavily on technology, one in which an increasingly higher percentage of people attended college. "This is now the responsibility of our nation," he declared. "It soon will pass to our children. Their ability to assume the task is in no small measure dependent upon the availability to them of higher education, and its quality." He added that the United States needed to redirect its priorities, considering that it spent more on cigarettes, recreation, liquor, and legalized gambling than on education. "The crucial question is whether we will or not," he said. "It will be expensive. Modern education facilities come high; research is especially costly. Our nation can afford it; to survive, we must afford it. We can spend our money for no finer, more fruitful or more deserving endeavor."10

Rudder then began the task of mending the wounds of the prior years while trying to pilot the school in its academic development. Many on the faculty and staff believed that Rudder would fail. These individuals underestimated him. If they had known Rudder, they would have realized that in all previous assignments he had succeeded in tense and complex situations. "James Earl Rudder was a fighter who never quit anything until it was finished," remarked one observer. "As many have said since, he turned out to be the right man in the right place at the right time."

Rudder began to quiet the tumultuous situation. In a measure "to define challenges and opportunities anticipated in the future," he and the board of directors authorized a long-range planning study of the college. "This is an event which is an important milestone in the history of A&M College," declared Rudder. The project began in 1961 under the title "Century Study." It called for the participation of practically everyone involved with the university. Rudder asked participants to keep four questions in mind: What kind of graduate and citizen should this college seek to produce? What should be the mission of A&M College during the next fifteen years? To what degree of academic excellence shall they aspire? What should be the scope and size of the school by 1976? Members were told not to "reflect in your report existing tra-

ditions or policy." We must, concluded Rudder, let "success fully plan the future of this great institution and effectively project these plans to the citizens we serve." 12

As he had done on previous occasions, Rudder looked to those who knew more about the situation than he did. Rather than believing that he had all the answers, he sought everyone's opinion and assessment of a problem before he implemented a solution. This was one of the reasons that he was such an effective leader. Rudder entered into a situation knowing that in order to solve problems he had to have the cooperation of the "frontline troops" — those who had been there from the beginning. To obtain this cooperation, Rudder needed his subordinates' confidence and respect. Rudder made them understand that their opinions mattered.

The college evaluation initiated by Rudder resulted in four independent studies. The Century Council, comprising one hundred outstanding citizens from more than 1,200 applicants (some alumni, others not), produced the Report of the Century Council. The report sought "to determine those structural and program modifications which would enable the [college] to achieve a position of state, national, international prominence among universities of higher learning and make recommendations." Many of the council's findings were vague, however - the council recommended a "greater emphasis on excellence," for example. The group also recommended that the ROTC program "currently in effect at the college be continued," noting that leaders "produced under this program are of inestimable value to our state and nation." Because the average A&M College student scored slightly below the national average on the college entrance exam, the study advocated a "continuous study of selective admissions policy." The group referred the matter of coeducation to the board. Remarking on its "divided opinion," the council members believed that "the Board will make a wise and effective disposition of this matter." <sup>13</sup>

In another self-study, administrators and faculty produced the *Report to Commission on Colleges, Southern Association of Colleges and Schools*. This report was for the school's major accrediting association. While the other reports issued recommendations pertaining to the student body, curriculum, and school administrators and faculty, this study focused on improving the college's physical facilities. The report proposed a \$55 million construction program to build or improve facilities for engineering, biochemistry, oceanography, and meteorology programs, as well as a student center, improved library facilities, a data processing center, and a TV closed-circuit studio.<sup>14</sup>

A committee of faculty and staff also produced a study entitled Faculty-Staff-Student Study on Aspirations. "The recommendations of the general report," remarked one historian, "are important in view of what came to be." In addition to suggesting a tenure policy for faculty that conformed to those used at other schools, higher salaries for higher professional ranks, and annual salary increments, the report also recommended merit raises. It recommended other moves to attract and retain faculty, including improved physical facilities, the development of a graduate school, higher admissions standards, endowed faculty chairs, and changing the name of the institution "to foster and

maintain a university image." The study further proposed an "end to compulsory military training and all-male admissions policy." According to the report, the Corps of Cadets took precedence over all other aspects of student life, "determining habits, attitudes and ambitions." Furthermore, the school's military emphasis "limited the true pursuit of scholarship and the development of an environment which will contribute to this scholarship." The emphasis on military training caused potential students to select other schools. The group recommended that military training be voluntary for all students, that the Corps no longer exist as a residential organization, and that an adult director reside in each unit.<sup>15</sup>

Treading on the very foundations of A&M College traditions, this report came as a surprise to some, particularly Rudder. But, as he himself had stated, he wanted honest and candid answers. According to rumors his first reaction to the Faculty-Staff-Student Study on Aspirations "was a loud exclamation followed by tossing the report into the garbage can." Rudder personally supported the traditions of A&M College, including the all-male admission policy and compulsory military training. What really matters, however, was not his reaction to the study or his personal biases about coeducation or compulsory military service, but rather his ability to set aside such beliefs and "do what needed to be done." He took action when others had resisted or hesitated. 16

"It [the report] helped to define Rudder's job," said one historian. "Rudder meant to finish the job." He and the board accepted almost all of the findings of the various studies and published them in a summary report entitled *Blueprint for Success*. Despite being broad in its context, "the meaning, purposes, and importance [of the report] ... cannot be overestimated in its significance" to the development of the university. They "charged all members of the faculty and staff of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, in whatever capacity they may serve, that their watchword and goal shall be excellence [emphasis in original]." In spite of the enormous expenditures, most of the building projects proposed were completed before the centennial and faculty salaries were increased without raising tuition. Enrollment doubled, exceeding 16,000 by 1972.

In conjunction with these changes, two other notable transitions also occurred under Rudder's tenure at the college – the school became coeducational and its name was changed to Texas A&M University. On April 28, 1963, with support from Rudder, the board unanimously voted that eligible women "would be admitted into graduate programs and veterinary medicines as day students," effective June 1, 1963. The admission of women was on a limited basis for undergraduate courses, however. In addition to the normal requirements for admission, the woman had to be a wife or daughter of an enrolled student, faculty, or staff member. Numerous individuals and organizations favored the move. Some openly displayed their approval of the decision, but others expressed their support covertly – afraid of ostracism and retaliation. "The [decision] proves that the college fathers are willing to act in an objective manner not motivated by tradition for tradition's sake," applauded an editorial in the local paper. "With the board operating in a flexible man-

ner attuned to the changing world we live in Texas A&M is well on its way to the excellence sought by school officials." Another proponent appealed to the proper sensibilities of the men of the school and the state. "It's about time they had some coeds there and started having a little fun," he said. "It might help out football recruiting!" Nevertheless, for many, including members of the Corps, this fight was not over.<sup>18</sup>

In the fall of 1963, fifteen women enrolled. They had to sign a contract stating that they would withdraw if the new policy was reversed. By spring 1964, 183 women had enrolled, and Stella Haupt, the first woman to enroll under the new policy, earned an M.A. degree that fall. A year later, the number of women enrolled had nearly doubled to 321. At long last, the college was coeducational. But for critics of coeducation, Rudder was in their "cross-hairs as the prime culprit." <sup>19</sup>

Rudder and his associates in the college's administration expected the firestorm of criticism and the fears about what the admission meant to the Corps, perhaps even its continued existence. Some feared the abolition of the football team. Rudder realized that his decision would be unpopular among some groups, and that admitting women was a policy that he would have to sell to the students and alumni. The president of the board of directors, Sterling C. Evans, wrote to the Association of Former Students explaining the decision. Evans stated that the board had no intention of making the college an "all-out coed institution." Evans noted, "The admission of women will not bring sudden or drastic change to the school." Nor did he foresee any changes to the Corps, which was the real issue to many of the critics.<sup>20</sup>

To address this concern, Rudder called a meeting of the entire Corps at G. Rollie White Coliseum in April 1963. He informed the crowd of more than 4,000 that the board had absolute authority on this and other matters. Greeted with chants of "We don't want to integrate" accompanied by boos and hisses, Rudder nevertheless explained his position: "If we had not voted to admit women to our school of veterinarian medicine, many students would go to Texas Tech." When asked about effects of the policy on the Corps of Cadets, Rudder replied, "If the Corps of Cadets does what it stands for, its future is bright."

Some in the audience grudgingly accepted the argument, but many of the cadets did not. For had those who booed and hissed really thought about it, they would have remembered that James Earl Rudder was a former member of the *Corps of Cadets* and *old soldier*. He was solidly in favor of the Corps, but he realized that many students who wanted to study at Texas A&M simply did not want to join the Corps. Rudder would never allow a decision or policy to undermine one of the most cherished and storied traditions of the school, especially one so dear to his heart. Despite the justifiable arguments and concerns, he realized the Corps benefited from coeducation.<sup>22</sup>

Those opposed to the decision engaged in the loudest and most obstreperous behavior. "I'm 54 years old and I still like girls," opined one graduate, "but not at A&M." "Big mistake," remarked another critic. Another found a Biblical precedent for not admitting women. "We men know how to appreciate, love and honor our women," he declared, "but we know also what a fix Eve got us in the

Garden of Eden. Let us not let that happen at A&M." Several opposition groups formed in response to the decision, including the Committee for an All-Male Military Texas A&M and the Senior Committee for the Preservation of Texas A&M. The Committee for an All-Male Military Texas A&M "marched" on the state capital to oppose coeducation. Chanting "We want Aggies, Not Maggies," and claiming women would halt the program of excellence at the school, over 300 members of the Corps, along with several representatives of the A&M Mothers' Club and Aggie-Exes, gathered in the rotunda as State Representative Will L. Smith submitted an anti-coeducation resolution. In addition, one senator submitted a resolution that threatened to cut off state funds if the school admitted women. Despite overwhelming passage in the House of Representatives of a resolution requiring the state to maintain one major university for men and one for women, a senate filibuster killed the resolutions.<sup>23</sup>

The Senior Committee for the Preservation of Texas A&M initiated an intense letter writing campaign to enlist support for their cause. One editor who was solicited for his support noted the futility of it all. He stated that this was

a cause every bit as worthy as impeaching Earl Warren or repealing the income tax – and with about the same chance of success, which is a big fat zero. Still, the fool-hardy valor of its adherents... commands the same sort of admiration which generations have felt for Giacomo Casablanca, the boy who 'stood on the burning deck, whence all but he had fled; the flame that lit the battle's wreck, shone 'round him o'er the dead.' Giacomo wound up fricasseed, and so, I fear, will the 'no coeds in Aggieland' alumni. You can't fight city hall or the board of directors. Besides, I'm a subscriber to the theory that there is nothing like a dame.'

In 1965, A&M's board of directors authorized President Rudder to use his discretion in the admission of women. This had the "overall effect of completely ending the prohibition on coeducation." The full admittance of women, however, happened with little of the bitterness and emotion present a few years earlier—in part because many of the fears never materialized, in part because the country had changed.<sup>25</sup>

Rudder's prediction that admitting women would be a positive change also contributed to the lack of animosity. He repeatedly told students and alumni that the admission of women would strengthen, rather then undermine, the foundations and traditions of the school. Much of the student population believed coeducation beneficial rather than detrimental. In a student poll in 1965, sixty-three percent favored unlimited coeducation over a return to the all-male policy. As a result of Rudder's "discretionary powers," more applications were approved, and by the fall of 1969, applicants "who could meet the same academic qualifications as men were being admitted." By 1971, the administration admitted women on an equal basis with men. In 1971, 1,700 women attended the school. By 1980 that number had increased to more than 12,000. By 2006, women made up half of the student body at the school and held many positions in the university believed out of reach for women only a few decades ago.<sup>26</sup>

Even the Corps, the most cherished of the school's institutions, was not

immune to change. In 1965 compulsory enrollment in the Corps was abolished in favor of a volunteer system. By 1970 only a quarter of the student body remained in the Corps. Four years later, it was opened to women. About fifty women were organized into an all-female unit. The members were called "Waggies." The change made the Corps stronger, but its exuberance and discipline were undiminished. The group had become an "even more elite and selective organization by virtue of its volunteer status." In the end, none of the fears associated with the admission of women came to fruition. The traditions, except female exclusion, remained. "The old school, and the old fraternity, did not die," wrote one historian, "instead they merely changed their complexion." Many of the school's traditions – reveille, Silver Taps, Aggie Muster, and others – remained part of the vibrant spirit of the school.<sup>27</sup>

With little fanfare or turmoil, Rudder also presided over racial integration at Texas A&M in the fall of 1964. The lack of resistance to integration was atypical of other Southern universities, but A&M was an atypical Southern university. Although located in the "more Southern" part of the state, the university differed from other institutions because of its focus on the military. Blacks did not threaten nor offend the social sensibilities at Texas A&M—women represented the *real* threat. The military traditions and structure of the school epitomized masculinity. The admission of minority men never threatened to change the fabric of the school.<sup>26</sup>

By the end of the 1960s the old college had become a new, vibrant, energetic institution with a bright future. With each passing year, women and minorities became more important to the university. Enrollment increases shattered all projections and to accommodate that growth numerous construction projects were completed. And Rudder led the university throughout this remarkable transformation. "[H]e was constantly in the middle of it," wrote one historian. "He never spared himself. He was tough, but fair. Usually congenial, he could be abrasive if he thought it would help. He held an open mind, and would act on advice contrary to his own preconceived ideas when it appeared that such advice was better informed. He was a forthright, vigorous man, whose integrity, personal honor, and dedication were unquestioned." <sup>29</sup>

In January 1970, while at his home, Rudder suffered a partial stroke and was rushed to a local hospital. In his absence, three vice-presidents shared the responsibilities of administering the Texas A&M University system. Doctors transferred Rudder to a hospital in Houston when it appeared at first to be a heart ailment turned out to be a cerebral hemorrhage. To stop the bleeding, physicians operated to remove a blood clot. After improving briefly, Rudder took a turn for the worse. The stress of the operation and the hemorrhage caused a stomach ulcer. More operations were conducted to stop the intestinal bleeding, but his condition worsened, and Rudder passed away on March 23, 1970, at the age of fifty-nine.<sup>30</sup>

Rudder's body lay in state in the rotunda of the administration building on the campus of A&M. A public memorial service attended by such dignitaries as Governor Preston Smith, former governor Allan Shivers, numerous local, state, and national politicians, and many military comrades, including former Rangers, was held at White Coliseum. Those such as Generals Norman D. Cota and Troy Middleton, who commanded the 28th Infantry Division and the VIII Corps, respectively, during the Battle of the Bulge; Senator John G. Tower; and former governor John Connally could not attend, but expressed their condolences via telegrams. Also in attendance was former president and friend Lyndon B. Johnson. "His heroism on the Normandy beaches in a time of war was only a prelude to his contribution in peace as an educator, public official and concerned citizen," Johnson remarked. "Earl Rudder brought Texas A&M University to new heights of achievement, excellence and prestige," said Senator Ralph Yarborough. "He was the best," quoted Representative Olin L. Teague. With military honors, Rudder was buried near the campus."

In some ways Rudder was the most unlikely of candidates to bring about many of the changes at Texas A&M. He was from the South, imbued with military traditions and values, and was, for all intents and purposes, a product of the nineteenth century. But Rudder was the person most responsible for the admission of women and minorities and ending compulsory military training at the schoool. Not necessarily because of his ideological beliefs as a crusader, but because he knew it to be the right and necessary step to attain particular goals.<sup>32</sup>

#### NOTES

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<sup>21</sup>Dallas Morning News, April 30, 1963;

22 Margaret Rudder interview.

<sup>23</sup>Abilene Reporter News, April 28, 1963; Stokes, Sterling C. Evans, 63; Houston Post, May 8, 11, and 14, 1963; Bryun Daily Eagle, May 14, 1963; Intended for all, n.p. Polly Westbrook, "A History of Coeducation at Texas A&M University," (unpublished manuscript, Texas A&M University, 1970), pp. 25-26.

"Houston Chronicle, January 30, 1964; Intended for all, n.p.; James Earl Rudder to George Moffett, January 2, 1964, Box 69-27, Coeducation, January 1964-August 1964, President Files.

"Intended for all, n.p.

<sup>28</sup>Intended for all, n.p; Dethloff, Centennial History, II, p. 570; Stokes, Sterling C. Evans, pp. 60-62.

<sup>27</sup>Dethloff, Centennial History, II, p. 570, pp. 574-575.

\*College Station Battalion, June 6, 1963; James Earl Rudder to Francis Keppel, June 8, 1964, Box 69-23, Civil Rights, January 1964-August 1964, President Files.

<sup>29</sup>Dethloff, Centennial History, II p. 577.

\*Dallas Morning News, March 24, 1970; Houston Chronicle, March 25, 1970.

<sup>33</sup>Houston Chronicle, March 25, 1970; Western Union Telegram to Mrs. James Earl Rudder from John G. Tower, March 24, 1970, Norman D. Cota, March 25, 1970, John Connally, March 26, 1970, Troy Middleton, March 24, 1970, James Earl Rudder Files; Dallas Times Herald, March 26, 1970; Houston Chronicle, March 25, 1970.

<sup>32</sup>Douglas Page, ed., Aggieland 1970 (College Station, 1971), p. 13.