

Notes

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Chapter One

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20. Philip Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 212.
21. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, 99–137.
22. Massa, *Anti-Catholicism*, 22–23. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, 99–137.

23. Theodore S. Hamerow, "The Two Worlds of the Forty-Eighters," in *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States*, Charlotte L. Brancaforte, ed. (New York: P. Lang, 1989), 33.
24. Knobel, "America for the Americans," 48.
25. The name derived from members' response to queries about the organization: "I know nothing."
26. Bennett, *Party of Fear*, 129–130.
27. John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), 29, 58–59.
28. Bennett, *Party of Fear*, 153, 155. A. James Reichley, *Religion in American Public Life* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1985), 188.
29. The names of the two Catholics who participated in Lincoln's assassination are John and Mary Surratt. Knobel, "America for the Americans," 162–163.
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34. Christopher Kauffman, *Faith and Fraternalism: The History of the Knights of Columbus, 1882–1982* (Cambridge: Harper and Row, 1982).
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37. Knobel, "America for the Americans," 213.
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41. James Hennesey, *American Catholics*, 236–246.
42. Knobel, "America for the Americans," 264.
43. James Hennesey, *American Catholics*, 226–228.
44. John E. Haynes, *Red Scare or Red Menace? American Communism and Anticommunism in the Cold War Era* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996), 92.
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 47. Bennett, *Party of Fear*, 214–216.
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 51. Slayton, *Empire Statesman*, 216.
 52. J. Leonard Bates, *Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana: Law and Public Affairs, From TR to FDR* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 234, 237.
 53. Finan, *Alfred E. Smith*, 180.
 54. Bates, *Senator Thomas J. Walsh*, 236.
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4. Robert A. Slayton, “The Great Smith-Roosevelt Feud,” in *FDR, the Vatican, and the Roman Catholic Church in America, 1933–1945*, ed. David B. Woolner and Richard G. Kurial (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 59.
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6. Slayton, *Empire Statesman*, 319.
7. Slayton, *Empire Statesman*, 311. Edmund A. Moore, *A Catholic Runs for President: The Campaign of 1928* (New York: Ronald Press, 1956), 154, 25, 46, 109, 161.
8. Christopher M. Finan, *Alfred E. Smith: The Happy Warrior* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002), 211.
9. Slayton, *Empire Statesman*, 246–247.
10. Slayton, *Empire Statesman*, 285, 287.
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5. A. James Reichley, *Religion in American Public Life* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1985), 185.
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17. Martin, *With God on Our Side*, 39–40.
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23. George, *God’s Salesman*, 192–193, 182, 79–80.

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27. Graham, *Just As I Am*, 389.
28. George, *God's Salesman*, 196.
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34. Martin, *A Prophet With Honor*, 275.
35. Martin, *A Prophet With Honor*, 52. Graham, *Just As I Am*, 391.
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42. "Clergy and Scholars Fight Religious Pleas to Voters," *New York Times*, September 12, 1960, p. 1.
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56. Richard V. Pierard, "Billy Graham and the U.S. Presidency," *Journal of Church and State* 22 (winter 1980): 120.
57. Pollock, *Billy Graham*, 219–220. Graham, *Just As I Am*, 392–393.
58. Martin, *Prophet with Honor*, 269.
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Chapter Four

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3. Michener, *Report of the Country Chairman*, 32.
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Chapter Five

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Chapter 6

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11. "Texts," *New York Times*, April 18, 1960, p. 23.
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15. Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals*, 30.
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22. "Suicide in Los Angeles," *The Cross and The Flag*, August 1960, p. 28. Richard M. Nixon General Correspondence Files, Box 705, NARA.
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26. Greg Mitchell, *Tricky Dick and The Pink Lady: Richard Nixon vs. Helen Gahagan Douglas—Sexual Politics and the Red Scare, 1950* (New York: Random House, 1998), 177–178, 229.
27. *Newsweek*, July 9, 1956, p. 29.
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29. Samuel Lubell, *Future of American Politics* (New York: Doubleday, 1956), 238, 236.
30. Jonathan Aitken, *Nixon: A Life* (Washington: Regnery Pub., 1993), 251–254.
31. *America*, vol. CI, no. 19, Richard M. Nixon General Correspondence Files, Box 30, NARA.

32. Congressional Record, Appendix, August 11, 1959, p. A 6892. Richard M. Nixon General Correspondence Files, Box 197, NARA.
33. The Notre Dame seniors selected Nixon, from five nominees, by an overwhelming majority. John Kennedy received this award in 1956. Charles Tausche, "Nixon Voted 'Patriot of the Year,'" January 15, 1960, Richard M. Nixon General Correspondence Files, Box 138, NARA.
34. Mary Halligan, Indianapolis, IN, to James P. Mitchell, September 14, 1960, James P. Mitchell Papers, Box 193, Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, Abilene, KA.
35. John H. Hoepfel, editor, *National Defense* (Arcadia, CA), past commander, American Legion. JFK PPP, Box 1014. See also, Isidor Schaffer to Peale, n.d., JFK PPP, Box 1012.
36. Donald D. Van Marter, Detroit, MI, to Norman Vincent Peale, September 9, 1960, JFK PPP Box 1012.
37. David Kenney and Robert E. Hartley, *An Uncertain Tradition: U.S. Senators from Illinois, 1818–2003* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003), 175.
38. "Charles Percy Memo," September 26, 1960, Uncatalogued Papers, RMN. Nixon Campaign Director Robert Finch requested this memorandum from Percy, who attempted to connect Nixon's refusal to exploit anti-Catholicism with President Abraham Lincoln's defense of the Declaration of Independence's pronouncement "all men are created equal." Percy's speech draft for Nixon even quoted Lincoln's refusal to tolerate the Know-Nothing Party's discrimination against Catholics: "When it comes to this, I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure without the base alloy of hypocrisy." While no communist systems existed during Lincoln's presidency, Percy implied that all authoritarian governments limited religious freedom and oppressed minority religions.
39. Samuel Lubell press release, "Catholics and Young Voters Could Win New York for Kennedy," October 18, 1960, No. 17, Lubell Papers, Box 5.
40. Samuel Lubell press release, October 28, 1960, Lubell Papers, Box 21.
41. Samuel Lubell press release, October 18, 1960 Lubell Papers, Box 5.
42. Samuel Lubell press release, "Catholics and Young Voters Could Win New York for Kennedy," October 18, 1960, No. 17, Lubell Papers, Box 5.
43. Samuel Lubell press release, October 20, 1960, Lubell Papers, Box 21.
44. Richard M. Nixon General Correspondence File, Box 519, NARA.
45. All caps in original. "YES, THERE IS A 'CATHOLIC BLOC' VOTE—UNITED AGAINST COMMUNISM." Uncatalogued Papers, RMN. This pamphlet invoked a Catholic theme by encouraging voters to "examine their conscience"—a phrase used to describe Catholic preparation for sacramental confession. A handwritten "Communism" replaced the typed original, "Mr. K." These last words were printed in all caps. The Roman Catholic Church used the phrase "examination of conscience" to counsel believers on preparing for the sacrament of confession. Although the original type read "examine *our* conscience" (emphasis added), someone replaced "our" with "their" in pencil.
46. "WHY CATHOLICS SHOULD VOTE FOR NIXON: *The Real Issue is Atheistic Communism*," Uncatalogued Papers, RMN. Underline in original.
47. Advertisement, "An Open Letter to American Catholics: 'There IS a "Catholic" Issue,'" *New York Times*, October 20, 1960, PBB, Box 20.
48. *New York Times*, October 20, 1960, PBB, Box 20.
49. Interview with author, December 19, 1998.

50. Aiken, *Nixon*, 280.
51. Seymour Hersh, *The Dark Side of Camelot* (New York: Little, Brown, and Co., 1997), 178.
52. Dallek, *Unfinished Life*, 288–289.
53. Hersh, *Dark Side of Camelot*, 180.
54. Samuel Lubell press release, “Confusion Tabs ’60 As the ‘Election Without Mandate,’” November 4, 1960, Lubell Papers, Box 5.
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Chapter Seven

1. *U.S. News and World Report* republished “The Bailey Memo” in the August 1, 1960, edition; see Dave Powers Papers, Box 29, John F. Kennedy Library (hereafter referred to as JFKL). A copy of this memo, titled “Catholic Voters and the Democratic National Ticket—*An Analysis of Available Data and Polls*,” was also found in Richard M. Nixon Papers, General Correspondence, Box 138, National Archives and Records Administration—Pacific Southwest Division, Laguna Niguel. The context of the memo’s creation is discussed in Theodore C. Sorensen, *Kennedy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).
2. In 1952, Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson secured more of New York’s heavily Catholic regions than the state’s 1950 Democratic gubernatorial nominee, a Roman Catholic. Michigan’s 1952 Catholic, Democratic senatorial candidate trailed Protestant Democrat G. Mennen Williams’ gubernatorial returns in Catholic regions. “More About ‘Catholic Vote’ In U.S. Elections,” *U.S. News and World Report*, August 17, 1956, pp. 42–46, 132–135.
3. Louis Harris and Associates, “A Survey of the Race for President in the State of California,” March 1958, John F. Kennedy Pre-Presidential Papers (hereafter referred to as JFK PPP), Box 815, JFKL.
4. Louis Harris and Associates, “An Analysis of Presidential Preferences in Michigan, January, 1960,” JFK PPP Box 816.
5. Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1960* (New York: Atheneum, 1961), 165–167; “The Professor’s New Course,” *Time*, October 24, 1960, pp. 29–32.
6. Louis Harris and Associates, “A Study of the 1960 Presidential Election in New York State,” September 19, 1960, JFK PPP, Box 816, pp. 1–19.
7. Louis Harris and Associates, “The Key Groups In Georgia,” [October 1960?], Richard M. Scammon Papers # 900, Box 1, JFKL.
8. “Religious Affiliations of Members of 86th Congress,” *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, January 8, 1960, pp. 61, 63. JFK PPP Box 1015.
9. John M. Allswang, *California Initiatives and Referendums: A Survey and Guide to Research* (Los Angeles: Edmund G. “Pat” Brown Institute of Public Affairs, California State University, Los Angeles, 1991).
10. Louis Harris and Associates, “A Survey of the Race for President in the State of California,” March 1958, JFK PPP, Box 815.
11. E.g., *Ripsaw*, South Bend, IN, Edmund G. Brown Papers (hereafter referred to as Brown Papers), Carton 432, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.
12. Charles P. Taft and Bruce L. Felkner, *Prejudice and Politics* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, 1960), 44–46.

13. Greg Mitchell, *Tricky Dick and the Pink Lady: Richard Nixon vs. Helen Gabagan Douglas—Sexual Politics and the Red Scare, 1950* (New York: Random House, 1998), 178–179, 99–101, 256.
14. Edmund G. Brown, Sr., *Years of Growth, 1939–1966: Law Enforcement, Politics, and the Governor's Office* (Berkeley, CA: Regents of the University of California, 1982), 221; Frederick G. Dutton, *Democratic Campaigns and Controversies, 1954–1966* (Berkeley, CA: Regents of the University of California, 1981), 64.
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Index

- Abortion, 9–10, 82, 97, 160, 164–172
Abram, Morris, 92
Adams, Charles Francis, 37
Africa, 14, 119, 145
African Americans, 8, 12, 17–18,
20–21, 23, 29, 36, 46, 75, 81–84,
90–93, 95, 97, 137, 154–156
Allitt, Patrick, 43
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU),
69, 72, 78
Americans for Democratic Ac-
tion, 75, 78–79
Americans United for Separation of
Church and State, *see* Protestants and
Other Americans United for
Separation of Church and State
Anticommunism, 7–9, 28, 43, 46, 167,
171; *see also* Communism
Archer, Glenn, 69, 76, 79, 80–81
Bailey, John, 44, 148
Bailey Memorandum, 44, 85, 93–94,
163; assessment of “Bailey the-
sis,” 129–157
Barton, Arthur J., 32
Beacon Press, 80
Bean, Louis H., 44, 129, 163–164
Beecher, Lyman, 12, 15–16, 19, 30, 99
Bennett, David H., 13–14
Bennett, John C., 8, 69, 74, 80
Bernardin, Archbishop Joseph, 166
Bilbo, Theodore, 29–30
Billington, Ray A., 13
Birth control, 33, 69–70, 74, 76, 163
Black, Allida, 147
Blake, Eugene Carson, 74
Blake, Peter, 147
Blanshard, Paul B., 7, 42, 69–77,
80–81, 159, 161
Bob Jones College, 53
Boggs, Hale, 85
Bonzano, Giovanni, 31
Bouscaren, Anthony, 117
Bowles, Chester, 149
Branch, Taylor, 92
Brauer, Carl, 91
Brown, Edmund G. “Pat,” 3, 9, 87,
110, 130–141, 148, 157, 161
Brown, Jerry, 9
Brown, Robert McAfee, 69, 72
Buchanan, Patrick J., 9, 160, 165
Buckley, Charles A., 146, 148
Buckley, James L., 114, 124–125
Buckley, William F., 8, 57, 113
Burchard, Samuel D., 18–19, 51
Burner, David, 30–31, 148
Bushnell, Horace, 51
Butler, Paul, 78, 84–86
Byrnes, James F., 40
Caldwell, Willie W., 32
California, 3, 9–10, 35–36, 87, 110,
114, 120, 129–141, 148, 153,
156–157, 161, 163, 166–167,
191n, 194n
Cannon, James, 32
Carey, Mathew, 15
Carol, Juniper, 117
Carrafiello, Vincent, 72
Carroll, Charles, 15
Carroll, James, 169
Carroll, John, 15
Carroll, J. T., 35
Carter, James E., 110, 166–167
Carter, Paul, 35
Catholic Church, 5, 7, 8, 12–19, 21–22,
33–34, 39, 42, 45–46, 51, 54, 56–60,
65, 68–71, 73, 80–81, 99–100,
113–114, 118–121, 124–126, 131,
136, 148, 150–151, 154, 160,
162–163, 169; Pope(s), 3, 6, 13, 18,
22, 28, 30, 40, 43, 52, 55, 75, 86,
99, 100, 108, 122, 152, 167; Pope
Day, *see* Guy Fawkes Day; *see also*
individual popes; Priest(s), 3–4, 16,
18, 21, 30, 33, 39, 50–51, 60–61, 67,
70, 94, 117, 120, 132, 166, 169;
Cardinal(s), 8, 21, 31, 38–40, 43, 46,

- 74, 111, 115, 122, 165–166,
168–169; *see also* individual names;
see also Vatican
- Cerf, Bennett, 67, 71
- Chamberlain, John, 113
- China, 8, 56, 96, 113–114,
117, 124, 126
- church-state separation, 3, 5, 7, 27, 29,
33, 42, 46, 66, 67–82 (*passim*), 84,
93, 100, 116, 143, 148, 159, 161,
168; *see also* separation of church
and state
- Clinton, William J., 170–171
- Collier, Peter, 148
- Colombia, 51, 60
- Colson, Charles, 165
- Communism, 6–9, 21–22, 28, 39,
42–43, 46, 57, 71, 82, 166–167,
169, 171–172
- Cooke, Terence Cardinal, 165
- Coolidge, Calvin, 31
- Corake, P. W., 36
- Coughlin, Charles, 28, 38–39, 41
- Cronin, Father John, 120, 188n
- Crotty, Peter, 148
- Cuba, 20, 126
- Cuomo, Mario, 9, 160, 169–170
- Curley, Archbishop Michael J., 21
- Cushing, Richard Cardinal, 46, 74,
102–103, 121–122
- Daley, Richard J., 133, 153
- Dallek, Robert, 2
- Darling, Edward, 80
- Davis, John W., 24
- Del Sesto, Christopher, 84, 88
- Democratic National Committee
(DNC), 31, 41, 78, 86,
89–90, 143, 146
- DeSapio, Carmine, 131, 146, 148
- Dewey, John, 29, 34, 42
- Diem, Ngo Dinh, 160
- Dilling, Elizabeth, 118
- Dole, Robert, 170
- Douglas, Helen Gahagan, 114, 120,
132, 135, 139
- Douglass, Frederick, 17
- Drinan, Robert, 166
- Dutton, Frederick, 132–133
- Eagleton, Thomas, 160, 164
- Einstein, Albert, 42
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 8, 44, 50,
53–54, 56–57, 64–65, 84, 86–87, 89,
91, 94–96, 114, 116–118, 120–126,
139–140, 145, 147, 150, 156
- Engler, John 170
- Fadiman, Clifton, 67–68
- Farley, James, 6–7, 25, 27–28, 37–41,
45–46, 101
- Fawkes, Guy, *see* Guy Fawkes Day
- Ferraro, Geraldine, 9, 160,
167–169, 171
- Fillmore, Millard, 17
- Finch, Robert, 87–88, 189n
- Finletter, Thomas K., 146
- Finnegan, James, 45
- First Amendment, 14, 69, 72, 116, 159
- Fitzgerald, John F., 37
- Flanigan, Peter, 125
- Ford Foundation, 125
- Frankfurter, Felix, 34
- Gainey, Dan, 95
- Gaither, H. Rowan, Jr., 125
- Galbraith, John Kenneth, 70, 93
- Garvey, Marcus, 36
- Georgia, 9, 20, 29, 92,
129–131, 151–157
- Gilbert, Dan, 138
- Glass, Carter, 41
- Gleason, Philip, 4
- Goldman, Ralph M., 129
- Goldwater, Barry, 121–122, 161–162
- Graham, William “Billy,” 7, 49–58,
64–65, 89, 105
- Graves, Richard, 133–134, 136
- Greater Houston Ministerial Associa-
tion, *see* Kennedy, John F. speech to
Houston’s Ministers
- Greeley, Andrew, 4
- Green, William J., 133
- Gruenther, Alfred M., 86
- Gunther, Violet M., 78
- Guy Fawkes Day, 13–14, 28
- Hall, Leonard W., 88
- Hargis, Billy James, 116
- Harriman, Averell, 83, 93, 149
- Harris, Louis, 130–131, 147, 155; *see*
also Harris Poll
- Harris Poll, 164
- Harrison, Gilbert A., 75, 78
- Hayes, Cardinal Patrick, 31
- Hays, Paul, 149
- Heflin, J. Thomas, 29–30, 35, 64
- Hennessey, James, 4
- Higham, John, 11
- Hogan, Frank S., 147
- Holy See, 6–7, 16, 21–22, 27, 31, 42,
58, 119, 162; *see also* Vatican,
Vatican II
- Hoover, Herbert C., 29–32, 37, 96, 108
- Hoover, Lou, 32–33, 37

- Horowitz, David, 148
Houston Ministerial Association, *see*
Kennedy, John F. speech to
Houston's Ministers
Howe, Louis, 31
Humanae Vitae ("On Human
Life"), 163
Humphrey, Hubert H., 44, 55, 77,
84–86, 132, 142–143, 162–163
Huntington, Samuel P., 10
Ickes, Harold, 40
Immigration, 10, 12, 16–19, 46,
51–52, 99, 209
Irish Americans, 10, 15–20, 27, 30, 32,
36, 43–44, 46, 51, 55, 67, 71,
99–100, 137, 140, 146, 167, 170
Jackson, Andrew, 19
Jackson, Donald, 117
Jackson, Henry M., 89–90, 94, 139,
186n, 192n
Javits, Jacob K., 147
Jefferson, Thomas, 19, 41
Jenkins, Philip, 13
Jewish Americans, 1, 6, 8–9, 12, 22–23,
29, 36, 38–40, 46, 52, 61, 70, 74,
77–78, 81–84, 88, 91, 93, 95–96,
118, 137, 147, 166
Johnson, Gerald W., 113
Johnson, Lyndon B., 57, 116, 151, 153,
155, 161–162; as part of "Truman-
Kennedy-Johnson Team," 124;
Vietnam Policy, 163
Jones, Bob, 51
Judd, Walter H., 56
Judeo-Christian, 53, 96, 108,
122–123, 125
Kallen, Horace, 22
Keating, Kenneth B., 147
Kempston, Murray, 4
Kennedy, Edward, 164, 166, 168
Kennedy, Jacqueline, 4
Kennedy, Jean, 115
Kennedy, John F., ix–x, 1–10, 24, 27,
38, 41–47, 102–111; and nativism,
49–50, 53–66; and church-state
separation, 67–82, 159–160; and
pluralism, 83–98; and communism,
113–127; and Bailey thesis, 129–157;
as president, 159–161, 164, 170;
speech to Houston's Ministers, 5, 7,
61, 90, 138–139, 144, 150–151
Kennedy, Joseph P., 24, 27–28,
37–41, 45–47, 49
Kennedy, Joseph P., Jr., 41
Kennedy, Patricia, 115
Kennedy, Robert F., 2, 4, 92–93, 95,
115, 161–163, 170
Kennedy, Rose, 45
Keogh, Eugene J., 148
Kerry, John F., 3, 9–10, 160,
169, 171–172
Key, V. O. Jr., 2, 157
Keyes, Alan, 9
Khrushchev, Nikita, 121
King, Coretta Scott, 92–93
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 8, 84,
91–92, 155–156
King, Martin Luther, Sr., 8, 84,
91–93, 155
Knights of Columbus, ix, 19, 33, 70
Krol, John Cardinal, 169
Ku Klux Klan, 6, 12, 18, 20–24, 28–30,
33, 36, 51–52, 64, 70, 83,
91–92, 142, 145
Latin America, 10, 20, 46, 151; *see also*
individual countries, South America
Lawrence, David, 46, 102
Lehman, Herbert H., 83, 146–147
Lindeman, E. C., 34
Lindley, Ernest K., 40
Lippmann, Walter, 22, 29, 33, 126
Lloyd, David, 90, 186n
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 57, 123
L' Osservatore Romano, *see*
Osservatore Romano
Lowell, C. Stanley, 69, 76–77, 79–80
Lubell, Samuel, 44, 77, 82, 95, 120,
122–123, 126, 139, 150–152
Luce, Clare Booth, 86
Luce, Henry, 64
Lukas, Edwin, 77
MacArthur, Douglas, 54
Maier, Thomas, 5, 37
Malin, Patrick Murphy, 69, 78
Manion, Clarence E., 118, 188n
Marshall, Charles, 29, 33, 43
Martin, William, 64
Marty, Martin, 72
Massa, Mark, 5
McAdoo, William G., 23–24, 35–36
McCarran, Patrick A., 114
McCarthy, Eugene, 4, 86, 90, 159,
161–163, 169, 171
McCarthy, Joseph R., 8, 28, 41, 43,
113–115, 118, 148; *see also*
McCarthyism
McCarthyism, 143
McCormack, John W., 45, 53, 58, 77
McElvaine, Robert S., 170
McGinley, Conde, 118

- McGovern, George, 164–165, 196n
 McGreevy, John, 5
 McIntyre, Archbishop J. Francis, 120, 132
 McKinney, Frank, 45
 McKinney, Harold C., 143–144
 McWilliams, Carey, 137–138
 McWilliams, Wilson Carey, 167
 Medieros, Humberto Cardinal, 166
 Michener, James A., 67–68, 70, 82, 137
 Michigan, x, 9, 109, 129–131, 134, 139, 141–147, 156–157, 170
 Miller, William E., 123, 161–162
 Miller, Robert Moats, 68
 Mitchell, James P., 56, 76, 84, 88, 93–95, 121
 Molinari, Susan, 170
 Mondale, Walter, 166, 169
 Moore, Edmund, 31
 Morris, Charles, 4–5
 Morse, Samuel F. B., 12, 15–16, 19, 99
 Morse, Wayne, 84–85
 Mosk, Stanley, 135–136
 Mouzon, Edwin, 31–32
 Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, 43
 Muhammad, Elijah, 83
 Mundelein, Cardinal George, 38–41
 Murphy, Charles S., 90, 93, 186n
 Murphy, Frank, 38
 Murphy, James B., ix
 Murray, John Courtney, 3, 50, 60–61, 70
 Murray, Robert, 24
 Muskie, Edmund, 160–161, 163–164
 Mussolini, Benito, 22
 National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), 58, 63–64, 79–81
 National Conference of Citizens for Religious Freedom (NCCRF), 59–63, 65, 79–80; *see also* Peale, Norman Vincent
 National Council of Churches (NCC), 114, 116
 Niebuhr, Reinhold, 7, 34, 50, 69, 80, 150
 Nixon, Richard M., ix, 1–2, 8–9, 54–58, 64–66, 70, 79, 83–84, 86–91, 93–96, 108, 111, 113–114, 119–127, 132, 135–137, 139–140, 145, 149–150, 152, 154, 156–157, 160, 164–166, 169–171
 Novak, Robert D., 113
 O’Connell, William Cardinal, 21–22, 39
 O’Connor John Cardinal, 9, 168
 O’Conor, Charles, 19
Osservatore Romano, 108, 119
 Oxnam, G. Bromley, 74
 Pacelli, Eugenio, 39
 Peale, Norman Vincent, 7, 49–56, 58–63, 65, 121–122, 138–139, 144, 154
 Pelikan, Jaroslav, 70, 75
 People’s Republic of China, *see* China
 Percy, Charles, 122, 189n
 Peru, ix–x, 120
 Philippines, 45
 Phillips, Kevin P., 140
 Poland 117, 124; *see also* Polish Americans
 Polenberg, Richard, 3
 Poling, Daniel, 63
 Polish Americans, 167, 169, 171
 Pope, Alexander H., 134
 Pope John XXIII, 159–161, 171
 Pope John Paul II, 167, 169, 171
 Pope Paul VI, 163
 Powell, Adam Clayton, 83–84, 91–92
 Prendergast, Michael H., 146–148
 Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State (POAU), 7, 42, 69–81, 180n
 Racism, 84, 91, 155–156
 Raskob, John J., 31, 38
 Reagan, Ronald W., 167–169, 171
 Reed, Marshall R., 144
 Reitman, Alan, 69, 72
 Religious Right, 170–171
 Republican National Committee (RNC), 32, 94, 123, 154
 Reuther, Walter, 118, 140–141, 143, 145
 Richardson, Bill, 10
 Roche, John, 79
 Robinson, Claude, 87
 Robinson, Joseph, 29–30
 Rockefeller, Nelson, 136–137, 147
Roe v. Wade, 165; *see also* Abortion
 Romani, John H., 129
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 8, 69, 83, 91, 115, 130, 146–148, 157
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 7, 25, 28–29, 31, 37–41, 46, 51, 54, 70, 116, 124, 167
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., Jr., 149
 Russell, Richard, 9, 151, 155
 Rustin, Bayard, 36
 Ryan, John A., 21–22
 Sanger, Margaret, 33

- Sayre, Frank, 54
 Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr., 7, 11, 70, 75, 86, 93
 Schwarzenegger, Arnold, 10
 secular, secularism, secularization, 4, 5, 8, 33–34, 42–44, 66, 70, 72, 74–75, 82, 125, 159, 162, 167–168, 170
 Shriver, R. Sargent, 9, 84, 92, 160–161, 164–165, 196n
 Slayton, Robert, 36
 Smathers, George A., 49
 Smith, Alfred E., 6, 11–12, 21–25, 27–46, 51–53, 73, 81, 95–96, 101, 108, 111, 115–116, 123–124, 146–147, 151, 155, 169
 Smith, Gerald L. K., 8, 114, 118–119, 122, 125
 Sorensen, Theodore C., 2, 43–44, 54–55, 61, 74, 85, 88, 93–94, 129–131, 141, 146, 151, 156–157, 159, 163; *see also* Bailey Memorandum
 South America, 120, 137
 Soviet Union, 8, 21, 39, 96, 113–117, 121, 125–126, 143, 169, 175n
 Spain, 6, 12–14, 17, 19, 39, 51, 54, 60
 Spellman, Francis Cardinal, 8, 28, 39, 43, 69–70, 108, 111, 115–116, 121–122, 148
 Staebler, Neil, 130, 141–145
 Stevenson, Adlai E., 45, 62, 87, 110, 113–115, 117, 120, 133–135, 137–138, 147, 149, 156, 190n
 Stowe, Harriett Beecher, 16–17
 Switzerland, 58
 Symington, Missouri Senator
 Stuart, 149
 Talmadge, Herman E., 154
 Tammany Hall, 18–19, 21, 31, 81, 146
 Taney, Roger, 17, 175n
 Taylor, Clyde, 58
 Television, 1, 2, 89, 121, 164
 Thompson, Tommy, 170
 Timlin, Bishop James, 168
 Tipton, Harold, 120
 Truman, Harry S., 8, 51, 53, 69, 78–79, 81, 84, 86, 90, 93–94, 114, 124,
 “Truman-Kennedy-Johnson Team,” 126
 Truman Administration, 152
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, *see* Soviet Union
 United Auto Workers (UAW), 109, 118, 140–141, 145
 Vandiver, Ernest, 154, 195n
 Vatican, 4, 7, 27, 30, 31, 39, 41, 44–45, 51, 59–60, 63–65, 67, 69, 71, 73–76, 81, 89, 93, 108, 119, 121, 124, 138, 144, 159–162, 169; *see also* Holy See
 Vatican II, 161–162
 Venezuela, 120
 Vietnam, 160, 162–163, 165, 171
 Wacker, Grant, 52–53
 Wagner, Robert F., 131, 133, 147–148, 153, 161, 194n
 Wallace, Walter C., 88, 94
 Walsh, Thomas J., 6, 12, 21, 23–24, 28–29, 34–36, 38, 101
 Washington, George, 14
 Watson, Thomas, 20
 West Virginia, 24, 55–56, 77, 85–87, 135, 143, 149, 152, 162, 191n
 Wetzler, Ben, 148
 White, Theodore H., 143, 147–148
 White, William S., 154
 Whitfield, George, 14
 Willebrandt, Mabel Walker, 32
 Williams, G. Mennen, 9, 109, 130, 139–143, 145–147, 157
 Williams, Michael, 30
 Williams, Roger, 13
 Wisconsin, 55, 77, 85–88, 115, 119, 135, 142–143, 148, 166, 170, 185n, 191n
 Wofford, Harris, 84, 91–92
 Women, 6, 32, 46, 165, 169
 Yugoslavia, 117, 124
 Zahn, Edward J., Jr., 88
 Ziffren, Paul, 132, 135

ACCORDING TO NUMEROUS scholars and pundits, JFK's victory in 1960 symbolized America's evolution from a politically Protestant nation to a pluralistic one. The anti-Catholic prejudice that many blamed for presidential candidate Alfred E. Smith's crushing defeat in 1928 at last seemed to have been overcome. However, if the presidential election of 1960 was indeed a turning point for American Catholics, how do we explain the failure of any Catholic—in over forty years—to repeat Kennedy's accomplishment? In this exhaustively researched study that fuses political, cultural, social, and intellectual history, Thomas Carty challenges the assumption that JFK's successful campaign for the presidency ended decades, if not centuries, of religious and political tensions between American Catholics and Protestants.

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