For a number of reasons I believe that our longstanding policy of excluding Negro students from Texas Christian University has served its purpose and that in the future we should rely on an admissions policy which excludes only persons who are judged to be unable to profit from curricula at TCU. Since there are many persons of contrary opinion whose opinions and friendships I prize highly, let me go into a small amount of detail to show the basis of my point of view.

(1) Our present TCU admissions policy is not self-consistent. In recent years we have admitted larger and larger numbers of foreign students, some of whom are as dark in skin color as many Negroes. As a result we have arrived at the position where we seem to admit persons of almost any color providing they are foreigners; and although we have not knowingly admitted any persons from African Negro nations, it is none-theless true that we have admitted persons of practically every color, nationality, and religion, while turning away relatively few dark skinned American citizens, usually of the Christian religion. In my opinion, we are not presently consistent in our policy and practice.

(2) Our present policy has no scientific or educational basis. There is absolutely no creditable scientific or educational evidence to indicate that the Negro people are incapable of profiting from educational experience or that their potentials are lower than those of any other people.
(3) Our present policy is outdated. While it is easy to understand how the policy of excluding Negroes arose, it is difficult for me to find a convincing reason for its continuation beyond the present. This judgment seems to be shared by most other educational institutions, including those three private southern universities which are recognized as the leaders in southern education: Vanderbilt, Duke, and Tulane. All three of these institutions until recently maintained a segregated policy. Recently, all three removed the color bars entirely. I think we should not overlook the experience and decisions made on this subject by these extraordinarily reputable southern educational institutions whose excellence we ourselves have often mentioned as a goal we should strive to equal.

(4) Our present policy is unscriptural. The only possible scriptural grounds for our exclusion of Negroes is a passage in Genesis 9. That is awfully far back in the Bible! There is nothing else in the Old Testament and absolutely nothing in the New Testament which would warrant such an exclusion. In fact, the Christian scriptures are very positive in their recognition of all persons as being of equal concern in the sight of God. If there is any kind of segregation taught by the Bible, it is only the segregation of good and evil. Our present policy simply cannot be squared with the scriptures.

(5) Our present policy leaves us open to ridicule by the
communists. We are all aware how communism has exploited racial difficulties in this country. And while the communists have done this in ways which are unfair and often untrue, the fact remains that the position of the Negro can be singled out as a point on which we have not lived up to our Declaration of Independence or to our constitutional documents.

(6) Our present policy is apparently based on a fear which has not been put into proper perspective. What is this fear? Is it that we fear the competition of the Negro people? In a country where we have long depended upon competition in an open market, do we fear that whites will be outdone by Negroes in open competition? No, I know of no person who is fearful at this point. Then what is it that we actually fear? I believe the whole thing rests upon our fear of the intermarriage of whites and Negroes. Let us look at the implications of this fear very frankly. Have we so little influence over our own children that we fear that, thoughtless and thankless of our opinion, they will rush into marriage with Negroes? Do we think so little of our children as to believe they are so unperceptive on the point of what makes a good marriage, and would not see for themselves, even if we did not tell them, that marriage is for persons who are very much alike? Are we so afraid of the faculty and the administration of this school that we fear that they will put it into the heads of our students to marry persons of a different race? I would hate to think that we have so little influence upon our children, or
that our children are so unperceptive, or that our university faculty and administration are so untrustworthy, that we can only expect the worst. If this were so, no Jewish families would send their young people to this institution, because Jewish people want their young people to marry within the Jewish faith. If this were so, no Catholics would send their young people to TCU, because Catholic parents prefer that their children marry within their faith. Indeed, if we are so afraid of what will happen when unlike persons occupy the same classrooms, then we better send boys to boys' schools and girls to girls' schools and maintain a strict segregation of the sexes as well as of religions and of races. With all respect to those who hold different opinions, I think this fear of intermarriage should be seen in its proper magnitude: that it is a possibility much more remote than intermarriage between religions, or intermarriage between nationalities, or intermarriage between cultures, or intermarriages among other colors.

In conclusion, let me say that I have a daughter in TCU and that I believe in her ability to make a wise choice in marriage as influenced by her family, her church, her teachers, and her friends. I similarly believe in all of our young people at TCU and the kinds of choices they will make under the total guidance of their homes, their churches, their teachers, their friends. I believe in the faculty and counselors of TCU and in the wisdom of their teaching and example in all matters affecting the welfare of our students. Finally, I
believe in our Chancellor and other administrative officers and their consuming interests in the present and long-range welfare of every student who has or will enroll in TCU, and in their ability to direct the overall educational program of the university in such a way as to bring credit upon the institution.

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What would be the immediate on-campus effects of the admission of Negroes at TCU? Let me attempt an answer under three headings: numerical, educational, and social.

Numerically or quantitatively, the effects would be very small upon our student body. Our present tuition rates, and the higher tuition rates which soon must be imposed, will prevent most Negro applicants from applying to TCU. Of those who can afford to attend, a significant number would be excluded by our educational requirements, since Negroes tend to rank lower on the admission tests, due probably to social and educational disadvantages which they incurred earlier through their homes and schools. It is also probably true that Negro applicants will tend to go to those institutions where there are significant numbers of their own race enrolled, a prospect which is unlikely at TCU for the reasons already given. In total, I doubt that the Negro student body would be increased by more than ten students in any one year during the indefinite future.
Educationally, those Negro students which were admitted would probably tend to do about as well as our white students. They would be under considerable pressure to do well, and therefore give us very little reason to believe that they would cause any deterioration of classroom performance or total academic achievement of our student body.

Socially, there would be some problems, of course. But time and wisdom and the use of the voluntary principle in our social groups would probably handle each problem as it arose. The situation might cause us to de-emphasize the social aspects of university life in favor of greater emphasis upon the educational, which in the eyes of many people would be a distinct gain. However, we should not and cannot close our eyes to the fact that the university is a "living" experience as well as a "learning" experience. We would have to face up to the social aspects of our responsibilities in a forthright manner. Yet the problems encountered here would only be slightly greater than those we already encounter in varying degrees, since we already have a large number of non-white foreign students on our campus; that is, the problems would not be of a different kind than we have already faced.

June 7, 1963