"OUR OWN BOY": HOW TWO IRISH NEWSPAPERS COVERED THE 1960 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

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Chapter One

Introduction

On Tuesday, November 8, 1960, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was elected president of the United States of America. Kennedy, who had gone to bed in the small hours of November 9 with the race with Vice President Richard M. Nixon, the Republican Party candidate, still too close to call, was told of his victory later that morning by advisor Ted Sorensen. By that afternoon, after accepting Nixon's congratulatory telegram, Kennedy was back at his family's compound in Hyannis Port, engaged in a spirited game of touch football.[1]

Kennedy's election as the 35th president came after more than a year of strategy meetings, and 10 months and six days after announcing his candidacy. Kennedy traveled more than 40,000 miles on the campaign trail, campaigning until the last possible moment. In the last two days before the vote, he had made speeches in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Maine, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont and New Hampshire before voting early Tuesday back in Boston's Sixth Ward.[2]

The campaign was a watershed moment in American political life for several reasons: For one, it included the first televised presidential debates. For another, Kennedy, at 43, was, and remains, the youngest president in American history. Also, more eligible voters (64.5 percent) cast their ballots than in any previous presidential election, and the total number of voters, 68,832,818, was higher than ever before. In the end, Kennedy was sent to the White House by the slimmest margin in presidential election history: 112,881 votes. The win was actually far smaller than that: As Theodore H. White notes in the Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Making of the President 1960*, had only 32,000 voters in Texas and Illinois voted for Nixon, the electoral votes

in those states would have given Nixon the victory.[3]

Just as significant is the fact that Kennedy was the first Roman Catholic elected to be president. While Kennedy strenuously, and frequently, attempted to shift the focus to other topics, his Catholicism was, according to a host of writers both at the time and in the years since, the central issue of the 1960 campaign. Well-known Protestants, such as the Rev. Norman Vincent Peale, flatly stated that no Catholic should attain the office, and on September 12, in a hotel ballroom in Houston, Kennedy gave a speech to a gathering of ministers in which he assured them that he believed in the "absolute" separation of church and state – that, in other words, neither his religion nor anyone in Rome would dictate how he ran the country.[4]

By 1960, Irish Catholics had become a major American ethnic group, one that had prospered and built strong church-based communities. Irish Catholics were mayors and mobsters, movie, music and sport stars, prominent business leaders, police officers and domestic workers. But until Kennedy, none had broken what Teddy David Lisle calls "the canonical impediment" – the unwillingness of Americans to elect a Catholic president.[5]

A wealth of books, theses, and dissertations have been written about Kennedy, his Irish/Catholic roots, and the Catholic issue in the 1960 campaign. In addition, the issue was frequently covered in American newspapers and periodicals of the time. None of this writing has, however, addressed the focus of this thesis: How two major newspapers in the overwhelmingly Catholic Republic of Ireland covered the election and, in particular, communicated to their readers the complex and sometimes fierce debates on Kennedy's religion during the campaign.

This study will evaluate how the *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times* covered the Kennedy/Nixon race through analysis of the news articles, features, news analysis and editorials

about the election, focusing on how the newspapers addressed three overarching topics (the election as a whole, the controversy over Kennedy's religion, and the cultural affinity between Ireland and Kennedy) and key moments in the campaign in which the religious issue came to the fore, such as the Houston address to the ministers.

The *Independent* and the *Times* were chosen for this study for several reasons. First, both papers were prominent sources of news for Irish citizens. Also, the newspapers have been chosen because of their divergent political stances. Founded in 1905, the *Independent* has always been popular with Ireland's Catholics, held a nationalist stance, and gave extensive coverage to events involving officials within the Catholic church. Founded in 1859, the *Times* was for decades, and certainly at the time of the 1960 election, the *Independent*'s opposite in politics, religious coverage and readership. The newspaper's beliefs were Unionist (that is, in favor of the union of Britain and Ireland) and its readership drawn largely from Protestant/pro-British readers.[6]

This thesis will look at articles printed in both newspapers between September 5 and November 10, 1960, two days after the election. September 5 was chosen because it was Labor Day, traditionally considered (if not formally designated) the beginning of the final stage of a United States presidential election. At this time both major parties have selected their candidates at their respective conventions, and the real head-to-head campaigning begins. November 10 was chosen as the final day of coverage analysis because on that day both the *Independent* and the *Times* published the final results of the election, the news that Nixon had conceded the race, and editorial and analysis of the election and Kennedy's possible future as president.[7]

Analyzing the coverage of the 1960 election in the *Independent* and the *Times* will add unique and previously unavailable information to several areas of established study. Among

them: the 1960 election and its attendant religious controversy; Kennedy as one of the most potent, if not the most potent, representatives of what Irish Catholics could achieve after emigrating to America; and foreign media coverage of American elections.

Moreover, this study will look at the election coverage in light of Irish society at the time and what Kennedy represented to Irish readers. As was the case with many Irish Catholics making new lives in America, for many Irish people who would not or could not leave Ireland, Kennedy was seen as the finest example of Irish/Catholic achievement. The Irish in Ireland, wrote Maurice N. Hennessy, thought of Kennedy as “our own boy” and “considered his Presidential campaign, with its narrow victory, as a national triumph.” His brief visit to Ireland in the summer of 1963 was, for the Irish, “the return of one of their own children who had reached the pinnacle of success in the mightiest nation in the world. He had, in effect, put Ireland back on the map by his victory and had proved the potential of an Irish heritage.”[8]

Chapter Two

Literature Review

The Kennedy Family

By July 1960, the Kennedys had long been established as one of the pre-eminent families in the United States, according to Thomas Maier in *The Kennedys: America's Emerald Kings*. As was the case with so many Irish-American families, the route begun on an Irish farm. Born in Dunganstown, County Wexford, in 1823, Patrick Kennedy, John F. Kennedy's great-grandfather, left his home in the fall of 1848 during the dark days of the Great Famine.[9]

In many respects, his was a typical story of the Irish diaspora: The famine, which saw the failure of the potato crop several years in a row, led to widespread disease and starvation and an explosion of overseas emigration by the Irish, from 395,000 between 1831 and 1840 to 1,179,000 between 1851 and 1860. Of those immigrants of the 1850s, the vast majority, 823,000, went to America. In effect, the famine began a mass exodus from Ireland, so much so that by the end of the nineteenth century, the island's population was approximately half of what it had been just over 50 years earlier.[10]

After six months, including a stop in Liverpool, England, Kennedy arrived in Boston in March 1849, having sailed aboard the *Washington Irving*. In September he married Bridget Murphy, a young woman he had courted back in Ireland. He found work as a cooper and between 1851 and 1858 the couple had six children; the last, Patrick Joseph Kennedy, nicknamed P.J., was born in January 1858. On November 22, 1858 (exactly 105 years before President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas), Patrick Kennedy died of cholera; his widow worked

various jobs, saved money, and bought a series of stores. By the 1880s P.J. Kennedy was a prosperous tavern owner; in 1886 he was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Two years later, he and other relatives paid the debt that the Kennedys back in Dunganstown owed their English landlord. The family, which had been evicted, was able to regain the land that P.J. Kennedy's father had left 39 years earlier.[11]

Thomas Fitzgerald, too, had come to America from County Wexford during the famine to find work in Boston. His son John, like P.J. Kennedy, had become a businessman and then entered politics, first on the city level, then the state, and then, in 1894, Congress. Three years later, he persuaded President Grover Cleveland to veto an anti-immigration bill that had been pushed by the American Protective Association, an organization that required new members to promise not to vote for any Catholic running for office. Known as "Honey Fitz" for his outsized personality and love of singing, Fitzgerald "represented the broad, sometimes coarse, but ultimately legitimate interests of Irish-American citizens looking for acceptance. They wanted to become enfranchised in the political process on their own terms, not someone else's," according to Maier. In 1905, he was elected mayor of Boston; he became known as a man who welcomed immigrants, and provided many of them with jobs both inside and outside city government.[12]

The two families joined when P.J. Kennedy's son Joseph (born in 1888) and John Fitzgerald's daughter Rose (born in 1890) were married on September 20, 1914. Their second son, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, was born May 29, 1917. He grew into a sickly, skinny child as his father moved from one successful business venture to another. These included banking and producing Hollywood films. The Kennedy family moved to New York in 1927. After

contributing a large amount of money to Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1932 presidential campaign, Joseph Kennedy served on the Securities and Exchange Commission and the U.S. Maritime Commission before being named the U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain. During the 1930s and 1940s he also forged close ties with both the Vatican and Ireland. He set up the historic 1936 meeting between Roosevelt and Vatican secretary of state Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, helped broker a treaty between Ireland and England, and was given an honorary degree at the National University in Dublin and a state dinner by Irish Prime Minister Eamon de Valera. He was also the United States' official representative when, in March 1939, Pacelli was coronated as Pope Pius XII. Kennedy received numerous honorary titles from the Vatican, and his son Teddy was the first American to receive Holy Communion from the new Pope.[13]

John F. Kennedy first visited Ireland in 1939, graduated from Harvard the next June, became a war hero and, in 1945, as a journalist for Hearst, traveled again to Europe, where he wrote about Irish and English politics. This visit included interviews with de Valera and other high-ranking members of the Irish government. Back in the U.S., on November 11, 1945, at an American Legion Post, he gave his first speech in public. The title: "England, Ireland and Germany: Victor, Neutral, Vanquished."[14]

After a race that saw him introduced to potential voters by both his grandfather and Archbishop Richard Cushing, John F. Kennedy was elected to Congress in November 1946. Months earlier, his father had contributed $100,000 to the mayoral campaign of James Michael Curley so that Curley would vacate the position. On election night, "Honey Fitz" said that some day his grandson would become president. In 1952, Kennedy defeated Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. to become a United States Senator, and the next year Cushing officiated when Kennedy married

Jacqueline Bouvier.[15]

Kennedy had gone to Ireland for a third time in the summer of 1947, this time visiting two farms and taking his tea in the old Kennedy cottage. As a senator he spoke out several times in favor of the reunification of Ireland, and during a St. Patrick's Day speech in Chicago in 1956, he noted that "no outlander rules over Eire; and the Irish people are celebrating this day in peace and in liberty." During that same speech he recalled the famine and such Irish rebels as Roger Casement, and drew parallels between the Irish struggle against the British and the current restrictions being placed on people as a result of "Communist imperialism," most notably the Soviet Union.[16]

In 1956 Kennedy published *Profiles in Courage* (the book would win the Pulitzer Prize the next year) and was nearly named Adlai Stevenson's running mate for the presidential election; the Democratic Party instead nominated Senator Estes Kefauver for vice president. That November, Joseph Kennedy told his son that America "is not a private reserve for Protestants" and urged him to run for president in 1960.[17]

The 1960 Election

By early 1959, Kennedy was, as *Look* magazine's Fletcher Knebel wrote, "the darling of the political polls and the Democratic party banquet circuit around the country." In the same article in the March 3 issue, Knebel noted that there were eight Catholic governors and 12 Catholic Senators, all Democrats. As a result of this rise in Catholic political power, "the 1960 convention would have to go out of its way from nominating a Catholic for the presidency or the second slot." Knebel summarized Kennedy's position on the issue of a Catholic president as "religion is personal, politics are public, and the twain need never meet and conflict." Kennedy

said that “for the officeholder, nothing takes precedence over his oath to uphold the Constitution and all its parts – including the First Amendment and the strict separation of church and state.”[18]

The possible election of a Catholic presidential candidate in 1960 was a frequent topic in 1959. Numerous widely read publications, including *U.S. News & World Report, Time*, *Newsweek* and the Catholic weekly *The Commonweal* published articles on the issue; Kennedy was either the focus of these articles, or his probably candidacy was prominently mentioned in each.

In May, a *Time* magazine story called Kennedy “the acknowledged front runner for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1960.” A Gallup poll found that 68 percent of the 9,000 Americans surveyed said they would vote for a Catholic, and that 52 percent of Catholics would vote for a Catholic, even if it meant switching parties. In the South, though, 35 percent said they would not vote for a Catholic for president. Forty-seven percent of the respondents knew Kennedy was a Catholic. Kennedy led Nixon in a straw vote, 57 to 43 percent, but when voters who said they would not vote for any Catholic were factored in, the Kennedy/Nixon race wad a dead heat, 50 percent to 50 percent.[19]

Newsweek put Kennedy on the cover of its June 1, 1959 issue. Headlined “Catholics, Protestants, ‘60,” the *Newsweek* article discussed the results of interviews throughout the country with both “Democratic leaders” and “plain voters.” Many non-Catholics were “afraid a Catholic might be inclined to follow the dictates of his church.” Political leaders were unsure Kennedy would win in 1960: “In nearly half the states, they are afraid Kennedy’s Catholicism could become a campaign issue, in varying degree from minor to decisive.” The overall feeling about Kennedy’s possible election was decidedly mixed by both state and region, with the strongest

opposition found in the South, which the article defined as Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana: “Basically, the South is torn between its tradition of voting Democratic and its strong Protestant heritage.” The article quoted a Florida Democratic committeeman, Charlton Pierce, as saying the Republicans “could slaughter Kennedy in Florida on the religious issue.”[20]

The Kennedy campaign had begun in early 1959, according to Pierre Salinger, Kennedy’s press secretary. Strategy sessions were held by the Democratic National Committee, including the Democratic Advisory Council. Salinger started working on the campaign’s relationship with the press in September. His philosophy in dealing with reporters was to make their job as easy and pleasant as possible, and the 1960 campaign would introduce two new innovations. The first was a telephone car in the campaign motorcade, so reporters could file accounts of the public’s reaction to Kennedy in real time. The other, Salinger writes, was to provide instant printed transcripts of all of Kennedy’s speeches and remarks, which made quoting Kennedy accurately much quicker and easier.[21]

In October, the Kennedy strategy team met in Hyannis Port. Included in this group was Sorensen, Salinger, Kenneth O’Donnell, Louis Harris, Joseph Kennedy and Robert Kennedy. John F. Kennedy spoke for three hours, according to White, and strategies were mapped out.[22] On January 2, 1960, Kennedy announced his candidacy. During his speech, he again noted his belief in the separation of church and state, and added that he believed the subject had been put to rest.[23] Just over two months later, Kennedy easily won the first Democratic primary, in New Hampshire. On April 5, he defeated Hubert Humphrey by a six-to-four margin in Wisconsin; members of the media expected a more decisive Kennedy victory, and Humphrey said he was

"encouraged and exhilirated" by the outcome.[24] Humphrey's cause for optimism, O'Donnell writes, was based on the state's religious divide: Kennedy had lost three heavily Protestant districts; his win was seen as less than impressive because it hinged heavily on Catholic areas, not the state as a whole.[25]

The appearances Kennedy had made and the groundwork his staff had done before the primaries started were, according to Carl P. Leubsdorf, the start of the first modern presidential race. In past elections, races had two stages, pre- and post-convention. The 1960 campaign, however, ushered in a new era of four stages: The pre-election year, the early primaries, the late primaries and party conventions, and the general election campaign. While there were those who believed that Kennedy's religion would make him an unlikely presidential candidate, Leubsdorf argues that the pre-primary work the Kennedy campaign team had done even before the New Hampshire primary meant he was able to pull away from Humphrey and in effect secure his party's nomination with wins – however close – in just Wisconsin and West Virginia.[26]

The May 10 West Virginia primary was the first litmus test of the Catholic/Protestant issue. In a state where five percent of the population was Catholic, several surveys found Kennedy trailing Humphrey, largely because more and more residents discovered Kennedy's religion in the second half of 1959. Religion would be the central issue in the months of campaigning, and for the Kennedy camp, White wrote, the situation was an "emergency."[27]

The Catholic issue was clearly not exhausted, as Kennedy said he felt it should be back in January. Several notable Protestants, including Archibald MacLeish, and numerous organizations, among them the American Council of Christian Churches, had already spoken out against a Catholic becoming president, and numerous West Virginia newspapers, including the

Charleston Gazette, had published ads against Kennedy in the weeks leading up to the primary. In several speeches, Kennedy noted that religion had not been a question when he had signed up for military service, and that he believed that violating the Constitution's church/state separation was an impeachable offense. Kennedy, writes Maier, "made religious bias appear anti-American rather than an act of nativism."[28]

The strategy worked, and Kennedy decisively defeated Humphrey, who withdrew from the race. In the next 10 days, Kennedy won the primaries in Maryland, Nebraska, Oregon and Indiana; in the last, he ran unopposed. At the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles in July, Kennedy won his party's nomination on the first ballot, with 806 votes, nearly twice as many as his nearest rival, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson. Kennedy selected Johnson as his running mate, and on Friday, July 16, Kennedy formally accepted his party's nomination with a speech at the Los Angeles Coliseum.[29]

One week later, writing in *The Nation*, Carey McWilliams analyzed Kennedy's success to that point, and credited the Kennedy nomination to various factors, including smart political maneuvering; the vacuum created by several potential candidates, such as Johnson, staying out of the primaries; the family's vast financial resources; and Kennedy's personal charm. But the extra factor in Kennedy's success, McWilliams wrote, was securing party favor in such major cities as New York and Chicago. Not surprisingly these cities, and Boston, were the home of decades-entrenched Irish-Catholic political muscle. The combination of these factors, and others, meant that "the Kennedys had little difficulty moving in and taking over."[30]

For Kennedy, the 113-day race that followed was, according to Maier, "a quest for the rights and dignity denied his predecessors." Even though Nixon promised from the beginning of

the campaign that religion was not going to be a central issue, there were plenty who opposed Kennedy who made it one. According to Maier, anti-Catholic/anti-Kennedy literature was circulated so widely, and was so vicious, that it drew condemnations from both the Fair Trade Practices Committee and Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. And whatever Nixon's personal views on the religious issue, and however serious his pledge not to bring the issue to the fore, there is no question that there were ties between the Republican Party and Kennedy haters. For example, the Reverend Dr. W.O. Vaught, vice president of the Southern Baptist Convention, gave an invocation at the party's national convention in Chicago, where Nixon was nominated for president; two months later Vaught was leading anti-Kennedy rallies in Little Rock, Arkansas.[31] All of this anti-Catholic rhetoric had come, it should be noted, after a spring and summer that had seen such organizations as the Texas Baptist Convention and the National Association of Evangelicals, and several publications, including *Christianity Today*, come out against a Catholic president. Also speaking out against Kennedy on religious grounds before September were such prominent religious leaders as Dr. W.A. Criswell of Dallas' First Baptist Church and Dr. Ramsey Pollard, president of the Southern Baptist Convention.[32]

The Republican/anti-Kennedy connection came to a head on Labor Day, when former President Harry Truman (who had said during the primaries that he did not want Kennedy to be president) accused Nixon and the Republicans of sending out hate mail. This prompted President Dwight Eisenhower to defend his party against Truman's accusations, and appeal for the religious issue to, as Kennedy had months earlier, go away. But the next day, the Reverend Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, leader of the National Conference of Citizens for Religious Freedom,

came out against Kennedy for his religion. A Nixon supporter, Peale was a columnist for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the author of the best-selling book *The Power of Positive Thinking* and one of the country's most prominent religious leaders.[33]

Peale's comments had, White writes, "given respectable leadership to ancient fear and prejudice." Kennedy now needed to address the religious issue. This led to his speech and question-and-answer session at the Greater Houston Ministerial Association in Houston on September 12, an event that Sorensen, at least, said beforehand could be the campaign's decisive moment.[34]

The association had, five days earlier, decried the influence of the Catholic church on Kennedy. In his speech, Kennedy said that the "real issues" of the campaign were war, hunger, ignorance and despair but then acknowledged that it was time for him to state – again, he noted – "what kind of America I believe in." In that America, he said, there is "absolute separation of church and state." Kennedy described himself as a victim of suspicion, the same suspicion that had in the past been turned on Baptist ministers in Virginia, and that in the future might be focused on candidates of other religions, such as Jews. A president's views on religion are, he said, his "own private affair," and a chief executive's actions should be "responsible to all and obligated to none." As he had in West Virginia in the spring, he noted that nobody questioned his loyalty when he fought in World War II, or the loyalty of his brother Joseph Kennedy, Jr., who had died in a bombing raid in Europe in August 1944. "I do not speak for my church on public matters – and the church does not speak for me," he said, before adding that a loss on "the real issues" would be acceptable for him; losing because he was one of the country's 40 million Catholics, though, would be a loss for everyone.[35]

In O'Donnell's opinion, the speech (which his advisors had argued against) was the best Kennedy ever delivered, and turned what could have been a disastrous ambush on enemy ground into a victory. Before he began speaking, the ministers were wary of Kennedy; afterward, O'Donnell writes, they were "overawed and confused, with all and starch taken out of them," so much so that their questions to him after his prepared remarks were softballs. Also impressed were two Texans who had previously been doubtful of his chances to win the presidency, Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn (who would deliver pro-Kennedy speeches the next day in Austin and Dallas) and state governor Price Daniel.[36]

Kennedy's speech was a key moment in the campaign in no small part because, according to Mark S. Massa, it was both a rite of passage of American Catholicism becoming truly mainstream and because it secularized the presidency. The theology of the speech, Massa writes, addressed anti-Catholicism at all levels, from the crude hatred of "micks" to learned Protestant theologians who were genuinely concerned about the relationship of Catholicism to American politics.[37]

Three years later, theologian Charles J. Speel II compared Kennedy's theological view of the relationship of religion and government with that of Roman emperor Constantius and Henry VIII of England. Constantius, Speel wrote, shaped pagan and Christian elements of the idea of monarchy into the concept that the emperor ruled under divine right bestowed by a Christian god. Henry's theological concept of monarchy was that he controlled the earthly affairs of his English subjects and the ecclesiastical concerns of the Catholic church in England. In effect, he was England's pope, at the same time he ruled over everything from property to courts of law to the military. Kennedy, however, articulated a theological belief that a Christian society is a triad

that reflects Christ's three aspects: prophet, priest, and king. This, Speel wrote, translates into three aspects of society: Prophet-University, Priest-Church, and King-State. Kennedy's theological belief, then, valued not bringing together church and state, but separating them, and the idea that the three aspects of society were equal and autonomous, and divided voluntarily.[38]

The Houston speech did not end the religious issue, but it did mute it. White notes that the film of Kennedy's speech became a major campaign tool, although what effect the speech and its use in the campaign was difficult to measure.[30] A week after the speech, a *New Republic* editorial came down clearly on Kennedy's side, saying that the only way Peale and supporters could be satisfied with Kennedy is if he renounced his faith. Noting that there were no Catholics on the magazine's staff, the editorial decried "anti-Catholic bigotry," said Peale and his supporters' brickbats against Kennedy were "a grave challenge to the integrity and intelligence of all American Protestantism" and challenged Nixon to prove his belief that religion should not be a central campaign issue by contradicting Peale.[39]

Other prominent writers, such as *New York Post* columnist Murray Kempton, came out in favor of Kennedy. However, to Kennedy's severe disappointment, Cardinal Francis Spellman, an old family friend, never did. Throughout the rest of the campaign, Kennedy had to reiterate several times his belief in the absolute separation of church and state, including his opinion on two issues outside the United States: An editorial in the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* about the Church using its power in politics, and the Catholic bishops in Puerto Rico directing their flock not to vote for a local politician. Support for Kennedy "galvanized" American Catholics, Maier writes, although there were some who did not like the contents of the Houston speech.[40]

If Nixon never contradicted Peale he also did not use the religious issue in his campaign, which had been interrupted for 12 days in late August and early September, when he was hospitalized with a leg infection. Nor was the issue a major factor in the four Kennedy/Nixon debates in September and October which, White writes, reversed the two candidates' positions: As his crowds began to noticeably swell beginning on September 27, the day after the first debate, Kennedy became the frontrunner, the candidate to beat.[41] Salinger confirms this, noting that the next day, at a campaign stop in Cleveland, "you could feel, in the crowd reaction, that JFK had scored heavily the night before."[42]

But anti-Catholic/Kennedy groups continued to distribute literature in what Maier called "over-the-top hate and prejudice." However reluctant he had been to focus on the religious issue, and however much he wished it would decline in importance, Kennedy realized his need to address it, and did so up to the very last hours of his campaign: On November 7, on ABC, he addressed the issue several times, and assured viewers once again, that he believed, absolutely, in the separation of church and state.[43]

Kennedy won the election by a margin of 84 electoral votes (303 to 219), in no small part by carrying heavily Catholic New England, and also nearby states Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York. The combination put him, just barely, in the White House. Among the election results was both the return of Catholics to voting for a Democrat for president after two elections that saw the majority cast their ballots for Eisenhower (between two-third and three-quarters of Polish, Italian and Irish Catholics voted for Kennedy); and a large percentage of Protestants voting for him as well. Estimates of the percentage of Protestants who voted for Kennedy ranged from 38 to 48 percent, but in either case, White notes, more

Protestants voted for Kennedy than both Catholics and Jews.[44] Kennedy broke the ultimate glass ceiling for Catholics, by both bringing Catholics back to their traditional political fold and at the same time capturing a large percentage of Protestants even after months of major Protestant leaders and organizations virulently opposing his candidacy.

Ireland in the 1950s

The Republic of Ireland that followed the 1960 election was poor and losing its young people to emigration at a rate that historian Enda Delaney compares to a body hemorrhaging blood.[45] Dermot Keogh and other scholars have called the 1950s the "lost decade." Ireland was, Keogh wrote, "a young state that appeared to be unable – unlike all other states in democratic western Europe at the time – to provide work, education and economic security for its citizens."[46]

Ireland was first declared a republic during the Easter rebellion on April 24, 1916; that revolt ended in failure and the firing-squad executions of 16 rebel leaders. The Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921 (which gave the lower 26 of the island's 32 counties dominion status within the British Commonwealth), a bloody civil war after the treaty, and the establishment of the Irish Free State all followed. On April 28, 1938, the treaty between Ireland and England that Joseph Kennedy had helped broker returned a number of ports to the Irish government and reduced trade restrictions.[47] On December 21, 1948, the Free State government passed the Republic of Ireland Act, which formally severed all ties between Britain and Ireland's lower 26 counties.[48]

By then, Ireland's economic problems had long been evident. Worldwide depression in the 1930s meant that nations relied more on their own resources. Because the island's industrial

base was almost totally within Northern Ireland (including shipbuilding in Belfast), this meant that the 26 counties that comprised the Free State, and then the Republic, had virtually no manufacturing exports; the exports were almost entirely farm-based, most notably cattle, and almost all of that (between 93 and 99 percent per year) went to the United Kingdom between 1924 and 1950. Thus, as the economic fortunes of England declined, so did Ireland's.[49]

"Basic" is how R.F. Foster describes Irish life in the 1930s and 1940s. Tuberculosis was common, emigration of family members and friends was a given. Well into the 1940s, the vast majority of homes had no indoor bathroom facilities. Widespread emigration meant the continuation of "hiring fairs," in which a young person would be recruited in a town square to help an aged farmer care for his or her land and house because there were no younger relatives left to do so.[50]

The end of World War II meant more overseas markets for Irish products, and between 1945 and the beginning of the 1950s, Ireland experienced a small boom in population and consumer spending. Public facilities, such as hospitals and roads, improved and there was, writes Brendan M. Walsh, a "belief that an era of moderate growth was dawning." But a variety of problems, including a decline in cattle exports to Britain and a rise in the cost of imports as a result of the Korean War, led to a severe loss of jobs in a number of fields, such as construction, and an economic depression. A "feeling of demoralization" engulfed the island.[51]

Ireland's deepening economic depression in the 1950s led to a new surge in emigration: 408,766 people left the Republic of Ireland between 1951 and 1961, 212,003 (or 1.48 per 1,000 people) between 1956 and 1961. The Republic's population fell from 2,960,593 to 2,818,341 in this 10-year period.[52] The latter number represents the smallest population in the history of the

Republic. These emigrants were, for the most, part, young and female; they realized the large difference in quality of life between an isolated Irish farm and the chance for a much larger income and marriage in a large American city and, time and again, chose the latter.[53]

Historian Ronald Takaki uses the term "ethnic strategy" to describe the rise of Irish emigrants from poorly educated people doing low-paying, often unskilled and sometimes dangerous or demeaning jobs in the 1800s to an increasingly prosperous and highly educated ethnic group with political and economic power in the 1900s. Irish emigrants, he writes, largely settled in cities, where their economic and political power increased via voting blocs and professional trade unions. Unlike other ethnic groups, such as the Chinese and Italians, they could also speak English, which gave them a distinct advantage in becoming part of the American mainstream and led to, for example, secure jobs as police officers, teachers, and firemen. By the early 1900s, Irish Catholics were increasingly moving into blue- and white-collar jobs; attending college; running their own businesses; and finding niches in local government. This cycle of better income, better education and more political clout would continue throughout the first half of the 20th century, Takaki notes, with vibrant Irish-American communities providing a nurturing environment, jobs and a sense of belonging for those who continued to leave the old country behind.[54]

Newly-arrived Irish people in America in the '50s, then, "leapfrogged up the socio-economic ladder" and, at least in cities with large Irish Catholic populations, "built families and communities that revolved around their church, their job and their neighborhood," according to Linda Dowling Almeida. Wages were good, a college education was often attainable, babies were born in Catholic hospitals, children were educated in Catholic schools, many of the cultural

signposts from the old country, such as traditional music and the sport of hurling, were part of regular life, and priests and nuns were a major part of the fabric of the community. Irish-Americans were not, Almeida writes, "self-consciously ethnic; they were ethnic by their everyday actions, by their address, by their job and by their parish."[55]

Emigration to America, moreover, was viewed differently from going to nearby countries such as Britain or Scotland: Because of the cost, the distance and the far greater opportunities in the United States, going to America was final, and the chances of a reunion between the relatives left behind and those who had found a new life in America was remote, at best.[56] Historian Kerby A. Miller writes that a friend or family member leaving for America "represented as final a parting as a descent into the grave." This reality was perhaps summarized in the long-standing tradition of the American wake. Rooted in the traditional Celtic belief that to the west of Ireland lay the homes of the dead, American wakes were, likes wakes of people who had actually died, a mixture of "sorrow and hilarity, with prayers for the dead and the mournful keening of old women alternating with drinking, dancing and mirthful games."[57]

This ambiguity over the fate of the departing friend or relative has always been a significant feature of how emigration from Ireland has been viewed by Irish Catholics who both left and stayed. Underscored by the history of Irish/British relations, the famine and a cultural tradition that included many songs about the sorrow of being forced to leave the familiarity of one's home, friends and aged parents for the unfamiliarity and precariousness of life in America, this exile motif held that leaving Ireland was in large part forced by centuries of British oppression and a lack of control over one's destiny.[58]

For those leaving Ireland behind, the ambiguity of emigration included the thrill of discovery and starting a new life in America, one that often included a better job, increased income, and a host of social benefits of living in a thriving city in a prosperous, forward-thinking, modern country. J.J. Lee writes that the young people leaving Ireland were "flying from nothing."[59] The nothing left behind was a nation that Keogh calls the "sick man of Europe," where rural poverty and isolation were common and economic recovery looked impossible.[60] There was, as Linda Downing Almeida puts it, a "social and cultural bleakness" in Ireland at the time. Adding to the sense of isolation in the 1950s was the fact that the country would not have its own television network, Radio Telefis Eireann, until 1960.[61]

Tourism, which would go on to provide so much of Ireland's income in later decades, was still a struggling industry, according to Irene Furlong. Far less money for promoting tourism was spent in Ireland than in such countries as England and Italy. There were less than 900 hotels in the entire country by 1952, the number of bedrooms available for tourists actually declined between 1952 and 1957, and coach tours of the country, which became popular among tourists in later years, were not common until late in the decade.[62]

Ireland's mood in the 1950s, then, writes Brian Fallon, was one of pessimism and frustration. There was, among many, a feeling that their country lacked even "realistic recognition that the world had changed greatly since the war and was still changing fast."[63] It was into this grim era of Irish history that the news of Jack Kennedy's candidacy came. In Ireland, as in Irish-Catholic America, the campaign was seen as a triumph for the Irish race. With their wealth, charisma, and deep ties to Ireland and the Catholic church, the Kennedys radiated success and power, and personified the possibilities of achievement for the Irish diaspora. And

Jack Kennedy, the handsome war hero/author/politician who had shown a strong affinity for and personal connection with his ancestral homeland was, by the summer of 1960, the personification of the Kennedy family.[64] The Irish believed that "every Catholic and everyone of Irish descent" would vote for "our own boy," Hennessy writes, and they followed the 1960 campaign with fervent interest.[65]

The *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times*

"By 1880," writes Michael Foley, "most newspapers, both Dublin dailies and the weekly provincial newspapers, were clearly identified politically." Irish newspapers, he writes, were the outgrowth of "political debates and events," not independent news organizations that objectively reported the news.[66] Both the *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times* had their origins in the mid- to late 1800s and were outgrowths of the relationship between news coverage and political orientation.

The *Independent* was first published on January 2, 1905.[67] The paper was the result of several earlier newspapers, including the *Irish Daily Independent*, being merged. The *Daily Independent* was staunchly nationalist; the growing nationalist movement, which included a number of other publications of the time, such as *The United Irishman*, believed in and sought to develop a separate Irish culture, one free of British influence. The movement included W.B. Yeats, Maud Gonne, James Connolly, and Douglas Hyde. The *Daily Independent*, writes Hugh Oram, was "set up to put forward the view of the Parnellites," or those who followed the messages of Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891).[68] Parnell, a major proponent of home rule for Ireland in the 1880s and leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, had been disgraced in 1890 by a divorce case in which he was named co-respondent; the party split, and he died in October

1891.[69] Many of those who had followed him, such as *Irishman* co-founder Arthur Griffith, became cornerstones of the nationalist movement.

A native of County Cork, businessman William Martin Murphy helmed the *Independent*. The paper became an immediate success, the "first halfpenny popular paper in Ireland," Oram writes. The paper was soon distributed throughout the country, which meant it gave local and regional newspapers considerable competition.[70]

From its earliest days, the *Times* was, politically, the *Independent*'s polar opposite, Protestant-favored and pro-British from its first issue in 1859, according to former editor Conor Brady. Among its editors in its first several decades were its founder, Major Lawrence E. Knox; a Church of Ireland minister, Dr. George B. Weller; and Dr. George Frederick Shaw, a doctor of divinity at Dublin's Trinity College, which at the time did not admit Catholics. The former Lord Mayor of Cork, Sir John Arnott, took over the paper in 1873. By then, writes Brady, the *Times* was "the newspaper of the Dublin mercantile and administrative class – by definition, predominantly Protestant and unionist."[71]

This viewpoint, and the perception in Ireland that the *Times* was pro-British, would continue well into the 20th century. For example, the *Times* blasted the Easter rising of April 1916, in which rebels rose against the British and proclaimed an independent Irish government. The rebellion was crushed by British forces in less than a week, and a *Times* editorial called for severe punishment of the rebels, a number of which, Connolly among them, were subsequently executed.[72]

The *Times* remained "a bastion in Dublin of Empire loyalism," Oram writes, complete with a Union Jack on display in the basement.[73] Under John Edward Healy, editor from 1904 to

1934, the paper was, Brady writes, "staunchly conservative and pro-British." Healy died in 1934 and was succeeded by Robert "Bertie" Smyllie. Like those who came before him, Smyllie was also pro-British; his father had been the editor of another pro-British paper, the *Sligo Times*. At the time of the 1960 election, and for years later, the paper was largely staffed by men who had been educated in England and/or served in the British Army. Staff and shareholders were predominantly Protestant, Oram writes, and much coverage was given to "Protestant-endowed institutions," among them Simpson's Hospital. Brady became the papers' first Catholic editor in 1986.[74]

By the 1950s, then, the Irish public's perception of the two papers as being opposites both politically and in terms of readership had been deeply entrenched for decades. In an essay on growing up in Ireland in the 1950s, novelist John Banville recounts a friend of his father calling the *Independent* "full of horses and dead priests," while the *Times* simply "did not enter our field of vision." It was, his mother said, read by the people in the "Big House," the rich Protestants.[75]

General Irish newspaper history and anecdotal evidence such as the above form the basis for comparing the political viewpoints of the *Independent* and the *Times* leading up to and during the 1950s. To date there has been no extensive comparative/textual study that contrasts the news coverage and/or editorial stances of the two papers concerning a given event, in Ireland or elsewhere, during this decade. But it is safe to say that, by the time of the 1960 election, both the *Independent* and the *Times* were major, established Irish newspapers whose audiences were to a large extent divided by religion, class, and the perception of the relationship of Ireland and England.

Cultural Proximity

In a meta-analysis summing up the results of 55 studies concerned with international news flow, Wu listed a variety of factors than can determine how prominently a news agency or newspaper features news from another country. Among them: Political relations, regionalism, geographic affinity, the quality of communication resources, trade between the country being reported on and the country doing the reporting, and cultural affinity.[66]

Research into cultural affinity/proximity and international news flow became prevalent in the years after the 1960 election and has become a frequent topic in academia. Galtung and Ruge first wrote about the subject, noting that "what we choose to consider an 'event' is culturally determined."[77] Hester believed that, just as people with similar cultural backgrounds feel a bond with one another, so do nations. Such bonds between the people of different nations can be measured, he wrote, in terms of "a shared language, the amount of migration between nationals, the amount of travel between them, and the statuses and past-statuses, such as mother country-colony, or patronage."[78]

A number of studies have supported this. In a study of adult readers in a commune in Scarperia, Italy, MacLean and Pinna found far more interest in news about the commune, the area and two major Italian cities (Florence and Rome) than the United Nations, Russia, China or even southern Italy: These readers cared about their home and their neighbors, but also about major cities in their country. But along with a marked interest in news about nearby/national topics, the authors also found that interest in the United States was the same as southern Italy, and higher than news abut the United Nations, Russia or China, which the authors attributed to the U.S.'s high "visibility" in the news.[79]

Similarly, Kariel and Rosenvall found a definite link between cultural affinity and international news in studying Canadian newspapers. Sampling 31 days of coverage in 21 newspapers, the study found that French-language newspapers and English-language newspapers in the bilingual nation differed greatly in source of news items: French-language newspapers, such as Ottawa's *Le Droit*, printed far more news from France than English-language newspapers, such as Toronto's *Globe and Mail*, and vice versa. Moreover, more news from France was printed in a newspaper, the *Telegraph Journal* of St. John, that was distributed in the country's only bilingual province than any other English-language newspaper in the country. In other words, understanding the cultural roots of people in different parts of the same country largely determined international news coverage.[80]

A more recent study by Zaharopoulus looked at how the Greek press covered the 1988 U.S. presidential campaign, in which Michael Dukakis (whose parents were Greek immigrants) was the Democratic Party's candidate. Two Greek newspapers with differing political orientations were analyzed: The *Eleftherotypia* is described in the study as "left-wing, independent," while the *Eleftheros Typos* is described as "right-wing" and supporting conservative Greek politicians. While most of the news items were anonymous, the study found that cultural proximity was a major factor in how both papers covered the campaign, including more photographs, headlines and news and analysis pieces about Dukakis than the Republic Party's presidential nominee, George Bush. And while most of the two papers' coverage was described as "neutral," Dukakis' Greek roots were mentioned more often in the liberal *Eleftherotypia* than the conservative *Typos*.[81]

Studies have looked at cultural affinity/proximity as a force in determining international news coverage. This study will build upon this research to examine several aspects of cultural affinity and international news coverage. In broad terms, the focus is on cultural affinity in terms of both political and religious persuasion, a combination that has not been studied to any great degree when looking at international news coverage. Neither the Kariel/Rosenvall or Zaharopoulos studies, for example, examined both aspects.

Chapter Three

Method

This literature review has established the close cultural ties that the people of Ireland receiving news about the 1960 presidential election had with John F. Kennedy: Kennedy's maternal and paternal grandparents were all from Ireland; the religion he and his family practiced (Roman Catholic) was the same as the vast majority of citizens in the country; he and his father had made several visits to Ireland and had worked with Irish government officials; and the Kennedy family had long celebrated their Irishness – in John F. Kennedy's case, in a number of public speeches. The Irish Catholic population viewed the Kennedy family as the best example of what emigrants from Ireland could achieve in the United States. In effect, they had pinned a great many hopes and dreams on the possibility of Kennedy becoming the first president whose cultural background was the same as theirs.

The overriding aspect of this study, then, is examining through qualitative analysis the differences in cultural affinity displayed in the coverage of the 1960 election by two Irish newspapers with historically different audiences and political stances: The *Irish Independent*, with nationalist roots and favored by Roman Catholics, and *The Irish Times*, with a longstanding pro-British/ and an Anglo-Irish/Protestant readership base.

The two papers were similar in several aspects: Both were established papers, and both were published in Dublin and distributed throughout Ireland. The question is, did the above differences in cultural affinity have a less, or greater, impact on the election coverage than the similarities in cultural affinity? Moreover, were there marked contrasts in how the two papers

covered the issue of Kennedy's religious background that was such a major factor in the campaign?

News stories, features, editorials and analysis were chosen for examination because they were common to both newspapers, and because such categories of news stories and commentary were, and remain, common throughout the newspaper industry. In both newspapers, the news stories addressed campaign events that had happened the day before, or perhaps the day before that; features addressed aspects of the race or the candidates that did not hinge on events along the campaign trail; editorials were unsigned columns on the editorial page giving the newspapers' overall stance or perspective on the race in general or aspects of it (such as Kennedy's Houston speech, or the television debates); and analysis articles were signed articles that summed up campaign events, the shape of the campaign (for example, how each candidate was faring in the polls) or major aspects and/or issues in the campaign, such as the American electoral system and the religious issue.

Such categories remain commonly in use today in newspapers in both the United States and Ireland, and provide easily understandable and usable conduits for analyzing a given newspaper's coverage of an event. These categories contain the "hard" (which is to say, often next-day) news about the event and a variety of perspectives that give both a newspaper's stance about the event and its implications, as well as a broader picture of the meaning of the event and peripheral aspects of the people participating in it.

And as we will see, there were enormous differences between the *Independent* and the *Times* in all of the above aspects of the coverage of the Kennedy-Nixon race in the fall of 1960.

Chapter Four

Results

Introduction

Before providing an analysis of how the *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times* covered the 1960 presidential election, it is important to discuss first the many differences between the two newspapers. No newspaper's coverage of a given event, be it a war, a national election, a crime, a trial or a speech, exists in a vacuum. The same is true of news analysis and editorial stance: Journalists are creatures of habit, and as we have seen in the literature review both the *Independen*t and the *Times* had established a general viewpoint regarding Ireland and its relationship with England long before the fall of 1960. As a result, the marked contrast in how the two newspapers covered the election had both historical precedent and was an outgrowth of a number of factors in the regular coverage of a variety of issues and culturally significant factors in the Republic of Ireland in general and the city of Dublin in particular.

This introduction to the results of this thesis does not propose to identify and discuss rigorously and completely all the news stories or editorials that highlighted the two newspapers' established differences. Rather, this introduction to the many consistent contrasts between the two newspapers in the fall of 1960 is to show that how the *Independent* and the *Times* approached the Kennedy/Nixon race fit quite snugly within the newspapers' coverage of other news events occurring at the same time, and their editorial perspective to them.

Since there were so many differences, a number of basic similarities should be noted first. Both newspapers had easily identifiable parts of each issue set aside for general news, sports, business (including the London stock exchange), the arts and editorials. Both also featured daily

television and radio listings. Both the *Independent* and the *Times* regularly included international news, and gave more attention to events occurring in America than such countries as France, Spain or Germany; the main exception was the United Nations' efforts in Africa, particularly the Congo, which was covered rigorously. News from America in the fall of 1960 was dominated by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's stormy visit to the United Nations, which both newspapers wrote about on an almost daily basis, but speeches by Eisenhower were also regularly reported.

Both newspapers regularly used three wire services: The Associated Press, United Press International and Reuters, although for whatever reason "Reuter" was invariably used to identify Reuters.[82] Byline usage was, especially for news articles, haphazard. Neither newspaper regularly gave the name of the author of a news story. Names of wire reporters were never listed, and many news stories (even major stories about significant events in both Ireland and around the world) had no source listed at all. Titles were frequently used: The *Independent* used such terms as "Our London Correspondent," "Irish Independent" Reporter or, when covering such events as fashion shows, "Irish Independent" Woman Reporter. The *Times* bylined many stories with Irish Times Reporter or Our Political Correspondent.

Sports stories were often bylined, as were columns on a number of subjects. The *Independent* regularly featured columns by, among others, Jim Norton on farming and cattle issues, a "Country Diary" by Monica Carr, and Bill Slater on sports. Regular *Times* columnists included Elizabeth Leslie ("Home Service"), Maurice Gorham and the legendary Myles na Gopaleen. The *Times*' Leo Murray, for example, who wrote extensively about Khrushchev's New York visit and other diplomatic issues, often received a byline and, under it, the title of Irish Times Diplomatic Correspondent, as did the *Independent*'s Cyril Dunn, whose byline included

just his name, with no title.

Editorials were, as is common, not given a byline, but neither newspaper listed the members of the editorial board or any of the editors. The day's editorials were divided into smaller sections, usually of a few paragraphs in length, that gave the newspaper's opinion on two or three different subjects; the *Independent* usually addressed two subjects per day, the *Times* three. On Wednesday, September 21, 1960, for example, the *Independent* began by noting what an honor it was for Ireland's Frederick H. Boland to be chosen as President of the United Nations General Assembly. Below that, there was praise for the opening of the Cork Film Festival and hopes that the festival could bolster the Irish film industry.

Both the *Independen*t and the *Times* displayed cultural affinity for Ireland when covering international news. Boland's election to head the United Nations was the subject of front page stories and laudatory editorials in both newspapers. News of the 1960 Olympics highlighted the accomplishments of Irish athletes, both in headlines and in the stories, as did news of the Irish contingent of United Nations troops in the Congo. Both newspapers wrote extensively on playwright Brendan Behan's trip to New York to see his play *The Hostage* produced on Broadway. Such coverage might have been expected of the *Independent*, but it could be considered surprising in the *Times*, given the newspaper's longstanding pro-British stance and Behan's background as a member of the Irish Republican Army.[83]

In addition, both newspapers carried regular columns that addressed news in England. The *Independent*'s, This Is London Calling Ireland, ran on the news pages, while the *Times*' London Letter ran on the editorial page or a news page. Both claimed to originate in London's Fleet Street, the center of England's newspaper industry. The *Independent*'s column was bylined

From Our Correspondent, Fleet Street, while the *Times*' column listed no author or author title. This Is London Calling Ireland focused for the most part on Irish people attending conferences in England or the accomplishments of Irish people living in England, which could range from the sharp rise of Irish students enrolled in technical colleges in England (September 1) to Irish cigar merchant James J. Fox and Co. opening a store in London (September 2) to Michael Mangan, a captain in the Irish Army, wearing his military uniform while giving away his sister Maura at a wedding (September 7).

Running next to the newspaper's editorials and, above the letters to the editor and just to the left of the social column, the *Times*' London Letter, on the other hand, focused on actions by British government officials, arts events in London, and general news. These included a strike that brought the London ports to a standstill (September 21), money raised by installing parking meters (October 7), and alcohol licenses in England and Wales (October 12). Irish people and, far more often, Irish government representatives were the subject of the short items, but did not predominate the column.

While both columns did, at times, highlight the relationship of Ireland and England, This Is London Calling Ireland for the most part focused on ordinary citizens, or Irish businessmen, making inroads in England; Irish people in London Letter were for the most part members of the Irish government interacting with English officials.

There was an additional similarity between the two newspapers that directly affected the coverage of the 1960 presidential race. No Dublin newspapers were published from October 12 to October 28 due to a labor dispute involving a trade union, the Dublin Typographical Provident Society, and the Irish Printing Federation. Negotiations between the two groups resumed on

October 28, and both the *Independent* and the *Times* published again on October 29.[84]

* * * *

The differences between the *Independent* and the *Times* are extensive, and include everything from such basic considerations as price and number of days printed per week that would have been easily apparent to even a casual reader, to pronounced dissimilarities that reinforced, on a daily basis, both newspapers' traditional cultural and class leanings. Banville's assertation that the *Independent* was "full of horses and dead priests" and that the *Times* was the read only by the wealthy Anglo-Irish who occupied the "Big House" seems, after a close reading of several months of issues, both true and rather too basic. Both newspapers offered vigorous coverage of events both in Ireland and around the world and a wealth of interesting and often highly entertaining columnists. But in every aspect of Irish life, from sports to religion to the very language being used, the *Times* and the *Independent* offered striking differences.

The *Independent* published seven days per week, the *Times* six.[85] The Sunday edition of the *Independent* was the *Sunday Independent* and was longer than the daily *Independent*, carried more comics and a regular pop music column by Pete Murray, and expanded arts and sports coverage. The daily *Independent* cost three pence, the Sunday edition four pence; the *Times* cost four pence a day.[86] The layout of the *Times* much more closely resembles the common layout of modern American newspapers, with news stories on the front page, followed by news on additional pages, as well as individual pages devoted to sports, arts, editorials, business news and want-ads and real estate.

The daily *Independent* looked completely different: Under the newspaper's masthead and, below that, "Ireland's National Newspaper," the front page was devoted to births, deaths,

news of appointments, advertisements and want-ads; these were usually put in seven or eight columns. Most or all of a front page could, however, be devoted to an advertisement for one product. News typically started on the second page, and business, agricultural and arts news typically followed, as did the editorial page. Major news items on national and international topics typically did not run until pages 10 or 11, followed by sports and then more want-ads and notices of livestock and real estate sales. A daily issue of the *Independent* was almost always longer than a daily issue of the *Times*, and often ran to more than 20 pages. The *Sunday Independent* resembled the *Times* and most newspapers: The front page was devoted to news, with notices for births, marriages and deaths not coming until the sixth page, followed by sports and arts news. The final page was several captioned stand-alone photos.

The *Independent* reinforced its stance as a nationalist newspaper read by Catholics on a daily basis. The feast day celebrated by Catholics was noted prominently every day on the newspaper's editorial page, just below the masthead and date and just above the editorials. Also, between September and early November, the newspaper carried more than 20 columns in Gaelic, the native Irish language. These were short pieces, and not anchored on any particular page. The use and teaching of Gaelic was an important part of the nationalist movement that flowered in the 1890s. Such nationalist movement leaders as Douglas Hyde, Padraic Pearse and W.B. Yeats emphasized the need for Irish people to learn Gaelic as part of what Hyde called the "de-anglicising" of Ireland, a cultural breaking away from England to focus on Irish culture.

In 1893, the Gaelic League was formed to teach the Irish language and promote Irish culture. Such nationalist leaders at Pearse taught classes, and among those in attendance was James Joyce. The establishment of the League led to an explosion of Irish people taking Gaelic

language classes and the number of books in Irish in Ireland jumping from six in 1893 to more than 50,000 one year later.[87] The use of Gaelic in the *Independent* (there was nothing in Gaelic in the *Times*) can thus be seen as part of the nationalist tradition of emphasizing, at least to a small extent, the separateness of Irish culture.

Celebrating traditional Gaelic sports such as hurling was another aspect of the nationalist movement promoting Irish culture and, even in 1960, the difference in how the *Independent* and the *Times* covered the sport was striking and in line with two newspapers' cultural allegiance to a nationalist Ireland or, in the case of the *Times*, an Anglo-Irish one. Like the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) was formed in 1884 to emphasize the separateness of Irish culture from England. The GAA emphasized hurling, in part, writes Kiberd, because the ancient Irish hero Cuchulain was said to have been fond of the sport. But hurling was also important because it countered the idea that the Celts were feminine in nature. Militant nationalists, he writes, "called on the youth of Ireland to purge themselves of a degrading femininity by a disciplined programme of physical-contact sports."[88] This also includes Gaelic football, which resembles soccer but with more physical contact.

The final hurling and Gaelic football matches of their respective seasons, both known as the All-Ireland, are held in September in Dublin's Croke Park. The coverage of the two 1960 finals give further indications to the cultural affinity that both newspapers held regarding Ireland and England. The hurling final was held first, on Sunday, September 4: County Wexford defeated County Tipperary 2-15 to 0-11. The *Times* covered the match on September 5 with one story on page two; writer Pat O. (no last name given) recounted the game.[89]

The *Independent*'s September 5 issue, however, featured two long game stories on page 13, one an analysis by John D. Hickey, the other an anonymous goal-by-goal recap. Page 13 was devoted to photographs taken during the game, of players and fans, and page 10 included a large photograph of the winning Wexford team, a note that the photo was available by mail order from the *Independent*, and a shorter story about the Tipperary team looking forward to the next season.

The difference in the space devoted in the two newspapers to the hurling final was considerable and, in the case of the *Times*, striking in how much it differed from how the newspaper covered the Gaelic football final, which was held Sunday, September 25. The game was historic for two reasons: It marked the 75th anniversary of the founding of the GAA, and the win by County Down over County Kerry, 2-16 to 0-8, marked the first time that a team from one of the six counties from Northern Ireland took the title.[90]

Unlike the single game story of the GAA hurling final, coverage of the Gaelic football final in the *Times* was extensive and began on the front page. The front page story, which included information about the scene at Croke Park, the congestion on the Dublin streets and a list of the dignitaries that attended, was accompanied, on page two, by a game story, again by Pat O. and, on page seven, an editorial entitled "Up Down!" The editorial was, in large part, a primer on the sport, explaining several differences between Gaelic football and "association football" (the Irish athletes, for example, play for free) and giving statistics on how widespread participation is in GAA sports in both the Republic and Northern Ireland. This indicates, the editorial concludes, the "essential unity" of all Irish people.[91]

This statement is unique, the only time between September 5 and November 10 a *Times* editorial discusses a unifying force drawing together people from both the six northern counties and the twenty-six of the Republic. The considerable amount of space in the editorial devoted to simply explaining the sport and its popularity, as well as how it differed in comparison with its British counterpart, clearly indicates that the writer was addressing a subject most of the newspaper's readership knew relatively little about.

The *Independent*'s coverage of the game was, if anything, more extensive than its coverage of the hurling final. A news story on page 11 was accompanied by a second story about the huge crowds thronging to the match and around Croke Park. This story jumped to page 12 and was accompanied by a third story that recounted the triumphant reception held for the County Down team at a nearby hotel, and the week's worth of celebrations that would follow. A fourth and much shorter story about the Kerry team was on page 13; most of this page was taken up by a photo of the Down team which was, again, available for mail order through the newspaper. All of page 14 was devoted to photographs of the game.

The *Independent*'s editorial on the event, entitled "The All-Ireland," noted the Down win had a "particular significance" and, like the *Times* editorial, saw that significance as the unity that the sport brings to people from both sides of, as both newspapers describe it, "the Border." That border is described in the *Independent* editorial as "meaningless" and, as in the *Times*, the GAA is described as a force for displaying the "common tradition" on both sides of it.

But whereas the *Times* editorial goes over the differences between the same basic game in Britain and Ireland, and describes the interest in Gaelic football as a phenomenon that needs explaining, the *Independent* writes about the game and the GAA as a continuation, a negation of

the partition that divides the island: “The Gaelic Athletic Association is a remarkable symbol of Irish unity. Partition has no place in its affairs.” The *Independent* does not compare Gaelic and British football. While the two editorials are similar, and emphasize some of the same points, the *Times* is reporting that the game is enjoyed on both sides of the border, whereas the *Independent* is subtly proposing that there should be no border at all. Using the word “partition” in this negative context (the word is not in the *Times* editorial) underscores that a tradition associated with the nationalist movement is helping to break down partition’s impact. By noting that Gaelic football is flourishing in the North, the writer ties a growing extension of ancient Irish cultural unity in with established pro-nationalist traditions.[92]

Just a few days after the game, the two newspapers offered another telling example of how differently news events were covered in their relationship between Ireland and Britain, both on the news and editorial pages. On October 1, both newspapers printed prominent stories, introduced by boldface headlines, about the Federation of Nigeria winnings its freedom. The *Times* story was at the top of page one; the *Independent* story was at the top of page 11, the issue’s first page devoted to major national and international news. So far, so similar, but how the two newspapers described Nigeria’s first day of independence was completely different.

In the *Independent*, under the headline “NIGERIA FREE” and the underline “Ireland’s Interest In Event” was an opening paragraph that began by noting that Nigeria became “an independent member of the British Commonwealth” at 9 p.m. Irish time “after sixty years of British rule.” The Nigerian people, with their long association with Ireland through Catholic missionary work were now “free to choose their own destiny.” The second paragraph notes that

at midnight Nigerian time the "Union Jack was hauled down from" and a "green and white Nigerian flag was run up in its place."[93]

The page 10 editorial notes that Nigeria's large population (more than 30 million people) and robust economy will make the new country a major power in West Africa. Like the news story, the editorial then goes on to note that the country is now free from Britain, which it describes as Nigeria's "former colonising power." The connection between a country newly freed from Britain's grasp and its association with Ireland (through the missionary work of the Catholic church) is again stressed.[94]

Under the headline "NIGERIA CELEBRATES INDEPENDENCE," the *Times*' front page story recounted a Dublin celebration of the event, noted the flag-raising ceremony, and quoted statements from Irish President Eamon de Valera and a Catholic official praising the new nation and noting the work that Irish missionaries did in the country. What this story does not say is who Nigeria has won its freedom *from*: Britain. Nowhere does the story mention, as the story in the *Independent* did in the first paragraph, that Nigeria was now free from six decades of British rule. The *Times* story does not that the Nigerian flag was raised, but unlike the story in the *Independent* there is no mention that the flag being replaced is the Union Jack. The words "Britain" and "England" do not appear in the story.[95]

The editorial on page seven, like the *Independent* editorial, predicts that Nigeria will become a powerful African nation. But this editorial looks at the former relationship between Britain and Nigeria completely differently than the *Independent*: Nigeria "must be counted fortunate" among African nations that its former "colonial Power" (which is to say, Britain – although, again, Britain is not mentioned by name) has regulated the "process towards self-

government in such a way that when the day of independence comes – as it must – the new country will have the means to govern itself." By colonizing Nigeria has Britain set up the governmental processes for the independence, and capably trained the people who will now run the country.[96] Thus according to the *Times* Britain's imperialism was to Nigeria's considerable benefit, a conduit through which the Nigerians were prepared for their freedom, rather than, as the *Independent* would have it, something the Nigerians were finally able to cast aside.

* * * *

The major cultural dividing line between the *Independent* and the *Times* during this period, however, was daily religious coverage, and the cultural affinity that the two newspapers showed to the various dominant, and minority, religions in the country.

At the time, there were more than two and a half million Catholics in the Republic of Ireland, a figure which represented more than 94 percent of the country's population. According to the 1946 census, 94.3 percent of the country was Catholic. By the time the next national census was taken, in 1961, that had risen to 94.9 percent, or 2,673,473 people. Of the remaining 144,868 people in Ireland in 1961, the vast majority were Church of Ireland (104,016, or 3.7 percent), followed by Presbyterians (.7 percent; 18,953 people).[97]

The *Independent*'s coverage of religious events reflected the fact that the vast majority of the people in Ireland were Catholic. Every issue of the newspaper between September and early November contains a photo of a priest or priests attending a ceremony, a gathering of Catholics, news of nuns traveling to or return from some far-flung location, a speech by a Catholic official, or an anniversary of a religious event. These ranged from stories on centenary of Holy Cross College, Dublin's Diocesan seminary and the Patrician Brothers on October 4 and 5 to, on

September 27, a story and an editorial on the ceremonies observing the tercentenary of the death of St. Vincent de Paul. In short, if a priest or a nun or a group of either did nearly anything, said anything in public, or went to or returned from anywhere, the *Independent* wrote about it.

Stories such as the Patrician Brothers and St. Vincent de Paul anniversaries were treated as major news events, with those stories taking up several columns and, in the case of the Holy Cross story, a four-column aerial photograph of the college. The *Independent* did not have a religious section or a regular column to list religious events; rather, the stories were set amid stories of significant secular events both in Ireland and around the world. The *Independent* clearly gave priority to news of religious events relating to the Roman Catholic Church, both in the amount and prominent placement of coverage.

In addition, the newspaper ran a regular column by Father Peyton (no first name given) called "Family Fortress" that emphasized family values, hard work, and similar topics. Peyton's September 12 column is typical: It begins with an anecdote about a man giving a speech and first being cut short by a faulty microphone, and then the microphone working perfectly when he was delivering his final prayer. The lesson: "We should pray more, and talk less." The theme was expanded to urging Catholics to pray for the end of the Iron Curtain and for God to guide the actions of world leaders. If millions of Catholics would spend less time talking about world peace and more time praying for it, the column concluded, "there is a chance that they might find it."[98]

The *Times* covered the same sort of religious events that the *Independent* did: Ceremonies marking religious anniversaries, speeches, religious officials being elected to various positions, and missionaries going to foreign countries. The crucial difference, as noted above,

was that the coverage in the *Times* was of every religion except Roman Catholic, and most often Church of Ireland. This coverage ranged from one paragraph in the September 29 edition on Presbyterians waiting to return to do missionary work in a dangerous part of the Congo to extensive stories on the opening of a Dublin law firm being celebrated by a Church of Ireland service on October 4 and the Very Rev. Robert Wyse Jackson being elected bishop of the Church of Ireland's Limerick diocese on November 3.

Such stand-alone religious stories were in addition to regular news columns on events within various denominations. Running on both inside news pages and, less often, the editorial page, these columns grouped three or four news items together as "notes": Church of Ireland Notes, Presbyterian Church Notes, and so on. A typical example of these columns (which were always credited to From Our Correspondent) can be found in the October 4 issue: The Church of Ireland Notes for that day include four items, each a few paragraphs in length. The first two laud the new friendships created by members of parishes in different parts of Ireland visiting each other. The third expresses gratitude to the Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge for a new edition of a hymnal, and the fourth is an announcement of the Church Missionary Society's upcoming Apple and Harvest market, benefiting missionary work.

Tellingly, there were no such columns devoted to various events within the Catholic church, just as stand-alone news stories on events concerning the Catholic church were extremely rare. Catholic officials were most often written about only in the context of larger events, such as the October 1 coverage of Nigerian independence, or if the Catholic officials were interacting with officials of other denominations, or with Britain, as seen in a November 2 story announcing that Pope John XXIII would receive the Archbishop of Canterbury in early

December, and a November 5 report on the possibility of a Papal Nuncio being appointed in London. These are two of a very small number of stories concerning the Catholic church that ran in the *Times* in the time period covered in this thesis.

Just as the Roman Catholic Church, the dominant religion in the Republic of Ireland, for the most part simply did not exist in the pages of *The Irish Times*, so, too, did the *Irish Independent* take hardly any notice of news events involving religions other than Catholic. There was precious little crossover between the two newspapers in religious coverage: A news story about an event involving Church of Ireland officials prominently featured in the *Times* would not be mentioned in the *Independent*, and vice versa. Nowhere else is the contrast in how the two newspapers wrote about Ireland as pronounced: Religious matters were covered in the fall of 1960 as if Ireland was actually two countries, one (in the *Independent*) in which the majority of the citizenry, religious officials and religious events were Roman Catholic, and the other (in the *Times*) in which hardly any were Catholic.

Basic Similarities

In very general terms, the *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times* covered the 1960 presidential election quite similarly. Both printed numerous stories about speeches made by the two candidates and predictions by both poll results and journalists that Kennedy would win. Both covered several important events during the election, including the Peale announcement and Kennedy's subsequent appearance before the ministers in Houston on September 12.

In addition, both newspapers did not give next-day coverage to the four televised presidential debates. This highlights another aspect of the similarity in the election coverage in the *Times* and the *Independent*: Both newspapers did not attempt to give the election the sort of full-scale coverage that several American publications, such as *The New York Times*, regularly provided. For example, neither newspaper wrote abut several issues that arose during the campaign, including the considerable debate during the second and third televised debates on whether or not America should defend the islands of Quemoy and Matsu from a possible attack from nearby China.

This issue and the candidates' differing positions – Kennedy said the islands were not defensible, Nixon said they had to be defended – became a major topic of discussion in the second debate, on October 7. Nixon said that Kennedy's stance on defending the islands was "woolly thinking" and that not defending them would start a "chain reaction" that would lead to the Communists taking over the nearby island of Formosa.[99] The islands and America's defense of them was debated at even greater length during the third debate, on October 13, as part of one of the evenings' main topics, America's dealings with Communist countries, such as China and the Soviet Union.

But however significant the American media found the Quemoy/Matsu issue, the islands, and what they said about the foreign policies of the two candidates, were only mentioned once during the campaign, and then only briefly in the November 7 analysis story in the *Times*.

None of the next-day hard news stores in either newspaper had an unidentifiable author. Either no source was given, or the stories were credited to the Reuters, United Press International, the Associated Press or, far less frequently, a combination thereof. Also, both newspapers printed several stories just before the election that focused on predictions of a Kennedy win. The *Independent* carried three such stories, on November 2, 5 and 9. The *Times* also printed three stories on Kennedy leading in the polls just before the election, on November 5, 8 and 9. These stories are part of another similarity between the two newspapers: Both devoted more space to news about Kennedy, as well as stories that emphasized what Kennedy was doing within the campaign. This is perhaps to be expected, given that two of the significant events early in the election (the Peale announcement and the Houston speech) both focused on Kennedy and the attendant religious controversy, and because the polls consistently favored a Kennedy victory.

On November 10, both newspapers devoted a great deal of space to the details of Kennedy's win and Nixon's concession, and also carried separate stories about the reaction of various world leaders, including Khrushchev. The newspapers' November 10 editorials both gave an opinion as to Kennedy's viability as the next president, and both of these editorials, when read in context with the other editorials about the election, summarized the two newspapers' editorial stance on Kennedy's election.

However, just below the surface of the campaign speeches and Gallup poll results, the extensive differences in election coverage in the *Times* and the *Independent* become abundantly clear. These include sharp contrasts in amount and detail of election news coverage and analysis; how Kennedy was written about in terms of his cultural affinity with Ireland and the contrast between his family's humble beginnings in America and subsequent success and wealth; and, moreover, the religious controversy between Catholics and those Americans of other religious denominations who did not want a Catholic in the White House.

As was the case with the two newspapers' coverage of various religions in Ireland, the *Times* and the *Independent* viewed where John F. Kennedy had come from and where he was going completely differently.

News and Analysis

On the world stage, the election of a United States president is considered a major event: America is one of the most powerful and influential nations of the world, in terms of everything from economic and military might to cultural significance. The president of the United States and his policies shape the world's future in a way that the leaders of few other countries can be said to. Thus the final stage of the campaign, in which the candidates nominated by the major parties run head to head from early September to the election on the first Tuesday in November, is the subject of extensive coverage by the press both in the United States and around the world.

Both *The Irish Times* and the *Irish Independent* provided their readers with a significant amount of coverage of the 1960 presidential race. Also, both newspapers gave far more attention to the race in the last week of the contest and on November 10 than at any other time during the race.

The *Irish Independent*, however, provided far more information about the election than *The Irish Times*, in both news stories and analysis of the major issues of the election. This can be documented, first, simply in terms of the number of news and analysis stories: The *Independent* printed 36 news stories that detailed events that had occurred the day before or predicting a Kennedy victory. One story, which ran on September 8, mentioned the election only briefly while focusing on a press conference by President Dwight Eisenhower. The remaining 35 focused exclusively on various aspects of the race from, primarily, speeches from the campaign trial and predictions of a Kennedy win to such peripheral information as a three-paragraph Reuters story on the back page of the November 5 issue in which both Cardinal Cushing and Cardinal Francis Spellman denied there was a rivalry between them because Spellman was said

to favor Nixon and Cushing was said to favor Kennedy. In addition, on October 30, the *Sunday Independent*'s regular back-page feature (photos of news events) featured a photo of Kennedy on the campaign trail, speaking to a crowd estimated at 25,000 in Dayton, Ohio. The accompanying cutline information notes Kennedy's "boyish good looks" and that he "seems to have the edge on his rival when he faces audiences."[100]

The *Independent* ran stories featuring predictions of a Kennedy win before the *Times*. The first story was one paragraph on September 16 in which Kennedy predicts his own victory. The second story came on September 24: In an interview in Dublin, J.A. Farley, a former chairman of the Democratic National Committee and current chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Corporation, says that Kennedy "would make a very good president." While only six paragraphs long, "Says Kennedy Will Be President" is significant because Farley, a man of Irish heritage, is the first person other than Kennedy to be quoted in either newspaper predicting a Kennedy victory. In the last paragraph, the anonymous reporter notes that Farley's "people came from Meath," as in County Meath.[101] The reader does not know how long the Farley family has been in America, but a clear link is established between his Irish heritage, his success in both business and politics, and a possible Kennedy win. A successful American with Irish roots is positioned as an authority figure when assessing Kennedy's chances.

The flow of information about the election in the *Independent* was constant: Save for the printing interruption caused by the October strike, there were only two occasions between September 7, when the newspaper printed its first mention of either candidate, and November 10 during which more than more than two days passed without news on the election: There was no election news between September 17 and 23, and no information between September 25 and

October 5. News coverage of the Kennedy/Nixon race was, then, an almost daily event in the *Independent*.

The newspaper printed 18 analysis stories on the election including, between November 1 and November 8, an eight-part series by American Reuters correspondents Julian Barnes, John Heffernan, John Baker, Richard Wilson, David Mathew and Michael Charvet. Heffernan wrote two of these stories, the rest one each. These seven stories focused on seven different aspects of the race: The United States election process (November 1); foreign policy (November 2); the lengthening campaign trail, the impact of the televised debates and the contrasts between the two candidates' campaigning styles (November 3); the religious issue (November 4); the likelihood that the American Midwest would play a decisive role in the election (November 5); the fact that the Democratic Party would continue to control the U.S. Senate, irregardless of who won the election (November 7); and the importance of the black vote (November 8).

Additional analysis stories in the *Independent* included, on October 4, "A Close Race" by Earl Mazo about interest in the race building and identifying three major factors that Mazo predicted would determine the outcome: Khrushchev and Communism, the television debates, and the religious issue. There were also analysis stories about Nixon's campaign slogans (November 3, written by Cyril Dunn); and the confidence of both the Democrats and Nixon (November 7; no author).

The *Independent* printed four additional pieces of analysis that focused on the religious issue or Kennedy's Irish roots, including three on November 10. The first, "A Catholic Who Was Not Elected President," which ran September 10, is the only writing in Gaelic about the election. Many people, wrote Liam Mac Uistin, are on "tenterhooks to see who wins," because the contest

is not only between a Democrat and a Republican, but also to see "whether a Catholic can ascend to the highest office in the land." Mac Uistin goes on to note that, while Smith came from a poor background and Kennedy a privileged one, both had Irish roots: Smith's mother "was of Irish ancestry and she had a profound influence on her son."[102]

Smith's political career is highlighted, and his unsuccessful 1928 campaign against Herbert Hoover is couched entirely in terms of the anti-Catholic bigotry against him. Smith's enemies, Mac Uisitn writes, "intimated that a Catholic should not become President, and his life was threatened should he ever enter the White House. Al Smith rounded on those who would dare attack himself or his religion." While part of the reason Smith was lost was America's prosperity in 1928, "Al Smith believed strongly that he had been discriminated against because of his religion."[103]

The Mac Uistin piece is a significant aspect of the *Independent*'s analysis of both the race in general and the religious issue in particular. It was printed the day after the newspaper carried a two-paragraph story from Reuters on the Peale announcement, and the same day as a second story about a tense exchange over the religious issue between Kennedy and a heckler in California. Mac Uistin's comparison of the religious factor in the 1928 religion and the significance of Kennedy's religion in the early days of the 1960 campaign is a warning that this Irish Catholic will also be facing a hard road ahead. For the first time in its campaign coverage, the *Independent* is giving an in-depth explanation, in the native Irish language, of the discrimination past and present suffered by Catholic presidential candidates, and predicting the difficulties this most famous of Irish-Americans would be facing in the weeks ahead.

Wilson's November 4 analysis of the religious issue, "Kennedy's Religion – The Perpetual Issue," was the most detailed look at the controversy printed in either newspaper. Like Mac Uistin, Wilson also placed the current debate within the context of Smith's 1928 campaign and the "flood of smears" anti-Catholic groups made about him. While the Peale announcement is not mentioned, the Houston speech is quoted at length. Those who oppose Kennedy are described as ranging from those who "sincerely believe that a Catholic President could not avoid being influence to some extent by church dogma to outright bigots of the Ku Klux Klan type." Wilson also notes that there is Protestant support for Kennedy, and that he enjoys a great deal of popularity among young people. His strength, therefore, is not his religion, but rather his "personality, programme and party."[104]

The remaining three analysis stories on November 10 included "Ireland's Interest In U.S. Election." A pure celebration of Kennedy's win, the story tied Kennedy's Irishness and Catholicism together, noted his family's home in New Ross and County Wexford, and described his victory as another chapter of the tradition of Irish Catholics contributing to American life, while also noting that the Kennedy family had always kept a close association with the country of their ancestors. This was accompanied by a story describing the reaction of Kennedy's win by his relatives in New Ross that also noted Kennedy's visit to the family farm in the 1940s. The celebrations in Skibbereen, home of the Fitzgeralds, were noted in a separate paragraph. The message of these stories is pure celebration: One of ours, a Catholic and an Irishman who never forgot where he came from, has won the ultimate American political prize.[105]

In "America's New President," Patrick O'Donovan described Kennedy as a healer, a man who will attempt to restore the best ideals of America in much the same way that Franklin D.

Roosevelt. But O'Donovan also warns that opposition to his religion has not ended just because Kennedy has won the election. "He is a Catholic and that will not be forgotten," O'Donovan writes. "If he fails there will be far less tolerance for him and a huge opposition ready to say, I told you so, both for his religion and his youth."[106]

Finally, in "Relief and Apprehension After Agonizing Choice," George Sherman wrote that many Americans decided which candidate to vote for at the last minute, and that the country is experiencing a collective sigh of relief now that the tight race has ended. Kennedy, Sherman writes, won in the big cities, and with a large amount of help from labor unions. The election's significance is described by Sherman as two-fold: The two myths that both a young candidate and a Catholic cannot be elected president have now been erased.[107]

News and analysis about the election in *The Irish Times* was, as previously noted, far less frequent and detailed. The *Times* printed 14 news stories and seven analysis stories, less than half as many as the *Independent*. Of the 14 news stories, eight were printed in the last week of the campaign. Two of these stories – the November 10 news story about Kennedy's remarks as Nixon's concession, and the story about the reaction of various world leaders – were virtually identical to stories in the *Independent*. Throughout September and into October before the Dublin strike, the *Times* printed six stories about the race, compared to eleven in the *Independent*. During this period, there were three occasions during which at least six days passed without news of the election in the *Times*: September 6-11, September 14-21, and September 23 to October 1. The newspaper did not print any stand-alone photos of Kennedy on the campaign trail. Unlike the *Independent*, the *Times* printed a story on November 10 about the limited economic impact on the in various stock markets.

The newspaper's analysis of the election began on September 10 with a "Letter From America" column by Brendan Malin that described how Khrushchev's contentious visit to the United Nations could complicate the race for both candidates, in that neither candidate would want the Soviet leader to say anything favorable about him. The next two, both by Owen Dudley Edwards, were printed September 22 and 23, and looked at the Republican Party's support for Nixon. Both describe Nixon as a man who will stand up to the Soviet Union. On September 28, Leo Murray summed up the first televised debate as problematic for the election as a whole, in that both candidates are now being judged by appearance, not substance, and covering issues that were old news to Europeans.

Analysis by Murray (on November 2) and Jack Jones (November 5) covered Kennedy's lead at the polls and the United States electoral process. Murray's November 2 article notes Kennedy and the religious issue by way of describing Kennedy's considerable lead. The two major factors that have put Kennedy ahead at this point, Murray writes, are, one, the current economic recession in America, and two, the religious factor, which is actually costing Nixon votes due to the anti-Catholic campaigning, as independents and Catholics are coming together and the previously dominant "Anglo-Saxon-White-Protestants" are now feeling like the minorities.[108]

The most extensive analysis of the election issues in the *Times* was written by Edwards and printed November 7 under the headline "U.S. Election Issues." The black vote and civil rights are not mentioned, and while Edwards does write about the religious issue, describing the divide in America between Catholics and non-Catholics as "very, very deep," he goes into far

less detail than Wilson did in the *Independent* story on November 4: Al Smith is not mentioned, and Kennedy's speech in Houston is not quoted.[109]

The Edwards analysis does, however, touch on an incident that, while not directly involving Kennedy, in October drew attention to the separation of church and state. Three Catholic bishops in Puerto Rico had issued a letter forbidding members of their congregations to vote for Gov. Luis Munoz Marin, a Catholic, in his November 8 bid for re-election. The letter stated that Marin should not receive votes from Catholics because of his views on several issues, including sterilization and birth control.[110]

This was the exact type of meddling in government by Catholic officials that anti-Kennedy forces had been warning would happen if he were to be elected, and Edwards seized on this incident as extremely damaging to the Kennedy campaign. Kennedy supporters, such as Cushing, are incensed at the bishops' gaffe, which has, in Edwards' opinion, done enormous damage to the Kennedy cause. Casting the Puerto Rico incident as a major setback for the Kennedy campaign positions Kennedy as part of a religion that will, in fact, dictate to people how to vote. This is the only time in either newspaper that the incident is mentioned. The Edwards analysis is also the only time that the Quemoy/Matsu debate is mentioned during the campaign, but only in the context of Edwards' overriding position: That both candidates are contradicting themselves and changing their positions on a number of issues. The larger point of this analysis is to say that neither candidate is campaigning very well, and that the race is far more surface than substance; in American politics, a candidate's appearance overshadows his or her beliefs, to the point that whatever issues that arise on the campaign trail "are for the most practical purposes worthless as a guide to future policy on the part of a candidate."[111]

The newspaper's coverage of the Irish reaction to Kennedy's victory was far less detailed than in the *Independent*: three paragraphs in a story that also, like a short sidebar accompanying the "Ireland's Interest In U.S. Election" analysis story in the November 10 issue of the *Independent*, reported on the good wishes sent to Kennedy by Taoiseach Sean Lemass. Kennedy's religion is not noted in the story *Times* story on the Irish reaction to his victory.

Houston and the Religious Issue

In keeping with providing more, and more detailed, information about the presidential race as a whole, the *Irish Independent* gave its readers far more information about the religious issue than *The Irish Times* did. This extended from coverage of Peale's statement and the Houston speech in September to news stories and analysis on the controversy to the end of the campaign. Just as the *Independent*'s flow of news about the election was more constant, and almost daily, so was there more regular information about the issue, greater analysis about how the issue would affect the results and, on November 10, analysis on the part Kennedy's Catholicism played in his victory and how his religion might affect the perception of his job performance in the coming weeks and months.

The *Independent* reported on the growing religious controversy first, on September 9, with "Protestant Groups on U.S. Presidency," a two-paragraph story on the Peale announcement. Also appearing September 9 was a second story, "Religion No Bar In Nixon's Opinion," that recounted Peale's announcement and quoted an unnamed Nixon spokesman, who said that Nixon believed religion should not be an issue in the campaign. As noted earlier, these stories were followed the next day by the one-paragraph story detailing the exchange between Kennedy and a person in the crowd during a California campaign stop, and the column in Gaelic comparing Smith's troubles via his religion with Kennedy.

Three days later, the *Independent*'s Associated Press/Reuters story on the Houston speech, "Mr. Kennedy's Answer to Protestants," used extensive quotes from the speech and noted that Kennedy was speaking as a response to Peale's statement. The following day, September 14, the newspaper printed its first editorial on the race. Headlined "Democrats'

Democracy," the editorial first praises Kennedy for his stance on civil rights, and promise to work for more civil rights for blacks or, as both newspapers often referred to them throughout the election, "negroes." Kennedy's stance on civil rights is described as "refreshingly unambiguous" – he has "nailed the flag of Civil Rights higher on the Democratic masthead than it has ever been." The religious issue is not mentioned until the editorial's fourth and final paragraph: It is "disappointing to find that religion is still a factor in the election," in no small part because of the pressure the controversy puts on Kennedy to "re-assure Americans that he would be an impartial President."[112] The editorial does not mention Smith and the 1928 election, or Peale, or Houston, and is very similar in stance to remarks Kennedy had already made several times, both during the Houston speech and dating back to the announcement of his candidacy in January: he has pledged to maintain strict separation of church and state and, having promised this, would like the issue to be put to rest.

On September 15, the *Independent*'s fifth news story in six days on the issue, "Religious Issue In U.S. Election," reported that Senator Henry M. Jackson, the Democratic Party's National Chairman, was urging the media to uncover the source of anti-Catholic material. The Houston speech is not mentioned, but Peale and his group are. The next day the newspaper printed "We Can Win, Says Kennedy," one paragraph that reported Kennedy saying at a campaign top in New Jersey that the 1960 election "would not be a repeat of 1928, when the late Al Smith, also a Catholic, went down to defeat."[113]

Coverage of the religious controversy at its most contentious and newsworthy point in the race in the *Times* was less extensive. The newspaper's coverage of the religious controversy began on September 12 with a story from Reuters, "'Keep Religion Out' Appeal" that reported

that "religious leaders of several faiths" had the day before called for religion to not be a factor in the campaign.[114] Readers were told the makeup of the group (which included Protestants, Catholics and Jews) and their statement is quoted, but there is no mention of why the statement was issued: the Peale announcement less than a week earlier. His name is not included in the article, and neither is the fact that his statement was directed at Kennedy and his ties with the Catholic church. The first time the *Times* uses Peale's name in print during the campaign is on September 13 in "Presidential campaign answers criticism," which covered the Houston speech. Like the *Independent* article, the story quotes Kennedy at length. The September 13 article is the only time during the election that the newspaper notes that those opposing Kennedy based on religion are Protestants.

"A Race To Be Run," the first *Times* editorial on the election, and the first to mention the religious issue, ran September 15. Predicting that the race could be "one of the most interesting – and possibly one of the most bitter – political contests in the Western world of the 20th century," the *Times* editorial says that both men are committed to "insuring the constitutional rights of the coloured population." As is the case with the *Independent* editorial the day before, the religious issue is brought up in the second half of the editorial: The current controversy Kennedy is facing is compared to "religious bigotry" that Smith dealt with; this is the only time during the campaign that the *Times* would use Smith's name. The editorial then paraphrases Nixon saying he did not believe religion should be a factor in the election, says it is to his and Eisenhower's credit that they have "deplored this noisome development" and urges that Nixon's staffers follow his lead. The editorial ends by saying that if Kennedy loses due to his religious affiliation, "a bad day's work will have been done" for both America and the world, a sentence which closely

resembles a statement Kennedy made in the Houston speech, that he would be upset if he lost due to his religion, rather than the most pressing issues facing the country.[115]

The editorials in both newspapers, then, expressed displeasure that the religious issue has flared up, but where the *Independent* describes Kennedy as emphasizing civil rights for blacks, the *Times* says that both candidates want this goal: the *Independent*'s editorial focuses on Kennedy and civil rights and religion. The *Times*, as would be the case with several other editorials, is of the opinion that the most important issue in the election is which candidate will have the best foreign policy. "All over the world," according to the *Times* editorial, "people are asking this question more than any other, and wondering if Kennedy will be 'softer' with respect to Moscow and Peking than Vice President Nixon?" The *Times* is clearly saying that the religious controversy is of small importance next to how each man will handle the growing threat of Communism.[116]

In the first 10 days of reporting on the controversy, the *Independent* had printed eight separate stories on the religious issue: six news stories, the Gaelic analysis, and the September 14 editorial. Peale and/or a summation of his statement was included in four, a comparison of Kennedy and Smith was included in two, and the fact that Protestants were leading the charge against Kennedy was noted in three. At the time when the greatest amount of attention was focused on the religious issue, the *Independent* described the controversy as being Catholic/Kennedy versus Protestant forces more often.

"Mr. Kennedy's Answer To Protestants" was the headline for the Houston speech story, which describes the issue as "an important, if not the most important factor, in the Presidential election."[117] The headline for the *Times* story, "Presidential candidate answers criticism" does

not, obviously, denote who is criticizing Kennedy. The two stories and one editorial in the *Times* during this period mention Peale and Smith by name once each; the fact that Protestants are the religious group behind the anti-Kennedy attacks is also mentioned once.

Coverage of the religious issue throughout the remainder of the campaign would continue to be more detailed in the *Independent* than the *Times.* The September 24 Farley story in the former includes quotes from him that Catholics may return to the Democratic Party fold "because of resentment of the unfair attacks on him" and that the Catholic church "would not attempt to influence Senator Kennedy or any other Catholic president."[118]

The *Independent* would print two additional news stories focusing on the religious issue in October. The four-paragraph October 6 story, "U.S. Catholics Believe in Separation," reported on a statement from "150 Catholic laymen in America" that they believed in church/state separation.[119] Considerably longer, and printed on the front news page of the October 31 edition, was "Kennedy Speaks On Religious Issue," which reported on Kennedy's comments on a variety of issues during the television program "Face the Nation" and emphasized that Kennedy was, again, tired of the issue with the quote "What is there left to say?" The controversy is referred to in the story simply as "the religious issue."[120]

The issue would next be examined in the *Independent* in Wilson's "Perpetual Interest" analysis story on November 4 and then again on November 8 in the final installment of the newspaper's series of stories by Reuters correspondents, Michael Charvet's "Negro Vote Remains A Major Imponderable." Charvet characterizes the black vote as unpredictable due to a variety of factors, the primary one being religion because "more than two-thirds of church-going negroes are Baptists, among the most anti-Catholic of Protestants." Black ministers have

"preached against the Pope from their pulpits," and the Eastern Baptist Association has adopted a resolution against any candidate that did not believe in church/state separation.[121] The Charvet story continues the trend in the *Independent*'s coverage to both more often identify which groups, exactly, are opposing Kennedy, and to give the two-part response with which he addressed the issue: That he believes in church/state separation, and that the issue has already been discussed more than enough.

The final mention of the religious issue in the *Independent* before November 10 came on November 9. Running under a story about the early returns favoring Kennedy and virtually assuring his win, and a second story about the Democrats controlling the Senate, "Pre-dawn Queues" reported on the heavy voter turnout in Pennsylvania, Michigan, and other states. Under the sub-headline "Unknown Factor," the story noted that "political reports from all over the nation agreed that Kennedy's Catholic Faith was an unknown and possibly decisive factor."[122]

The *Independent*'s November 10 editorial on Kennedy's win, "America Decides," completed the newspaper's coverage of and attitude toward the religious issue on a triumphal note emphasizing his victory over the same anti-Catholic forces that Smith had faced: "The spirit of Al Smith will be at rest this morning," the editorial begins. "The American people have chosen as their President a Democrat, a Boston-Irishman and a Catholic."[123] By emphasizing the religious aspect this way the *Independent* is clearly promoting the idea that the religious issue was the election's major factor, and Kennedy overcoming the same sort of anti-Catholic bigotry that Smith faced is his greatest triumph.

After the two news stories and one editorial, the *Times* next mentions the issue, albeit briefly, on September 22. In the first of two articles on successive days in which Edwards

analyzed the Republicans and Nixon's rise to the party's presidential nomination, he writes that the race "probably will prove a severe one, with a nasty undertone of opposition to Kennedy's Catholicism." Who exactly is opposing Kennedy and his religion, and Kennedy's response in Houston and elsewhere on the campaign trail, are not noted. Edwards writes that the religious issue will be an opportunity for both men to capture votes, because both will make sure it is "fanned by their underlings" to their benefit. Edwards finishes the one paragraph in the Nixon/Republican analysis devoted to the issue by writing that it will be "amusing" to watch as the two speak against the other, and even if the rancor becomes pronounced, in the end the observer can be consoled with the knowledge that the entire campaign is "only a game."[124] In this way, the article is reminiscent of the September 15 editorial. Both predict the issue will make the campaign unpleasant, but also that neither man wants to discuss it.

There was no information on the religious issue in the *Times* in October. The previously discussed analysis on the campaign by Murray (November 2) and Edwards (November 7) include the next mentions of the issue. The issue is then addressed on November 8, in a profile on Kennedy that ran next to a profile on Nixon. In the first paragraph of the Kennedy profile, he is described as "dynamic and boyish-looking" and "the first Roman Catholic to make a serious bid for the U.S. Presidency since 1928." In the next paragraph, Kennedy is described as determined to "prove, in a country that has never had a Catholic President, that his religion is no bar to his chances." He is also praised for his magnetism and it's noted that his ability to "attract votes regardless of his creed was strikingly revealed in West Virginia, a state with a minute Catholic population and several depressed coal-mining areas."[125] Kennedy's background and

speaking style are written of in glowing terms, but Peale, Houston and Protestants are, again, absent.

The Nixon profile on the same page does not mention the issue, but does give one of the very few descriptions of the candidate's background found in either newspaper during the campaign. He is described as a "Quaker who seldom smokes or drinks" and his religion is noted twice more, both in the same paragraph and in the context of his immediate family. As with the September 15 editorial, the Nixon profile focuses attention on the foreign/Communist issue, and how Nixon will respond to the Communist threat. His "kitchen debate" with Khrushchev in Moscow the year before is recalled. The debate has "boosted his prestige as a man 'who can stand up to the Communists.'" Also, whereas the Kennedy profile simply noted he is a candidate for president, Nixon is called the Republicans' "candidate to be President of the most powerful nation in the non-Communist world."[126]

The front page story in the *Times* on November 8 about Kennedy's slim lead in a Gallup poll taken the night before, "Kennedy 1% Ahead In Election-Eve Poll," describes Kennedy's religion as probably the decisive issue for the undecided voters, who could swing the election for either candidate. "The senator, a Roman Catholic, is only the second candidate of his faith to run for the Presidency of the United States, where Protestants outnumber Catholics by more than two to one."[127]

The November 10 news stories announcing Kennedy's win in both newspapers noted within the first the first six paragraphs that Kennedy was both the youngest man to win the presidency, and the first Catholic. The importance of the primary win in West Virginia, and the impact of Kennedy's religion, both for and against him, is described in the same story in the

Times. In the *Independent* many of the campaign and election details were reported in the "Victory Gained In Big Cities" story, which also began on the front page of the newspaper's news section. The *Times* did not do a separate story about the reaction of the American people and their relief that the election was over, as the *Independent* did with the Sherman story.

The November 10 *Times* editorial, "America's Pilot," viewed Kennedy's win with ambiguity and apprehension, starting with the opening sentence: "Mixed feelings are certain to have greeted yesterday's news from the United States." The mixed feelings are the result, the writer continues, of Nixon probably being better suited to producing a "consistently firm foreign policy directed to the maintenance of the prestige and status of what are known, perhaps in too facile a way, as free America and the free world." Kennedy, on the other hand, has "given only the vaguest hints of his intentions in the field of foreign policy."[128]

As we have seen before, the only prism through which the viability of the new president is judged in the *Times* is his foreign policy and how he will deal with the rise of Communism. Even the "maturity and tolerance" that the Kennedy victory displayed among Americans is viewed as being primarily important not via the its religious significance, but rather in light of what it says about how it "will ensure that the new Administration will more openly view such combustible questions as those of Algeria, Koran, Formosa, and even Berlin." The importance of Kennedy's domestic policies are not discussed and their importance is dismissed as "negligible" to "a great many people." Kennedy's sole significance, then, is as the head of the most powerful non-Communist nation in the world, but unfortunately, the editorial concludes, this is a "role for which even he himself, perhaps, does not feel particularly fitted."[129]

The religious issue is seen in the editorial as unimportant in and of itself. If a Catholic finally attaining the White House is being praised by "both Catholics and liberals as a victory for tolerance and an omen of unlimited good will towards men," in the *Times*'s final summation it was not a real factor in the campaign, neither a hindrance nor a help. Another Democrat of "quite another persuasion" might just as easily have won, because Kennedy was elected "as the embodiment of party-political ideals," no more and no less.[130]

Cultural Affinity

As noted earlier, the November 10 news stories in *The Irish Times* and the *Irish Independent* detailing Kennedy's win and Nixon's concession were virtually identical, save for more direct quotes from Kennedy at the beginning of the *Independent* story. The headlines over the two stories, however, were very different, and said much about how both newspapers viewed Kennedy's cultural affinity with his ancestral homeland.

The *Times* headline was straightforward, and could have run in any newspaper around the world: "Kennedy Says World Freedom Is His Aim." Under that: "Campaign ends in Democratic victory." The *Independent* headline, however, displayed a definite sense of national pride: "Irish Joy Over Kennedy Victory Marred By Congo Tragedy." Under that was a boldfaced paragraph that, like the headline, tied together the two main news stories on the page, Kennedy's win and the deaths of 10 Irish United Nations troops in Africa:

> Ireland's Countrywide Jubilation Over The Triumph Of Senator John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Great-Grandson Of A Co. Wexford Exile, In The United States Presidential Election, Was Quickly Turned Into Sorrow Yesterday Morning When It Was Revealed That A U.N. Patrol Of Irish Troops Had Been Ambushed By Baluba Tribesmen In Northern Katanaga.[131]

The headline and paragraph say a great deal about how the newspaper viewed Kennedy's cultural ties with Ireland. Describing the nation's feeling about his victory as "Irish joy" and "countrywide jubilation" exhibits a position that happiness over Kennedy's victory is shared by the vast majority of, if not all, Irish citizens. Note, too, that Kennedy is described as the great-grandson of an "exile," not simply an immigrant. By doing so, the paragraph (and the *Independent* as a whole) places Kennedy within what was described in the literature review as

the “exile motif,” the view of Irish history that many Irish people were forced to leave their homeland due to forces beyond their control and, moreover, mistreatment by the British.

Taken together, this introduction to the story about Kennedy’s win serves as a summation for the twin leitmotifs about Kennedy’s cultural affinity with Ireland found throughout the *Independent*’s election coverage: Kennedy is one of ours, the descendant of a man forced to leave his homeland, and his victory is our victory. In the same way, the *Times*’s headline above the story about the victory is a telling indication of the notably less cultural/national connections the newspaper made between Kennedy and Ireland.

This difference in viewpoint regarding Kennedy’s cultural ties with Ireland during the coverage of the race was first seen in Mac Uistin’s September 10 Gaelic column in the *Independent*. While Al Smith’s father’s background is not mentioned, his mother was “of Irish ancestry and she had a profound influence on her son.” True, Kennedy’s Irish background is not mentioned, but the connection is made between two Catholic Democrats. Both being Democrats was “about the only thing they had in common,” Mac Uistin writes, because Smith “did not come from a wealthy background.”[132] Which is to say, Kennedy did.

On October 30, the *Sunday Independent* printed the longest feature story about Kennedy and his family in either newspaper during the campaign: James MacGregor Burns’s “Ambassador’s son takes a trip back in time” recounted his 1947 visit to the old New Ross homestead, from starting his journey at nearby Lismore Castle to getting directions from a local farmer to the brief visit and returning to the castle. One of the themes of the story (Irish oppression by the English) is seen in the opening paragraph, with Lismore Castle being described as the place where, in 1185, the “archbishops and bishops of Ireland paid allegiance to

the English invaders." While Kennedy's actual visit to his relatives took less than two hours, his journey back to his family's old home was a journey that "had taken a hundred years." Burns then goes back to 1847, and the famine, the "misery that lay on the land like a pall," the people dying in ditches or in their cabins of starvation or typhus. Some of those who survived "had only one dream – to leave this land on which God seemed to have laid a curse and escape to another country, to America, land of gold and milk and honey." Patrick Kennedy is described as leaving the cottage and joining "the great migration of the hungry and the helpless." In America, the only defense for the Irish immigrants was "the classic weapon of oppressed people – solidarity. Tighter and tighter they bound themselves with the tongs of national identity."[133]

Burns then detailed the distrust between the Irish and other ethnic groups in America, particularly the "English." He quotes Kennedy repeating an old ethnic slur against the Irish by the English, that the Irish "kept the Sabbath and everything else they could lay their hands on." Patrick Kennedy is praised for fighting his way out of the poverty of so many of the "shanty Irish," first as a saloon-keeper and then as a politician, joining other notable Irish Catholics as "Big Tim" Sullivan in New York and Chicago's "Rinky Dink" Kenna. The final paragraph ties together the rise of Irish politicians and close-knit Irish communities – what a man like Patrick Kennedy needed, Burns writes, was "a network of family, neighbourhood, and religious ties, all bound together in loyalty to the party and the party leader."[134] As summarized in the profile, Kennedy's roots are that of a man whose family was driven from a land laid low by forces beyond their control (the inexplicable failure of the potato crop, God's will) and then faced oppression in their new homeland (most notably by the English) but who succeeded thanks to hard work and a strong, supportive Irish-Catholic community.

The newspaper's next nod to cultural affinity in the election was not between Kennedy and the presidency, but between Ireland and the White House: A November 7 feature by Michael Haslam reported that an Irish-American, James Hoban, designed the house based on Dublin's Leinster House. Haslam then details the building's history, from George Washington laying the cornerstone in 1792 to the 1814 fire to numerous redesigns to the current modern conveniences, including a kitchen in the basement that should leave future First Ladies with "little to grumble about." The current race is described as a "struggle," the house itself "an impressive, if demanding, prize for the winner of the long, hard battle to the top."[135]

The exile motif would return in the *Independent* on November 8, in a story about New Ross being the site of the 1960 National Ploughing Championships. A history of the town from its founding as an ancient Celtic settlement to a departure point for ships bound for America to the current rise in its economic fortunes thanks to increased tourism and a new fertilizer factory, the story prominently mentions the town's connections with the Catholic church via various churches, a friary, and Father James Warren Doyle, who is described as a "fearless champion of Catholic rights." While his name is not given, Patrick Kennedy is described as "among the emigrants who were forced to flee from the land of their birth."[136]

The "Ireland's Interest In U.S. Election" story that ran on November 10 described Patrick Kennedy as an immigrant in the first paragraph, noted the several times the Kennedy family or Kennedy alone visited Ireland, and reprinted quotes in the newspaper from July by Liam Cosgrave, who had been the country's Minister for External Affairs, among them that Kennedy "is a worthy inheritor of a great Catholic tradition brought to America by his Irish ancestors." A message that Kennedy had sent to the *Sunday Independent* after receiving the Democratic Party's

nomination in July was also repeated, citing the enduring relationship between Ireland and America. A 1958 scholarship fund for Irish students at American universities is cited as proof that the Kennedys "have never forgotten their close Irish affiliations." Lemass is quoted as saying Kennedy's victory is "a source of great joy that a man of Irish blood has been elected to the very high office of President of the U.S."[137] The accompanying article about the reaction of Kennedy's win by his Irish relatives, "Ancestral Home," again recalled his 1947 visit and described Patrick Kennedy as a man who "emigrated in the Famine years."[138] The one paragraph about the reaction of Kennedy's Fitzgerald relatives in Skibbereen similarly said his "great-great-grandfather on his mother's side" had "emigrated to Boston just after the Famine years."[139]

In addition to the editorial, there was one more example of the *Independent* highlighting Ireland's cultural affinity with the Kennedy win on November 10, a list of ten former U.S. presidents of Irish descent and where their family came from in Ireland. Andrew Jackson, for example, was described as the "7th President of the U.S., born of parents from the Carrickfergus district." The list, headlined "Others of Irish Descent," gave no details on when the families emigrated to America and where they settled, or the names of the immigrants, simply that they "came from" a particular town and county.[140]

In addition to the strong cultural affinity between Ireland and Kennedy that the *Independent* emphasized, the newspaper twice wrote about British reaction to the race and its outcome, both times in the This Is London Calling Ireland column. The November 8 column starts by saying that the British government has "taken good care to conceal their preferences, for not by word or action has the merest hint been given of any interest in the outcome of to-day's great contest." A hopeful note is then sounded. Observers who "claim to interpret the minds of

Ministers" are said to believe that "they would welcome a Kennedy victory for the new vigour he could bring to the White House in the handling of international relations."[141]

The November 10 This Is London Calling Ireland column reported that "people in Britain generally favoured Senator Kennedy in the Presidential election and the result, in consequence, has given general satisfaction." Part of this favorable response is attributed to the televised debates, which meant viewers had "vicariously participated in the excitement of the campaign." Those appearances had "won Senator Kennedy the goodwill of the British public."[142]

The Irish Times wrote about Kennedy's cultural affinity with Ireland and the challenges faced by his family both in America and Ireland far less than the *Independent*, instead emphasizing his immediate family background as the son of a wealthy, successful man. However, the first reference in the newspaper to Kennedy's Irish roots did, via a quote from Behan, link Kennedy with the hardships suffered by Irish people in the 1800s. The Behan quote was on September 10, in a Letter From America analysis story by Brendan Malin headlined "Khrushchev Could Complicate Things." Malin writes that Khrushchev coming to New York has both political parties worried because neither candidate wants him to say anything positive about him. The Soviet leader doing so could be a "kiss of death for the candidate so favoured."[143]

The article has six shorter sections, two of which focus on quotes from Behan and the stir both he and the upcoming Broadway performance of *The Hostage* are causing for the East Coast media. Behan is described as "stealing a good share of the front-page space from the politicians, the scientists and the satellites in recent days." In the second section Behan is quoted as saying he has tinkered with the play "to give it a topical seasoning for the politically-conscious New York audiences." Specifically, he says, he has added a reference to Kennedy's Irish roots. "I say

that Kennedy's grandfather had three coffins for his funeral," Behan says, "and that if he had stayed in Ireland he would have been lucky to have had one."[144]

The *Times* would describe Kennedy's family once more before the election was concluded. In the November 8 profile, Kennedy is first called "a millionaire's son" before several of his achievements, such as being a war hero and winning a Pulitzer Prize, are listed. Four paragraphs later he is called a "scion of a wealthy Boston-Irish family." His father's former status as U.S. Ambassador to Britain and the large trust fund he gave to each of his nine children are also noted, but the story extends the family's history ends there.[145]

Like the *Independent*, the *Times* printed a brief item – in both cases, only a few paragraphs long – on Lemass's reaction to Kennedy's win, including the quote that Irish people are happy that a man of Irish ancestry had won the election. Under that information, a three-paragraph item, "New Ross Rejoices," described the town as the place where Kennedy's "ancestors lived for many generations." The family farm in Dunganstown is called the place where "the senator's great-grandfather was reared and lived until the time of his emigration to America 110 years ago."[146]

Unlike the *Independent*, the *Times* on November 10 couched the British public's reaction to the Kennedy win as one of apprehension. Running next to the "America's Pilot" editorial, the London Letter column begins by opining that "diplomatists, journalists and ordinary people here and wondering how the relations between Britain, `the old country' and the U.S. will shape now that a young man and an Irishman is President." This wait-and-see attitude is the result of the difference between Eisenhower, who during World War II was in the London when it was the

"defiant and indefatigable headquarters of the free world" and Kennedy, who "fought in the Pacific where Britain did not really play a big role."[147]

The real cause for worry now that Kennedy is in office, though, is who might become the new United States ambassador to England, as this choice is Kennedy's. Both the current ambassador, John Hay Whitney, and past ambassadors are discussed. Whitney and the man he replaced, Winthrop Aldrich, are Republicans. The problem is that before these two men, and Eisenhower's presidency, "there had been a long record of Democratic rule in Grosvenor square under Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman." Kennedy's father is singled out for criticism: "One of the ambassadors was Mr. Joseph Kennedy, father of the new President, who was in London when war broke out. He is generally regarded as having been unfriendly."[148]

Why Joseph Kennedy was seen as "unfriendly," and by whom, is not described. The part of the column addressing the Kennedy win concludes by noting that while ambassadors normally retire when there is a change in "administration," the same is not true for "anyone else in the embassies. It is just as well – diplomacy in these turbulent days demands a great deal of experience and even mistakes of protocol can have tragic results."[149]

The inference here is clearly that Britain's relationship with the United States is expected to suffer under the Kennedy administration, especially if an ambassador selected by Eisenhower, a Republican, is replaced by one selected by a Democrat. The precedent for this is Kennedy's own father who was, for whatever reason, seen as no friend to the British government. When coupled with the "America's Pilot" editorial next to it, the overall perspective on the Kennedy win in the *Times* is one of profound unease and mistrust, both due to what is seen as his family

and his party's poor record of interaction with the British government and Kennedy's own inexperience when dealing with foreign issues.

His party affiliation, his youth, his Irish background, his father – all are cause for deep concern and apprehension: Jack Kennedy, to these writers, is no friend to the British, and his background does not bode well for the future of the relationship of Britain and America or combating the growing menace of Communism. He is, as the "Pilot" editorial put it, not "particularly fitted" for the difficult job that awaits him, and just might prove to be a disaster on the world stage.

Chapter Five

Discussion

Conclusions

The goal of this study was to provide previously unavailable information on coverage of the 1960 presidential race between Senator John F. Kennedy and Vice President Richard M. Nixon, and Kennedy's victory on November 8. There has been a great deal of previous research done on the election and what many observers both at the time and since have named one of the campaign's most important issues: Kennedy's Roman Catholic religion, the campaign against him by Protestants who felt that he would not respect the separation of church and state, and how he responded to those who believed a Catholic should not serve as president.

The religious issue both before and during the campaign, and how the issue was covered in the United States, has been written about in a wide variety of publications, including magazines and newspapers, academic journals, and books by Kennedy biographers, reporters such as Theodore H. White, and Kennedy associates.

One aspect of the Kennedy/Nixon campaign that has not previously been the subject of study is how the race was covered in Ireland, the land of Kennedy's ancestors and a nation with an overwhelmingly Catholic population. Many Irish people felt a great deal of pride that a Catholic Irish-American was attempting to win, for the first time, the highest office in America, the country that huge numbers of Irish people had been emigrating to since the Great Famine of the 1840s, and a place synonymous with improved quality of life and opportunity.

By the fall of 1960, the Republic of Ireland had been suffering for years from a poor economy and a steady decline in population due to emigration, to the extent that the period

between 1950 and 1960 is still referred to by Irish academics studying the country at the time as the "lost decade." At the same time, waves of emigration from Ireland to America over more than 100 years had built vibrant Irish-American communities, and a power base of Irish-American politicians, in a number of major American cities, such as New York and Boston. The rich, powerful Kennedy family was seen as proof that the descendants of Irish immigrants could thrive in America, both financially and politically, and John F. Kennedy was the personification of the family's fortunes and Irish-American achievement.

The purpose of this study was to detail how two different Irish newspapers, the *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times*, covered the Kennedy/Nixon race in general, and in particular both the religious issue and Kennedy's cultural affinity with Ireland, in news stories, news analysis, and editorials. The two newspapers were chosen because, while both were based in Ireland's largest city, Dublin, they were very different in terms of history, readership and coverage of several topics, notably religion. Founded and run by Catholics, the *Independent* had established itself as a newspaper with a nationalist viewpoint, and devoted great deal of coverage to the Catholic church. The *Times*, by contrast, had historically been a paper run by Protestants, and wrote far less about events concerning the Catholic church and far more about religious news pertaining to the Church of Ireland (the Irish branch of the Church of England) and other faiths.

The qualitative content analysis of the news and analysis stories and editorial concerning the Kennedy/Nixon race and Kennedy's victory established that both the *Independent* and the *Times* wrote about the campaign, the religious issue and Kennedy's cultural affinity with Ireland in ways that fit easily within the precedents of the two newspapers' history. The *Independent*

treated the campaign as more newsworthy, printing more than twice as many news articles about it, as well as more detailed analysis about the various issues in the campaign (such as the religious issue, civil rights for American blacks, and the length of the campaign) than the *Times*. The difference in the amount of coverage between the *Independent* and the *Times* is even more striking considering that, as has previously been noted, both newspapers often wrote about events in America.

The *Independent* printed the opinion that Kennedy would win the election first, and more often, and printed more stories about the religious issue and Kennedy's cultural affinity with, and his family's roots in, Ireland than the *Times*. Within coverage of the religious issue, the *Independent* was more specific about who opposed Kennedy, and more often compared Kennedy's efforts to overcome opposition to his election on religious grounds to the same sort of opposition faced by Al Smith, a Catholic who had unsuccessfully run for president in 1928.

This coverage extended to the *Independent*'s editorial on November 10, the day both newspapers printed the news of Kennedy's victory and Nixon's concession. The win, according to the *Independent*'s editorial, would put the ghost of Al Smith to rest – would, in other words, provide comfort to a fellow Catholic Irish-American who had suffered from anti-Catholic campaigning.

The *Independent* also emphasized Kennedy's connections with Ireland more than the *Times*, writing in greater detail about the family's history and the emigration from a farm near the town of New Ross, County Wexford, to America by Patrick Kennedy, John F. Kennedy's great-grandfather. The *Independent* also framed the Kennedy family's emigration, and thus Kennedy's connection with Ireland, as one of exile – that is, having to leave Ireland primarily

because of forces outside the immigrant's control and, quite often, poor treatment by the British. In several instances, Patrick Kennedy is called an "exile" – or at least his leaving the country is described as a decision forced upon him. On November 10, the *Independent* wrote that the reaction to Kennedy's victory was "Irish joy" and "countrywide jubilation" in making the connection between Kennedy and his "exile" great-grandfather, and also wrote extensively about the reaction of Irish people to the victory, while at the same time predicting that Kennedy's religion would also mean that his shortcomings while in office would be judged more harshly than those of a non-Catholic president.

The *Independent*, then, viewed Kennedy's win as a triumph against adversity for Kennedy as an individual but also as a person of Irish-American Catholic heritage, both in terms of the anti-Catholic criticism he had faced during the just-concluded campaign and in the larger historical context of Irish exiles, after being forced to leave their homeland, having to struggle to make their way in American society.

The *Times* wrote virtually nothing about the difficulties Smith had faced due to his religion, and thus the connection between the 1928 and 1960 campaigns. The newspaper framed Kennedy not as the descendant of exiles, but rather as a man of wealth and privilege, the son of a millionaire. The *Times* also played down the importance of the religious controversy during the campaign and described the race as a contest between political parties. Kennedy's affiliation with the Catholic church was seen as far less important than his membership in the Democratic Party. The newspaper's stance in both analysis and editorial articles was that the only issue of real importance in the campaign – and the only true measure of how effective Kennedy would be as president – was how the next president would deal with foreign issues, particularly the spread of

Communism.

When Kennedy's victory was announced, the *Times* devoted far less space to reactions from Irish citizens than the *Independent* did, and wrote considerably less about Kennedy's ancestry in Ireland and the happiness that Irish people felt now that an Irish-American had become president. The November 10 *Times* editorial reinforced several of the same motifs and the general outlook that had been seen in the newspaper during the campaign: Kennedy's religion was of small importance, and his lack of focus on foreign policy during the campaign is cause for considerable concern. The editorial strongly hints that Nixon, not Kennedy, would probably have been the better choice, and definitely in regards to how much experience the two men have in dealing with the threat of Communism in Europe and Asia.

Reinforcing the newspaper's wariness over the Kennedy win, the London Letter on the editorial page again gave the opinion that Kennedy's victory is not cause for celebration. His father is described as not being friendly to the British government, and in general ambassadors appointed by Democrats are held in less regard than those appointed by Republican presidents. The article does not offer specifics, but coupled with the editorial it does convey a sense of misgiving about Kennedy's win. In these articles, as well as previous ones, the *Times* is taking a wait-and-see attitude toward Kennedy, one that mixes hope with not a little mistrust and dissatisfaction.

These findings, and those described in previous sections of this study, are not meant to convey a value judgment for or against either newspaper's daily news coverage, analysis or editorial stance. Neither the *Independent* nor the *Times* can be said to have given "better" coverage, or a "correct" editorial viewpoint. Rather, the qualitative findings of the coverage the

two newspapers offered its readers of the 1960 presidential race reflect the striking differences in how the race as a whole and the issues of the religious controversy and Kennedy's cultural and ancestral ties with Ireland in particular were written about.

Limitations

This study contributes to the bodies of knowledge about newspaper coverage of the 1960 election, Irish journalism, and the portrayal of a major American political figure in a country associated with his ancestry. But the study also has a number of limitations, the most obvious being that the time period studied only included the final stage of the race, when the Republican and Democratic party candidates go toe-to-toe on the campaign trail in the two months or so immediately proceeding election day.

As the literature of this study has established that the controversy over Kennedy's religion began long before early September 1960, the study does not provide a complete look at how the two newspapers wrote about the religious controversy or Kennedy's ties with Ireland over the full length of the campaign. Such expanded research could, for example, include how the two newspapers covered the religious controversy during the West Virginia primary, as well as the anti-Catholic campaigning against Kennedy during the summer of 1960.

In addition, the study only looked at two Irish newspapers' coverage of the election. At the time, Dublin was home to seven newspapers with a combined circulation of more than 900,000, or just about twice the city's population.[150]

A study of, at the very least, the editorial content of all Dublin-based newspapers during the final two-month drive toward election day would provided a more in-depth look at the mix of perspectives on the race. The study could also be expanded from Dublin to include analysis of

news stories and editorials of other major Irish newspapers, such as the *Cork Examiner*, as well as the four newspapers printed at the time in Belfast.

Further Research

In 1983, Irish author Hugh Oram aptly described the paucity of research on Irish journalism: "Irish newspapers have been chronicling the passing of time for over three centuries. By contrast, they have been singularly slight in recording their own progress for posterity."[151] There are notable exceptions, such as Oram's *The Newspaper Book: A History of Newspapers in Ireland, 1649-1983*, Robert Munter's *The History of the Irish Newspaper 1685-1760* and Conor Brady's excellent memoir *Up With the Times.* The intersection of journalism and the nationalist movement has been documented in, among others, Marie-Louise Legg's *Newspapers and Nationalism: The Irish Provincial Press, 1850-1892* and Virginia E. Glandon's *Arthur Griffith and the Advanced-Nationalist Press: Ireland, 1900-1922.* Also, there have been a number of studies of media coverage of the violence and political maneuvering in Northern Ireland, primarily looking at the 1960s and 1970s.

The Brady, Glandon, Legg and Oram books have all been published since 1980, indicating that Irish journalism is an increasingly popular field of study. Nonetheless, during the research for this thesis, the author was continuously surprised at just how little has been written about Irish journalism in general and Irish newspapers in particular. The author would very much like to continue to explore these topics, and this thesis suggests a number of research possibilities.

Since it has been established that the *Times* viewed Kennedy as perhaps not ready to lead his country, and the non-Communist world, research on how the two newspapers assessed the

major turning points in his presidency that dealt with foreign policy and Communism in particular (such as the Bay of Pigs and the Cuban missile crisis) would be a worthy continuation to this study.

More attention could also be devoted to how the two newspapers continued to write about Kennedy's cultural affiliation with Ireland and his religion during his entire presidency, perhaps beginning with his inauguration in January 1961. Would the sense of national triumph and close affinity with Kennedy the *Independent* displayed during the election continue? Would there, now that Kennedy was actually in office, be more written about this in the *Times*? Or would the paper continue to view him with rather less enthusiasm than displayed in the *Independent*?

Another interesting study on Irish newspapers' coverage of the Kennedy presidency would focus on his brief trip to the country in the summer of 1963. That visit – Kennedy's only journey back to Ireland during his presidency, and the first time an American president had visited the country – has been the subject of numerous articles and books, but among them there has been no study of how the event was covered by Irish newspapers. The importance placed by Irish people on Kennedy's visit is virtually impossible to overstate. Dr. Colum Kenny of Dublin City University, who as a 12-year-old watched Kennedy pass by near Dublin's Phoenix Park, writes that the visit was not simply the triumphant return of the ultimate Irish-American made good, but also the beginning of a phase of an "evolution of the Irish psyche" that ended with the September 1979 visit of Pope John Paul II, a phase that included more confidence and independence as Ireland's economy and society improved during the 1960s under the direction of Taoiseach Sean Lemass.[152]

A study of how the two newspapers, and perhaps other Irish and/or English newspapers, covered the religious controversy in the 1928 presidential election could also prove extremely interesting. Such a study would go further in assessing the differences in how foreign newspapers cover major American political elections. Also, a study of the 1928 election would contrast how much importance the *Independent* and the *Times* placed on religion in a campaign in which a Catholic, heavily criticized for his religion, lost.

Such research could also be extended to examining how different American newspapers covered the 1928 election. One way of framing this research would be choosing newspapers based on the percentage of Catholics, or Baptists, in those cities, or by different regions, such as the more heavily Catholic East Coast. A study could also be done by contrasting the 1928 and 1960 election coverage in various religious publications, such as *The Commonweal* and *The Baptist Standard*.

Taken together, these possibilities display how much research there remains to be done about the 1928 and 1960 elections, as well as Kennedy's cultural connections with Ireland and his status as, perhaps still, the most famous Irish-American.

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Notes

1. Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1960*, (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1961), 423-427.

2. Ibid., 4-5, 60-71, 417.

3. Ibid., 429.

4. Ibid., 319-320.

5. Teddy David Lisle, "The Canonical Impediment: John F. Kennedy and the Religious Issue During the 1960 Presidential Campaign" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1981), vi, 1-2.

The large Irish-Catholic population in America by the 1950s was a direct result of the waves of immigration in the famine era, throughout the 1880s and through the early 1900s. After the famine, the second great wave of Irish emigration to America came in the 1880s and through 1891. During this period, according to 1978's *Irish Historical Statistics – Population, 1821-1971*, between 49,655 (1885) and 74,636 (1880) emigrants came to America each year. America was, by far, the most common destination for Irish emigrants. In 1885, for example, the other most common destinations were Australia (3,867) and England/Wales (3,633). Such ratios of emigrant destinations were common during this period.

And while the overall number of emigrants declined after 1981, to under 47,000 per year after 1891, the percentage of emigrants choosing America as opposed to any other country remained high. In 1901, for example, of the 39,613 people who left Ireland, 31,942 went to America; the next most popular destination was England/Wales, the destination for 4,077 Irish.

Irish emigration primarily meant Catholic emigration. Catholics made up around 75 percent of the island's population between 1861 and 1911, according to census figures in *Irish Historical Statistics*. The establishment of the Republic of Ireland further highlighted the difference in religious denominations between the "lower 26" counties of the Republic and the "upper six" counties of the British-controlled Northern Ireland. In 1926, Roman Catholics made up 92.6 percent of the population of the lower 26 counties; by 1936, Catholics made up 93.4 percent of the republic, and 94.3 percent by 1946.

Among the many Irish-Americans who had achieved great success by 1960 were actress Maureen O'Hara, director John Ford, boxer Jack Dempsey, and singer Bing Crosby. At the same time, though, the power of Irish mobsters was in decline, according to T. J. English in *Paddy Whacked: The Untold Story of the Irish American Gangster*. The reasons, English writes, were many, including the New Deal; the G.I. Bill; the decline of Irish political machines in such cities as New York, Boston and Kansas City; and the rising power of Italian mobsters.

6. Michael Foley, "Colonialism and Journalism in Ireland," *Journalism Studies* 5, no. 3

(2004): 377, 382.

According to the 1959 edition of *Editor & Publisher Year Book*, the *Irish Independent*'s daily circulation was 171,642. The *Sunday Independent* had a circulation of 316,233. *The Irish Times* had a daily circulation of 35,991.

7. Christopher Wlezien and Robert S. Erikson, "The Timeline of Presidential Election Campaigns," *The Journal of Politics* 64, No. 4 (November 2002): 974.

8. Maurice N. Hennessy, *I'll Come Back in the Springtime: John F. Kennedy and the Irish*, (New York: Ives Washburn, Inc., 1966), 26, 39-40.

9. Thomas Maier, *The Kennedys: America's Emerald Kings*, (New York: Basic Books, 2003), 18-23, 68.

The Great Famine is the commonly accepted term for the period between 1845 and 1851 when the Irish potato crop failed several years in a row and led to widespread evictions at the hands of British landlords, death from starvation and disease, and forced emigration. The term or similar terms, such as "The Great Irish Potato Famine" or "The Irish Famine" has been used by a plethora of historians, including Ronald Takaki, Thomas Gallagher and James S. Donnelly, Jr. Generally in these texts the term "the Great Famine" is used during first reference and "famine" in subsequent references, and that is the style adopted here.

10. Donal Garvey, "The history of immigration flows in the Republic of Ireland," *Population Trends* 39 (1985): 22-30.

11. Maier, *The Kennedys*, 26, 31-32, 48.

A cooper is defined in the second edition (1989) of *The Oxford English Dictionary* as "a craftsman who makes and repairs wooden vessels formed of staves and hoops, as casks, buckets, tubs."

12. Ibid., 52-60.

13. Ibid., 74-75, 98, 104, 108, 120-127.

14. Arthur Mitchell, *JFK and His Irish Heritage*, (Dublin: Moytura Press, 1993), 24-32.

15. Maier, *The Kennedys*, 246-248, 263.

16. Mitchell, *JFK*, 11-41, 117-122.

17. Maier, *The Kennedys*, 279-284.

18. Fletcher Knebel, “Democratic Forecast: A Catholic in 1960,” *Look*, 3 March 1959, 13-14.

19. “Can a Catholic Win?,” *Time*, 18 May 1959, 23.

The *U.S. News & World Report* article on the subject, “Will The Religious Issue Stop Kennedy in ‘60?,” was printed September 7. *The Commonweal* addressed the religious factor several times during 1959, including a four-part series written by John Cogley, “A Catholic For President?, “ which ran March 20, March 27, April 3 and April 10.

20. “Catholics, Protestants, ‘60,” *Newsweek*, 1 June 1959, 25-28.

21. Pierre Salinger, *With Kennedy*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966), 27-32.

22. White, *The Making of the President 1960*, 60-71.

23. Maier, *The Kennedys*, 326.

24. White, *The Making of the President 1960*, 71, 97, 117.

25. Kenneth O’Donnell, David F. Powers and Joe McCarthy, *“Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye”: Memories of John Fitzgerald Kennedy*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), 159-160.

26. Carl P. Leubsdorf, “The Reporter and the Presidential Candidate,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 427 (September 1976): 3.

27. Ibid., 123-130.

28. Maier, *The Kennedys*, 328-335.

29. White, *The Making of the President 1960*, 139, 145, 208, 217.

30. Carey McWilliams, “The Kennedys Take Over,” *The Nation*, 23 July, 1960, 43-44.

31. Maier, *The Kennedys*, 337-340.

32. Albert J. Menendez, *John F. Kennedy: Catholic and Humanist*, (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1975), 32-34.

33. Ibid., 341, 342.

34. White, *The Making of the President*, 318-319.

35. "Will the Religious Issue Stop Kennedy In '60?," *U.S. News & World Report*, 7 September 1959, 42-43.

36. O'Donnell, Powers and McCarthy, *"Johnny We Hardly Knew Ye,"* 207-210.

37. Mark S. Massa, "A Catholic For President?: John F. Kennedy and the 'Secular' Theology of the Houston Speech, 1960," *Journal of Church & State* 39, issue 2 (Spring 1997): 298-302.

38. Charles J. Speel II, "Theological Concepts of Magistracy: A Study of Constantinus, Henry VIII, and John F. Kennedy," *Church History* 32, No. 2 (June 1963): 130-149.

39. "Church and State," *New Republic*, 25 January 1960, 3-4.

40. Maier, *The Kennedys*, 348-354.

41. White, *The Making of the President 1960*, 334, 356-357.

42. Salinger, *With Kennedy*, 47.

43. Maier, *The Kennedys*, 354.

44. White, *The Making of the President 1960*, 428-435.

45. Enda Delaney, "The Vanishing Irish? The Exodus from Ireland in the 1950s," in *The Lost Decade: Ireland in the 1950s*, ed. Dermot Keogh, Finbarr O'Shea and Carmel Quinlan (Douglas Village, Cork, Ireland: Mercier Press, 2004), 84.

46. Dermot Keogh, "Introduction: The Vanishing Irish," in *The Lost Decade*, 17.

The 1950s saw the highest amount of emigration from Ireland in the 20th century, according to Mary E. Daly in *The Slow Failure: Population Decline and Independent Ireland, 1922-1973.* Coincidentally, the period also saw increased emigration to destinations other than England, which became the destination of choice for Irish emigrants in the 1930s and 1940s.

By the 1950s, Daly notes, Britain was undergoing a recession at the same time that the Irish economy was waning; air travel and low air fares to America and Canada were other factors that led immigrants to choose these countries over England and Wales. During the 1950s, local Irish newspapers were full of stories of people leaving and agricultural shows closing down from lack of attendance.

The situation reached such a crisis that, in 1957, the Anti-Emigration Movement was formed in Dublin to, Daly writes, "promote cooperation between church, state, employers, trade unions, and others in order to bring an end to emigration." Various aspects of this movement included anti-emigration demonstrations and a "buy Irish" campaign.

47. R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, (London: The Penguin Group, 1988), 613-616.

48. Michael Cronin, *A History of Ireland*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 220-221.

49. John Bradley, "Changing the Rules: Why the Failures of the 1950s Forced a Transition in Economic Policy-making," in *The Lost Decade*, 109.

50. Foster, *Modern*, 537-538.

51. Brendan Walsh, "Economic Growth and Development, 1945-70," in *Ireland 1945-70*, ed. J.J. Lee (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1979), 27-37.

52. Royal Irish Academy, *Irish Historical Statistics: Population, 1821-1971*, ed. W.E. Vaughan and A.J. Fitzpatrick (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 4, 266.

53. J.J. Lee, *Ireland, 1912-1985*: *Politics and Society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 375-385.

54. Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993), 160-165.

55. Linda Dowling Almeida, "A Great Time to Be in America: the Irish in Post-Second World War New York City," in *The Lost Decade*, 206-217.

56. Ibid., 209.

57. Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 556-561.

For an excellent introduction to keening and its place in Irish culture, see Brendan O' Madagain's *Keening and Other Old Irish Musics*. Published in both Gaelic and English in 2005 by Clo Iar-Chonnachta, which specializes in Irish music and Gaelic-language books, the book is accompanied by a CD which includes examples of keening.

58. Ibid., 106-107.

59. Lee, *Ireland*, 384.

60. Keogh, *Lost*, 16-17.

61. Almeida, *Lost*, 218.

In *The Television History Book*, Jason Jacobs writes that the BBC Television Service began regular broadcasts in November 1936. After closing down during World War II, the network began broadcasting again in 1946. In the U.S., the Federal Communications Commission authorized regular commercial television broadcasting on July 1, 1941, after which CBS and NBC stations in New York quickly switched from experimental to commercial status, according to the chronology in *American History, American Television.*

62. Irene Furlong, "Tourism and the Irish State in the 1950s," in *The Lost Decade,* 164-186.

63. Brian Fallon, *An Age of Innocence: Irish Culture, 1930-60,* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 257-258.

64. Mitchell, JFK, 42-50.

65. Hennessy, *Springtime*, 25-26.

66. Foley, "Colonialism," 377-378.

67. Hugh Oram, *The Newspaper Book: A History of Newspapers in Ireland, 1649-1983,* (Dublin: MO Books, 1983), 103.

68. Ibid., 103.

69. Orla Finnegan and Ian Cawood, " The Fall of Parnell," *History Review* 47 (December 2003): 38.

70. Oram, *Newspaper*, 108-109.

71. Conor Brady, *Up With the Times*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2005), 22-23.

72. Peter De Rosa, *Rebels: The Irish Rising of 1916*, (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1990), 3.

73. Oram, *Newspaper*, 187.

74. Brady, *Up*, 1, 21-24.

75. John Banville, "Memory and Forgetting: The Ireland of de Valera and O' Faolain," in *The Lost Decade*, 23.

76. Haoming Denis Wu, "Investigating the Determinants of International News Flow," *Gazette* 60, no. 6 (1999): 495-501.

77. Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, "The Structure of Foreign News," *Journal of Peace Research* 2 (1965): 64.

78. Al Hester, "Theoretical Considerations in Predicting Volume and Direction of International Information Flow, *Gazette* 22 (1977): 242.

79. Malcolm S. MacLean Jr. and Luca Pinna, "Distance and News Interest: Scarperia, Italy," *Journalism Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (Winter 1958): 43-44.

80. Hubert G. Kariel and Lynn A. Rosenvall, "Cultural Affinity Displayed in Canadian Daily Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (Autumn 1983): 431-436.

81. Thimios Zaharopoulos, "Cultural Proximity in International News Coverage: 1988 U.S. Presidential Campaign in the Greek Press," *Journalism Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (Spring 1990), 190-194.

82. The Associated Press was founded in 1846, according to its official web site, www.ap.org. United Press International was founded in 1907 as United Press and became known as UPI in 1958, according to www.upi.com. Reuters was founded in 1851, according to http://about.reuters.com.

83. Brendan Behan, *Borstal Boy*, (Jaffrey, New Hampshire: Nonpareil Books, 1982), 7.

84. "Dublin Newspapers Publish Again," *Irish Independent*, 29 October 1960, p. 7.

85. *Editor & Publisher Year Book*, (New York: The Editor & Publisher Co., Inc., 1961), 402.

86. In the Republic of Ireland's monetary system at the time, "d" was the symbol for pence. Thus, three pence was written as "3d" and four pence as "4d." There were 12 pence in a shilling and 20 shillings in a pound.

87. Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), 136-145.

The term "de-anglicising Ireland" comes "The Need for De-Anglicising Ireland," Douglas Hyde's inaugural speech as the president of the Irish National Literary Society, which was given in Dublin on November 25, 1892. The next year Hyde was elected the first president of the Gaelic League. In *Douglas Hyde: A Maker of Modern Ireland*, Jane Egleson Dunleavy and Gareth W. Dunleavy write that the speech received a tremendous reception from such nationalist publications as *United Ireland* and nationalist leaders, including Yeats. "What Hyde meant by deanglicization, the idea that captured his listeners' imagination, was simply, subtle, and bold," they write. Irish people had lost their identity, and action was needed – preserving the Irish language, music, customs, dress, and so on. "Deanglicization would not be easy, he warned: it

would require that his listeners examine themselves for the latent West-Britonism that some had allowed to settle inside themselves. He promised, however, that out of their efforts would come the reward of recovering their personal and national identity – first and most easily, perhaps, in their music, then in their customs and games, then in their history and literature, and finally in their minds and hearts."

88. Ibid, 25.

89. Pat O., "Tipperary Routed By Wexford's Speed and Hurling Skill," *The Irish Times*, 5 September 1960, p. 2.

90. "Up Down!," *The Irish Times*, 26 September 1960, p. 7.

91. Ibid.

92. "The All-Ireland," *Irish Independent*, 26 September 1960, p. 10.

93. "Nigeria Free," *Irish Independent*, 1 October 1960, p. 11.

94. "Friend In Africa," *Irish Independent*, 1 October 1960, p. 10.

95. "Nigeria Celebrates Independence," *The Irish Times*, 1 October 1960, p. 1.

96. "Nigeria," *The Irish Times*, 1 October 1960, p. 7.

97. *Irish Historical Statistics*, p. 49.

98. Father Peyton, "Family Fortress," *Irish Independent*, 12 September 1960, p. 5.

99. Sidney Kraus, ed., *The Great Debates: Kennedy vs. Nixon, 1960: A Reissue*, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1977), p. 388.

100. "I promise – by Kennedy in Ohio," *Irish Independent*, 30 October 1960, p. 24.

101. "Says Kennedy Will Be President," *Irish Independent*, 24 September 1960, p. 11.

102. Liam Mac Uistin, "Caitliceach nar Toghadh Mar Uachtaran," *Irish Independent*, 10 September 1960, p. 13.

The full translation of the Mac Uistin article, as provided by Lisa McDonagh of Carraroe, County Galway:

A Catholic Who was not Elected President

When John Kennedy slugs it out with Richard Nixon for the Presidency of the United States of America, many people will be on tenterhooks to see who wins. For this particular contest will show not only whether a Democrat can beat a Republican, but also whether a Catholic can ascend to the highest office in the land.

It has been over thirty years since the very first Catholic candidate for the Presidency of the United States of America. His name was Al Smith and, like Kennedy, he was a Democrat to his fingertips. But that was about the only thing they had in common.

Al Smith did not come from a wealthy background. When he was born in 1873, his parents lived in that part of New York known as the East Side. His mother was of Irish ancestry and she had a profound influence on her son.

An Eventful Life

When Al Smith was thirteen years old, his father died and his family were left in straitened circumstances. He wanted to drop out of school and provide for his family but his mother wouldn't hear of it. He stayed in school but every afternoon after class he went out on to the streets and sold newspapers.

But, financially, things were going from bad to worse, and so Al had to drop out and look for a job. He worked as a messenger boy, a clerk and in various other jobs. Then he got a job from the Commissioner of Jurors in New York.

This was his first contact with the world of politics. Gradually, he began to play a more active role in local politics generally, and more specifically in Democrat politics.

A charming, attractive man, he was elected to the New York State Assembly in 1903. Conditions for factory workers were particularly poor at the time; in some factories, women and children worked sixteen hours a day, seven days a week. Al Smith fought manfully against this system.

Strong Support

He was elected as Speaker of the Assembly in 1913. He continued his advocacy on behalf of the poorer classes, and in 1918 he was elected Governor of New York. Although defeated by the Republicans in 1920, he was re-elected as Governor two years afterwards. His majority then was the largest even in an election of that kind.

At the Democratic Convention that year, his name was put forward by Franklin D. Roosevelt as candidate for the Presidency, and he gave him the nickname "The Happy Warrior". He did not receive the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, however, until 1928.

As soon as he entered the fray against Herbert Hoover for the Presidency, his enemies began to mobilize maliciously against him. They intimated that a Catholic should not become President, and his life was threatened should he ever enter the White House. Al Smith remained unafraid, and he rounded on those who would dare attack himself or his religion.

Despite his efforts, he lost to Hoover. Economically, things were good in the United States and the voters didn't want to get ride of the Republicans just yet. Nevertheless, Al Smith believed strongly that he had been discriminated against because of his religion.

End of an Era

He did not retire from politics, and he wanted to run for the Presidency again in 1932. The Democrats chose Roosevelt, however, and that was the end of Al Smith's dream to become President of the United States. He died in 1944. A crowd that was estimated at 160,000 passed through the doors of St. Patrick's Cathedral where he was lying in state, to pay their final respects to "The Happy Warrior".

103. Ibid.

104. Richard Wilson, "Kennedy's Religion – The Perpetual Issue," *Irish Independent*, 4 November 1960, p. 10.

105. "Ireland's Interest In U.S. Election," *Irish Independent*, 10 November 1960, p. 2.

106. Patrick O'Donovan, "America's New President," *Irish Independent*, 10 November 1960, p. 12.

107. George Sherman, "Relief And Apprehension After Agonising Choice," *Irish Independent*, 10 November 1960, p. 13.

108. Leo Murray, "Kennedy Leading Election Struggle," *The Irish Times*, 2 November 1960, p. 1.

109. Owen Dudley-Edwards, "U.S. Election Issues," *The Irish Times*, 7 November 1960, p. 5.

110. "Church Letter Stirs Puerto Rico Storm," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 24 October 1960, p. 12.

111. Dudley-Edwards, "U.S. Election," p. 5.

112. "Democrats' Democracy," *Irish Independent*, 14 September 1960, p. 10.

113. "We Can Win, Says Kennedy," *Irish Independent*, 16 September 1960, p. 8.

114. "'Keep Religion Out' Appeal," *The Irish Times*, 12 September 1960, p. 7.

115. "A Race To Be Run," *The Irish Times*, 15 September 1960, p. 7.

116. Ibid.

117. “Democrats’ Democracy,” p. 10.

118. “Says Kennedy Will Be President,” p. 11.

119. “U.S. Catholics Believe In Separation,” *Irish Independent*, 6 October 1960, p. 10.

120. “Kennedy Speaks On Religion Issue,” *Irish Independent*, 31 October 1960, p. 11.

121. Michael Charvet, “Negro Vote Remains Major Imponderable,” *Irish Independent*, 8 November 1960, p. 8.

122. “Pre-dawn Queues,” *Irish Independent*, 9 November 1960, p. 9.

123. “America Decides,” *Irish Independent*, 10 November 1960, p. 12.

124. Owen Dudley-Edwards, “The Republicans 1: 0 Richard, 0 My King,” *The Irish Times*, 22 September 1960, p. 7.

125. “Candidates For Presidency: John Fitzgerald Kennedy,” *The Irish Times*, 8 November 1960, p. 3.

126. “Candidates For Presidency: Richard Milhous Nixon,” *The Irish Times*, 8 November 1960, p. 3.

127. “Kennedy 1% Ahead In Election-Eve Poll,” *The Irish Times*, 8 November 1960, p. 1.

128. “America’s Pilot,” *The Irish Times*, 10 November 1960, p. 7.

129. Ibid.

130. Ibid.

131. “Irish Joy Over Kennedy Victory Marred By Congo Tragedy,” *Irish Independent*, 10 November 1960, p. 13.

132. “Caitliceach nar Toghadh,” p. 13.

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VITA

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Dave has worked as a feature writer for *The Dallas Morning News*, a news writer for the *Corpus Christi Caller-Times*, and a news and feature writer and, for 13 years, popular music critic for the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*.

He also wrote the liner notes for CDs by numerous blues, jazz and folk performers, freelanced for several magazines, such as *Texas Music*, and in 2001 traveled to Ireland to produce *Irish Music & Song From County Galway* by The Kiltormer Group. A story he wrote for the *Star-Telegram* about Fort Worth's musical history was reprinted in *Literary Fort Worth* (TCU Press; 2002).

In August 2004 he enrolled in graduate studies at Texas Christian University. While working on his master's degree he was both a graduate teaching assistant and an adjunct professor. Dave currently works on the *Star-Telegram* as a news reporter and critic.

ABSTRACT

In 1960, John F. Kennedy became the first Irish Roman Catholic to be elected president of the United States of America, defeating Vice President Richard M. Nixon in what was up to that time the closest presidential race in American history. The debate over Kennedy's religion was a major factor during the campaign, and included both anti-Kennedy/anti-Catholic statements by major religious figures and Kennedy vigorously defending his belief in the separation of church and state. This study addresses how two Irish newspapers, the *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times*, covered the Kennedy/Nixon campaign, with particular attention being paid to coverage of both the religious debate and Kennedy's cultural ties with Ireland. The implications of this qualitative analysis can contribute to the bodies of knowledge of the religious debate in the 1960 election, cultural affinity displayed by newspapers with historically different readerships and editorial stances, and the history of Irish journalism.