

RELIGION AND POLITICS:

A COMMUNITY STUDY

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by

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A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Political  
Science and the Graduate School of the University  
of Oregon in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

June 1962

APPROVED:

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## I. RESEARCH DESIGN

"Some time ago there would have been no doubt in the minds of all men who favor religious liberty and separation of church and state for whom to vote in the present situation. Now even many Baptists and other Christians are undecided. If every Christian does his duty on election day the right man will be elected President, and he won't be a Catholic."

The 1960 presidential election had the closest popular vote between the two candidates of any election in history. It would have been quite conceivable to have had President Kennedy elected by the minority of the popular vote. Since the Republican Party is a minority in the United States, for a Republican to win a presidential election it is necessary to capture a segment of the Democratic electorate. The Republicans did attract a segment of the Democratic electorate in 1960 but not enough to win the election.

In a continuing study done by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan of recent national elections, it was found that very few Eisenhower Democrats voted for Nixon in 1960. It was concluded that if Nixon had lost the Eisenhower Democrats without gaining Democratic voters in another area he would have lost the

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<sup>1</sup>Sermon delivered by Dr. Owen Douglas at the Conservative Baptist Church, Springfield, Oregon, October 30, 1960. The title of the sermon was "Think on These Things."



election by 8% of the vote.<sup>1</sup> However, the results of the 1960 election show that there was a difference of less than one half of one percent in the popular vote between Nixon and Kennedy. A segment of the Democratic voters defected from the Democratic Party in order to vote for the Republican candidate. The Survey Research Center has concluded that Kennedy lost a net vote of 2 to 3%, or one and a half million votes due to his Catholic religious affiliation. It is estimated by the Survey Research Center that Kennedy had a gross loss of about 7% of the vote due to his Catholic affiliation, that is, Catholic Republicans who otherwise would have voted for Nixon cut Kennedy's loss by about 5%. Thus it can be said that the religious affiliation of Kennedy was one of the most important factors which contributed to his narrow margin of victory in the popular vote.

The major emphasis of this study is that of analyzing voters' behavior when they are caught in a cross-pressure situation, i.e., in the present study the voter's loyalty is divided between his church affiliation and his political party affiliation. Three propositions which have been formulated with which to give direction to the study are as follows:

1. Fundamental Protestants tend to apply the criterion of religious affiliation, when choosing between two candidates, one of whom is a non-Protestant.

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<sup>1</sup>The University of Michigan Survey Research Center estimated that 1 out of every 9 votes cast in 1960 reflected a change from the normal voting pattern; this behavior was caused by the religious issue in the campaign. Philip E. Converse, "That Clouded Kennedy Mandate," The Progressive, Vol. 25 no. 5 (May 1961), 26-29. "Religious Issue in Voting," Science News Letter, May 13, 1961, page 195.

- 2. The importance of religious affiliation among Fundamentalist Protestant voters will tend to cause them to either abstain from voting or cross party lines in order to avoid voting for a non-Protestant.
- 3. Catholic voters do not tend to cross party lines in order to vote for their co-religionists.

In order to bring the study into manageable proportions, three working hypotheses have been formulated:

- 1. At the presidential level, Republican fundamentalist church members will vote undividedly for the Republican candidate if the Democratic candidate is a Catholic church member.
- 2. At the presidential level, Democratic fundamentalist church members will either abstain from voting or a majority of them will cross party lines to vote Republican if a Catholic is nominated for president.
- 3. At the presidential level, Republican Catholic voters will vote primarily for the Republican candidate regardless of whether the Democratic candidate is a Catholic or not.

One should note the absence of a hypothesis regarding the Democratic Catholic. It is assumed that he will not vote for a Republican non-Catholic, however, this assumption is purely implicit as little or no evidence can be found to substantiate it. The basis for working hypothesis one, two and three stems partially from the voting behavior which was noted in 1928 when Al Smith, a Catholic, was nominated by the Democrats for the presidency and subsequently lost to Herbert Hoover, a Protestant Republican. It would be oversimplifying the issues

involved in the election campaign to state that Smith's Catholicism was the primary factor which defeated him.<sup>1</sup> However, while it was not the primary factor, it was a very important contributing factor to the defeat of Smith. Protestants united in 1928 to vote against the "Popish Plot." It has been generally accepted that the votes which Smith did get came from the Catholic and the Jewish segments in the large cities. 1928 was a pre-voting-studies era and the assumptions as to voting behavior were purely implicit, little or no empirical data supports these assumptions.

In addition to the 1928 election, the behavior of a number of Protestant churches just prior to the beginning of the present study indicated that some of the Protestant church sects were going to make religion an issue in the 1960 presidential campaign when they saw the possibility of John F. Kennedy, a Catholic, being nominated by the Democrats to run for the presidency.

Very little work has been done with people in a cross pressure situation involving religion. Religion is considered sacred by many,

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<sup>1</sup>One explanation of the 1928 presidential campaign postulates that the most important issue in the election was that of prosperity and the maintenance of the status quo. The second most important issue was that of prohibition. Smith believed that the prohibition laws then in existence were unworkable, and this alienated the drys. The third most important issue, according to this analysis, was the cry of Tammany and Tammany corruption by the Republicans, even though Tammany forces were not giving complete support to Smith. The fourth most important issue was considered to be religion. Roy V. Peel and Thomas C. Donnelly, The 1928 Campaign (New York: Richard R. Smith Inc., 1931), pages 52-62. This explanation of issues using an importance scale is not entirely valid as one issue interacts with other issues to re-enforce the voter whether he be a Democrat or a Republican. As an example, New York Tammany was supported by a large block of ethnic groups which were primarily Catholic.

and not meant to be dissected. Any probing into religious behavior results, in many cases, in alienating the group being studied and sometimes results in such strong antagonism that completing the study becomes impossible. For the same reason, very little research has been done in the field of the psychology of religion. Religion is the sacred cow of the social sciences, not to be studied for fear of alienating groups which could possibly threaten the social scientist contemplating the study of religion. It is for these reasons that this study will be mainly a probe into the study of cross pressures involving religion and will be far from being all inclusive.

It has already been indicated that some of the Protestant churches intended to make religion an issue in the 1960 general election even before John Kennedy had received the nomination for president at the Democratic national convention. In the beginning the criteria for the selection of church memberships to be studied was determined by selecting those churches which supported the Eugene chapter of the POAU<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> POAU is an organization which was founded in 1947; it presently has fifty chapters located throughout the United States and has a national headquarters in Washington, D.C. The POAU's program is as follows: "Realizing that the full weight of the Roman Catholic Church would henceforth be thrown against the wall of Church-State separation, these leaders recognized the need for an action group to oppose this drive and re-assert the American tradition." The organization puts out a monthly publication entitled Church and State Review besides numerous other publications. Protestants and Other Americans United For Separation of Church and State, P.O.A.U. Program-Purpose-How. A report prepared by the POAU (Washington D. C.; POAU, 1960), pages 1-2.

The POAU publications are very poorly documented and it is almost impossible to ascertain what source material is being used to substantiate some of their charges against their opponents.

(Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State). One other Protestant church was added after it was discovered that its minister had taken a strong anti-Catholic position. In addition to the Protestant churches, the Catholic church was also included in the study. After the churches had been selected, it was found that all of the Protestant churches were fundamentalist<sup>1</sup> in their doctrines; for this reason the groups to be studied were broken down into the following categories: (1) fundamentalist Protestant church membership, (2) the Catholic church membership, (3) other Protestant church membership (sometimes called the liberal Protestant churches), and (4) a group of people who admit to no religious affiliation or adherence to the doctrine of any church. The desire was to contrast each of the four groups with each other in regard to religious behavior and/or voting behavior. The ministers of eight churches were contacted, and a list of their church membership was requested. All of the churches except the Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Church of the

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<sup>1</sup> Fundamentalism is a movement in American Protestantism which stresses a literal translation of the Bible-Biblical history, creation, virgin birth, and prophecy-with regard to matters of faith and morals. Michael Argyle, in his study of religious behavior, has said that sect members who are fervent fundamentalists are unstable, almost always having hysterical tendencies. Sect members, for the most part, are relatively uneducated and belong to the working class largely. Argyle also states that "the groups which fall most clearly into this category are the Pentecostals, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and the various 'Holiness bodies'." Michael Argyle, Religious Behaviour (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), pages 175-176.

Nazarene made their total church membership available; the Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Church of the Nazarene would only make available for the study a selected membership list as determined by the ministers of the respective churches. The reason for their not making available their total membership was not explained and is consequently unknown.

There is very little data available which shows the degree to which the total community is oriented towards religion, that is to say, to church membership and/or attendance. However, in 1956 a nationwide study of church membership was published<sup>1</sup> by the National Council of Churches, and it was found that Oregon ranked at the bottom as far as church membership was concerned. Whereas the national average for church membership was 49.2% of the population, church membership of all faiths for Oregon was but 27.7%. Lane County, in which Eugene is located, had an even lower church membership record than the low Oregon average. Lane County's church membership accounted for only 26.2% of the population. As of the 1950 census, Lane County had a population of

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<sup>1</sup>National Council of Churches, Churches and Church Membership in the United States, A report prepared by the Bureau of Research and Survey (New York: National Council of Churches, 1956), Series C no. 56 Table 122. It should be noted that the counting of church membership took place between 1951 and early 1954. The National Council of Churches report works with 1950 census figures although some of the figures for church membership did not come in until 1954. Manipulating figures in this way may have resulted in Oregon's and Lane County's church membership being incorrect by possibly two or three percent.

162,890, and a church membership of 31,047. The Roman Catholic Church had a membership of 4,392 members, or 14% of the Lane County church population and 2.6% of the total population of Lane County. The churches which have been designated "Fundamentalist" had, as total church membership for Lane County, 9,953 members or 32% of the total church population and 6% of the total population of Lane County. In order to bring the study into perspective, it should be noted that Eugene's population accounts for 31% of the total population of Lane County.

The lack of adequate funds made it necessary to limit the sample to be selected to a segment of Eugene only rather than to having representation from the total city population area. The area selected arbitrarily, ran from Eleventh Street to Twenty-Fourth Street, west of Willamette Street extending to the west city limits. In this area all types of neighborhoods, from the very wealthy to the only slum area Eugene can claim, are represented. On one thirty-six block area are very expensive homes estimated to be up to and over the fifty thousand dollar class. Another large area has medium priced homes while another large section of the area has some very old homes which have been divided into low rental apartments. On the outer fringe of the area is a slum area. This area has a high-density Catholic population since the Catholic parochial school and the Catholic Church are both located in this area. It became necessary to go outside of the prescribed boundaries, however, in order to get an adequate number of fundamentalist

Protestant church members. While the fundamentalist Protestant church members were not concentrated heavily in any one area, it should be noted that there were almost none living in the very expensive residential districts.

By controlling the area, the number of church members to be studied was reduced to 1054. The names of these 1054 church members were checked at the Lane County Court House to determine whether they were registered voters. 730 of the 1054 were registered voters, and this 730 was the group which finally made up the purposive sample.

Looking at Table 1-1, it is interesting to note that 54% of the Catholics are Democrats and 46% are Republicans. It would seem that Eugene is unique as to the high proportion of Catholics who are Republicans. In the Erie County study<sup>1</sup> done in 1940, it was found that

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<sup>1</sup>Paul F. Lazarsfeld and a group of social scientists did a voting study in Erie County, Ohio, from May until November, 1940. They wished to study and observe the progress and effect of the presidential campaign in that community; however, the study centered around 600 respondents. The interviewers were to rate the respondents on their socio-economic status (SES). The correlation between two interviewers on the same respondent with regard to SES was between .6 and .7. The percentage of Catholics who were Republicans in Erie County varied between 29% for those high on the SES scale to a low of 14% of those who were low on the SES scale. The difference between Protestants and Catholics was not caused by the traditionally Democratic minority ethnic groups as are found in the cities since in Ohio there was only one ethnic group of any size besides the Anglo-Saxons, and that was the Germans. Lazarsfeld's answer to this strange phenomenon is that "some parishioners, especially those not interested in politics in the first place, simply follow the lead of their priest as an expression of the group solidarity so frequently found among Catholics." Another possible explanation that is given is that this is the expression of an out group supporting an out party. Lazarsfeld maintains that "the Catholic may vote Democratic as an affirmation of this common minority identification." Paul F. Lazarsfeld, The People's Choice (2nd Ed. rev.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), page 23.



TABLE 1-1

Political Party Registration of the Catholic Church and  
Seven Fundamentalist Churches in Eugene, Oregon

<u>Church and Party</u>	<u>Church Membership</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
<b>Catholic Church</b>		
Democrats	210	54%
Republicans	<u>176</u>	<u>46%</u>
	386	100%
<b>Church of Nazarene</b>		
Democrats	8	40%
Republicans	<u>12</u>	<u>60%</u>
	20	100%
<b>River Road Baptist</b>		
Democrats	17	40%
Republicans	<u>25</u>	<u>60%</u>
	42	100%
<b>Church of the Open Bible</b>		
Democrats	31	33%
Republicans	<u>62</u>	<u>67%</u>
	93	100%
<b>Seventh Day Adventists</b>		
Democrats	8	32%
Republicans	<u>17</u>	<u>68%</u>
	25	100%
<b>First Christian Church</b>		
Democrats	11	21%
Republicans	<u>41</u>	<u>79%</u>
	52	100%
<b>First Assembly of God</b>		
Democrats	42	44%
Republicans	<u>54</u>	<u>56%</u>
	96	100
<b>First Baptist of Eugene</b>		
Democrats	16*	

\*Only the Democratic registration was checked and recorded. The sixteen represent only a sample of those people who are registered Democrats living in the previously described delimited area.

TABLE 1-2

## Education

Amount of Schooling	Fundamentalist		Catholic		Protestant		No Preference	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Grades 1-8	33	22	21	15	2	2	5	23
Grades 9-12	59	39	63	45	43	43	9	41
Some College, Grad., College post Grad.	51	34	35	25	48	48	6	27
Business and Trade School	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>
TOTAL	151	100%	139	100%	99	99%	22	100%

in an area where Catholics did not constitute an ethnic group, the highest percentage of Catholics who were Republicans came from the high socio-economic group, and even here they numbered only 29%. By looking at Table 1-2 it can be seen that members from the seven fundamentalist churches have a lower educational level than those from the other Protestant churches and the Catholic Church. It can also be seen from Table 1-3 that the seven fundamentalist churches have a lower income level than the "other Protestant churches" and the Catholic Church. It would seem that with the lower income level and with the lower educational level, the percentages would be reversed in favor of the Democratic Party instead of the Republican Party since the Democratic Party has traditionally maintained its strength from the lower income working classes except in the Southern area of the United States. Lipset advances an argument which might explain why members of these churches

TABLE 1-3

Income Cal- culated in thousands	Income							
	Fundamentalists		Catholic		Protestants		No Preference	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
0-\$3,999	42	34	17	14	17	19	6	33
\$4,000-\$6,999	49	40	52	42	34	38	7	39
\$7,000 and up	<u>31</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>28</u>
TOTAL	122	99%	124	100%	90	100%	18	100%

are not registered Democrats--that many of the members of the churches belong to the class which Warner defines as upper-lower, and because of this the people consciously try not to conform to middle class values in terms of voting or registration.<sup>1</sup> Another possible reason for the low percentage of registration, and Democratic registration in particular, is one advanced by Lazarsfeld. He found in his study that the greatest proportion of non-voters (non-registration) were found on the lowest interest level of politics. It was found that people with no

<sup>1</sup>Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1960), page 201.

Another argument which Lipset uses for non-voting of the lower strata in society is that they have been subject to cross pressures. The lower strata in society are influenced through middle class news media such as press, radio, schools and church. Therefore, they are placed in a cross pressure situation. page 205.

interest were 18 times less likely to vote than those with high interest.<sup>1</sup> A possible explanation, then, might be that because these fundamentalist church members are not very highly educated, politics is something they really don't understand, and for that reason have a low interest in it; thus, the low interest in voting or political registration. The nature of the churches these people belong to also might contribute to the fundamentalists' not having an awareness of politics; thus, they tend to be non-voters and non-registered people.

Walter R. Goldschidt sites a study made of eight evangelical churches in a small California town in the San Joaquin Valley. The church membership of these churches came largely from the lower socio-economic class. There were two primary reasons why the people had joined the church. One reason was that the people said they felt better in those churches because they were with "their own people." The other factor that brought them into the church was that the faiths denied the existence of the world with its troubled conditions. They felt that because of their special endowments--being poor and denying the realities of society--that they would be considered the elite in the eyes of God. Goldschidt maintains that these people practice a

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<sup>1</sup>Lazarfeld, The Peoples' Choice, page 45.

TABLE 1-4

Party Self-Identification and Income of the Members  
of Seven Fundamentalist Churches in Eugene, Oregon

Income Calculated in Thousands	Republican		Democrat	
	no.	%	no.	%
0-\$3,999	19	30	21	39
\$4,000-\$6,999	24	39	22	41
\$7,000 and up	20	31	11	20
TOTAL	64	100%	54	100%

form of asceticism by denying the world in which they themselves have been denied.<sup>1</sup>

Boisen, in his book Religion in Crisis and Custom, has said that the Pentecostals garnered their largest increase in membership during a period of crisis (from a membership of 88,000 in 1926 to 298,000 in 1936). However, it was not the social crisis that the Pentecostals used as an issue to increase membership since all they wanted to do was to save individuals from a world which was getting worse; they did not

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<sup>1</sup>Walter R. Goldschidt, "Class Denominationalism in Rural California Churches," American Journal of Sociology, 49 (January, 1944), pages 348-355.

concern themselves at all with social betterment.<sup>1</sup> Since several studies have been cited to show that people of low education and social level in evangelical or in fundamentalist churches have alienated themselves from society, this might be the explanation for the lesser participation of Democrats in these churches than Republicans. It is also possible, however, as is illustrated by Table 1-4, that because Republicans in the church have higher incomes, they have more at stake in society and therefore tend to have a much larger registration than the Democrats. Of course another very important factor which might account for these people being heavily Republican is that a large

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<sup>1</sup>Anton T. Boisen, Religion in Crisis and Custom (New York: Harper Bros., 1955), page 75.

J. C. Masee, and evangelist, gives an example, in his book, of a minister who changed his emphasis from "soul winning" to establishing a community center for the poor. He served soup and gave old clothes to the poor; he also helped other unfortunates get jobs. The author admonished the minister for doing this since "there can be no substitute for this soul-winning passion." J. C. Masee, Evangelism in the Local Church (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1946), page 52.

William MacDonald, author of Modern Evangelism, spends some time in his book defending the Evangelists' interest in society. He does cite the case, however, of a prominent citizen in New York who had some authority in the selection of a minister for his church. He wanted "the kind of minister that would preach 'the simple Gospel' and not talk about social questions." William MacDonald, Modern Evangelism (London: James Clarke and Co., 1936), page 168.

TABLE 1-5

## Place of Upbringing

Area	Fundamentalists		Catholic		Protestant		No Preference	
	no.	%	No.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Dugene+ Springfield	30	20	26	19	16	16	2	9
Elsewhere in Oregon	39	20	24	17	24	24	4	17
West	23	15	27	19	24	24	5	22
Midwest	62	41	36	26	27	27	6	26
South	5	3	4	3	3	3	3	13
East	1	1	15	11	3	3	1	4
Elsewhere	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>
TOTAL	152	101%	140	101%	100	100%	23	100%

number of them have a midwestern Bible belt background<sup>1</sup> (see Table 1-5). It would not be wise to select any one variable to explain why

<sup>1</sup>Richard Niebuhr's explanation of midwest fundamentalism has as its nucleus the idea that religion modified itself to fit the character of the groups it was appealing to. The farmers of the frontier were common men who disliked the formalized liturgical forms of the established churches. Prayer books and vestments were cast aside in favor of common dress and spontaneous emotional preaching. The frontier was in a state of social flux with a high percentage of the population drinking, gambling and violating sexual mores. The churches felt compelled to react against this by becoming self-righteous and strictly regulating morality. Religion was also simplified by attaching a literal meaning to the scriptures. This essentially is what has given the midwest the reputation of being fundamentalist in church doctrine. The following example which Niebuhr presents is of interest: "The great mass, if not the entire of the Methodist church and her adherents were Republicans," wrote Brunson, the saddlebag preacher who was himself a Yankee, a Methodist and a Jeffersonian. "Every convert to Methodism in those times\* he went on to generalize, "became a Republican if he was not one before." Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (4th printing; New York: Meridian Books Inc., 1960), pp. 135-200.

the membership in these fundamentalist churches is more heavily Republican than Democratic. Rather, it is a combination of lower income and education, Bible belt background, and lack of social consciousness which helps to account for this phenomenon.

The next step after the sample had been selected was that of formulating the questionnaire to be administered. The questions on personal data and pertinent questions on voting behavior were taken from the questionnaire used by Campbell, as described in The Voter Decides. Other questions were devised with the intent of ascertaining how effective campaign literature and comments made by ministers were in changing the respondent's voting behavior. Due to the fact that it was thought that questioning the respondents on religion would evoke hostile responses and possibly refusals, the questionnaire was constructed in such a way that a probing question into a critical area was followed by a question which would seem less threatening to the respondent; further on in the questionnaire another probe would be made and then followed by withdrawal to a less controversial topic. This proved very effective as can be seen from the fact that many of the respondents did not realize the intent of the questionnaire until the last question was asked; thus they were unable to structure their answers to conform with the answers they thought they should be giving.

A class of twenty-four students in a political science class did the interviewing between October 12 and October 26. The twenty-four students were given three hours of instructions on interviewing



techniques and impressed with the importance of accuracy in recording the answers.<sup>1</sup> Only two open-ended questions were used in the questionnaire which simplified the mastery of the questionnaire by the students doing the interviewing. Because of the immediacy of the election, time was not available for the pre-testing of the interview schedule with a pilot study.<sup>2</sup>

In order to effect a control group as inexpensively as possible, the family living immediately to the right of the registered church members (Fundamentalists and Catholics) was also interviewed. The interviewer faced the house of the registered church member and the house immediately to the right of the registered church member's house was also interviewed.

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<sup>1</sup>G. V. Hamilton, a sociologist who did a study in the area of human sexual behavior, believed that minor inflections in speech, biased wording, or a careless wording of questions could very easily jeopardize a completely scientific approach to social science. Being very meticulous in using the scientific method, he had each question printed on a little card which was handed from the interviewer to the interviewee who was seated on a chair roped to the floor. Herbert H. Hyman, Interviewing in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., New York, 1952), pages 136-137.

Due to the lack of finances, it was impossible to employ as well trained interviewers as might have been desired. However, it is felt that the students did a very competent job of interviewing without having to go to the extremes of Mr. Hamilton.

<sup>2</sup>Due to the fact that there was no pre-test of the interview schedule because of the time factor involved, some of the questions had more than the arbitrary five percent refusal rate. Goode and Hatt maintain that any question for which the refusal rate is over five percent should be reviewed for wording or dropped from the schedule. William J. Goode and Paul J. Hatt, Methods of Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1952), pages 136-137.

It is quite possible that in controlling the sample in this manner, there was a feedback from the control group to the primary sample of Fundamentalists and Catholics. By chance, there were times, when a Catholic household was interviewed, when the household to the right of that Catholic household turned out to be a fundamentalist family. At no time did a fundamentalist household reply its views of the Catholic Church had been modified by living next to a Catholic family. There were a few instances in which comments were made that Catholics weren't so bad, they just didn't understand the evils of the Catholic Church. If a fundamentalist happened to be picked up in the control group, his voting registration was checked; and if he were a registered voter, he was included in the fundamentalist category in the sample. During the two weeks during which the interviewing took place, if a designated household could not be contacted after two or three attempts, it was dropped. There was also a fairly high refusal rate--ten percent--which could be attributed to the fact that Eugene has been over-sampled<sup>1</sup> and this has led to a hesitancy on the part of the respondents to answer questions regarding voting intention. When the sampling was completed,

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<sup>1</sup>Since Eugene is a University community, it is the most accessible for studies being done in the Social Sciences. There were several instances when respondents being interviewed stated that this was the fourth or fifth time they had been interviewed in the past year. There were also instances when the household in question refused to be interviewed since they stated that they had previously submitted to being interviewed and that it had taken too much of their time.

421 people had been interviewed. Of these 421, 158 were fundamentalists, and 23 had no religious preference. Two weeks after the election 73 who were members of fundamentalist churches and who were also Democrats were reinterviewed.

More than half of the items which were used in the post-election study of this group of 73 were taken from the Allport-Vernon Personality Questionnaire and from American Voting.<sup>1</sup> Other items pertaining to the respondent's past voting behavior were included in the post-election questionnaire. Also included were items to determine whether the respondents had modified their views as to the perils of having a Catholic for president, and whether or not they thought the election had been conducted fraudulently. The post-election interviewing was conducted from November 17 to December 20 by one interviewer.

One of the primary objects of this study has been to determine what the contributing factors were that influenced the registered

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<sup>1</sup>This test was constructed for the measurement of six values: 1. Theoretical 2. Economic 3. Aesthetic 4. Social 5. Political 6. Religious. Only those questions relating to the measurement of Religion were taken from the test despite the warning that separate questions should not be taken out of the context of the whole test. The reason for this was that there have not been tests constructed for the purpose of measuring religion alone. Using but a part of the Allport test was a substitute measure. The test was primarily constructed so as to be given to students at a college educational level. The test was modified when used in the post-election interviews in order to make it easier for those people who have lower than a college education level to understand. Allport, Vernon and Lindzey, Study of Values (3rd ed. rev.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960).

voters of one party to vote for the candidate of another party. As an example, over 60% of the fundamentalists who were registered Democrats voted, seemingly on religious grounds,<sup>1</sup> for the Republican candidate for president. The letters which were sent to the editor of the local newspaper were analyzed, and an attempt made to locate the sources from which the writers of these letters received their information. Anti-Catholic literature was collected and an analysis done to see whether the facts used were accurate or not, and to determine what kinds of attacks had been made against both President-elect John Kennedy and the Catholic Church. Questions relating to the anti-Catholic literature to see if it had had an effect on the respondent's voting intention were included in the pre-election questionnaire. Since all of the respondents, with the exception of the contrasted groups, have very close relationships with their churches, not only by going to church on Sundays but also by belonging to different social groups which are church-connected, the ministers' attitudes regarding the general election also became of interest. Several of the churches were visited

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<sup>1</sup>A more complete description of voting behavior at the presidential level will be included in the chapter which is devoted to the analysis of the data collected.

on Sundays, and comments by their ministers were recorded. Items were included on the pre-election questionnaire relating to whether the ministers' comments had any influence on voting behavior.

While it is true that only a very small number of factors which might have influenced voting behavior have been studied, it is felt that since the fundamentalist church members, in particular seem to use their church as a reference group for their behavior, letters to the editor (many of these quote statements from anti-Catholic literature), ministers' comments in their sermons regarding the election and anti-Catholic literature are three of the more important factors in manipulating the vote of the fundamentalist.

## I. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir:

Catholics, like niggers and Jews are not to be trusted. They are not like the rest of us. One never knows what they are thinking. Who knows, they may take orders from Rome or even Moscow.

Personally I think Kennedy is a good man. But, in spite of his brilliance he is different and a spender.

Sincerely,

The Eugene Register-Guard is the primary newspaper serving Eugene and the metropolitan area. The Register-Guard is published daily and Sundays and has a circulation of about 40,000. The paper labels itself independent; however, it has Republican leanings, having supported almost the entire Republican ticket in the 1960 general election. In recent years the newspaper has taken firm stands on civil liberties; the anti-Catholicism which manifested itself in the community against president-elect John F. Kennedy was deplored in the editorial section of the newspaper.

The editorial page of a paper is, of course, the section in which the editor can express his views. Readers, in the past carefully scanned the editorial page of a newspaper; it ranked right behind the

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<sup>1</sup>Unpublished letter to the Editor of the Eugene Register Guard, received September 10, 1960.

front page and the sports section in importance in the eyes of the readers. In recent years, however, some editors have discarded the editorial page completely because of the lack of interest displayed by the readers. Other editors and newspapermen, rather than dropping the editorial pages of their newspapers, tried to develop new techniques and approaches in order to restore the readers interest in the editorial page of the newspaper. Letters-to-the-editor columns, until very recently, were relegated to a very insignificant corner of the editorial page and very seldom received attention in the form of editorial comments. It was soon discovered, however, that one of the most positive methods of increasing interest in the editorial page is not only to promote letters-to-the-editor columns but also to agree or disagree with the letters from the readers in the editorial column. In 1942 a survey of thirty midwestern newspapers was conducted, and it was found that letters to the editor were read second only to lead news stories. In many of the newspapers the tail was wagging the dog since the letters-to-the-editor columns were more often read than the editorial columns themselves.<sup>1</sup> The Eugene Register-Guard may be considered a forward-looking newspaper in regard to its letters-to-the-editor column and the prominence given to the letters. While many

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<sup>1</sup>Gayle A. Waldrop, Editor and Editorial Writer (Binghamton, N. Y., Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948), page 273.

newspapers refuse to print letters that discuss religious and racial questions on the grounds that these letters can disrupt the harmony and social well-being of a community,<sup>1</sup> the Register-Guard has chosen to adopt such a policy in order to bring to the readers the pertinent issues of the day.<sup>2</sup>

On the election questionnaire an item relating to the kinds of newspapers read was included. The results of the data are found in Table 2-1. By looking at this table it can be seen that of the three different types of church groups, at least 96% of the members of each read at least the Register-Guard. The only significant difference between Fundamentalists and the other church groups is in the category of those respondents of whom read only one paper, the Register-Guard. This is one indication that it is possible that the Fundamentalists tend to be more provincial than either the Catholics or the "Regular" Protestants. However, of primary importance in Table 2-1 is the very high percentage of all of the respondents who read the Register-Guard. There were no items included in the questionnaire relating to reading

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<sup>1</sup>Hillier Kriehbaum, Facts in Perspective (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, 1956), page 289.

<sup>2</sup>Law and Press (Raleigh, N. C., Edward & Broughton Company, 1956), pages 46-47.

William C. Lassiter points out that the newspaper publisher is responsible for libelous statements appearing in a "Letters to the Editor" column. Although it is normally only the publisher who is named as a defendant in a libel suit, the editorial staff, having responsibility for editing and permitting such material to be published, is also legally liable. Thus the Register-Guard is restricted somewhat by the libel laws as to the letters it can print. If the letter is not in "good taste" it is not published.



Table 2-1

Kinds of Newspapers Read by Catholics, "Regular"  
Protestants and Fundamentalists

Kind of Newspaper	Fundamentalist		Catholic		Protestants	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Register-Guard only	102	66	64	46	48	48
Register-Guard and other newspapers	41	27	53	38	42	42
Register-Guard and a Portland Paper	5	3	18	13	8	8
Other papers, excluding Register-Guard	4	3	1	1	0	0
None	2	1	3	2	2	2
TOTAL	154	100%	139	100%	100	100%

the letters-to-the-editor column so it is impossible to ascertain what percentage of those who read the Register-Guard also read that column.

During the period of July 15 to November 10, 1960, the Register-Guard received approximately two-hundred-and-fifty-two letters to the editor. Of these six letters took a neutral position which made it impossible to ascertain whether they were pro-Catholic or anti-Catholic; seventy-nine pertained to either Catholicism per se or to John Kennedy's Catholicism. Thirty-two of these letters were direct attacks while forty-one were answers to anti-Catholic letters. One might be led to assume that these forty-one letters were pro-Catholic; however, such an assumption would be fallacious. About half of the letters answering anti-Catholic attacks came from Catholics answering questions about

their faith while the other half came from Protestants who wanted it to be known that not all Protestants were religiously oriented in their voting behavior. In addition to the thirty-two anti-Catholic letters from local residents, four letters came from other sections of the country.<sup>1</sup>

The contents of all the letters sent to the Register-Guard, both published and unpublished correspondence, were analyzed and segmented as described in Tables 2-2, 2-3, and 2-4. By looking at Table 2-2, which is an analysis of the anti-Catholic letters, it can be seen that the strongest point made (35% of the published letters and 33% of the unpublished letters) was that the Catholics are now persecuting Protestants in South America and/or the U. S. and/or Spain. About 60% of the anti-Catholic letter writers believed that either the Pope would dictate policy to Kennedy or that religious liberty would be lost if a Catholic were elected president. Charges such as these are very hard to refute because they are so nebulous; the result is that the "anti-bigots" are always placed in the defensive position of having to answer obscure charges without being able to take a strong positive stand. Now by looking at Table 2-3, one can see how the "anti-bigots"

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<sup>1</sup>Two of these letters came from Pennsylvania, one from Massachusetts, and one from Missouri. The Register-Guard printed none of the letters from outside of Oregon.

TABLE 2-2

## Content Analysis of Anti-Catholic Letters Sent to the Editor

Content	published (17)		unpublished (15)	
	no.	%	no.	%
Roman Catholic Church equated with Communism	1	6	1	7
loss of religious liberty if a Catholic is elected president	5	29	5	33
fear that Pope will dictate policy to Kennedy	5	29	4	27
Catholics "good people" but the Church is bad			1	7
historic persecution of the Protestants by the Catholic Church	2	12	4	27
present Catholic persecution of Protestants by the Catholic Church	6	35	5	33
defense of local FOAU meeting	2	12		
personal experience of Catholic treachery	2	12	2	13
Knights of Columbus as a secret organization devoted to destroying Protestants	1	6		
Catholics associated with minority groups			3	20
Catholic intent to take over country if Kennedy elected president	3	18		
Catholic view of Protestants as heretics	1	6	2	13
Protestant right to vote on religious grounds	1	6		
papal infallibility	1	6	1	7
hiding of the truth by Catholics in the archives of Rome			1	7
defense of right to be a "Bigot"	3	18	4	27

\*Many of the letters discussed more than one issue; therefore the total percent of all content adds up to more than one hundred percent.

TABLE 2-3

**Content Analysis of "Pro-Catholic" Letters  
Sent to the Editor**

Content	published (26)		unpublished (15)	
	no.	%	no.	%
Kennedy's promise as president because of his record	2	8		
able military service rendered by Catholics	1	4		
opposition to bigotry	3	12		
deploring of POAU religious-political rally	5	19	1	7
change in Catholic attitude since 16th century			1	7
sources of anti-Catholic literature held to be inaccurate or illogical	1	4	2	13
attacks on specific anti-Catholic letter writers	4	15	1	7
quotes from Bible to support view intolerance is unChristian	1	4	2	13
concept of seperation of church and state being destroyed by voting on religion	2	8	2	13
equating of anti-Catholics with Communists	1	4	2	13

\*Many of the letters discussed more than one issue; therefore the total percent of all content adds up to more than one hundred percent.

Table 2-2, continued next page

Table 2-3 continued

Content	published (26)		unpublished (15)	
	no.	% <sup>a</sup>	no.	% <sup>a</sup>
advocating that religiously-influenced voters be deprived of right to vote	2	8		
Catholic vote for Nixon			2	13
point out that Appling is Catholic	1	4	1	7
citing of other countries which have Catholic heads of state without Protestant persecution	3	12	2	13
Kennedy held to be no puppet of Rome or of the Catholic Church	4	15		
intent to vote for Kennedy to counteract the anti-Catholic vote	2	8		
attacks on distributors of anti-Catholic literature and pamphlets	7	27	1	7
view that it makes no difference to the Pope what the outcome of the election will be	2	8	2	13
The Masonic Lodge attack on Kennedy held to be unjustified	1	4	1	7
citing of anecdotes concerning personal experiences with Catholics to point out the fact they are good people	1	4	1	7
The American system of checks and balances as a deterrent to the Catholics' taking over the country	2	8	1	7
concerning the receiving of unsigned anti-Catholic letters	1	4		
explanation of the concept of papal infallibility	1	4		

<sup>a</sup>Many of the letters discussed more than one issue; therefore the total percent of all content adds up to more than one hundred percent.

answered the anti-Catholic charges. It is interesting to note that there was no concerted reply, but rather a shotgun scatter approach was used with each letter writer, having to rely on his private logic to answer the anti-Catholic letters. The anti-Catholic letter writers used official-sounding documentation<sup>1</sup> for their facts as evidenced by Table 2-4; it is for this reason that there is unanimity in their charges. It is interesting to note that 18% of the published letters and 27% of the unpublished letters of the anti-Catholic letter writers were defending the right to be a "bigot." Perhaps the reason for this is that the religious affiliation of the presidential candidates is the only relevant issue which these people may employ to come to concerning their voting. Because this is an untenable position, these people are forced to rationalize the basis of their voting behavior; then the more vocal of these people then write their views to the newspaper to have them published.

Very little research has been done on the type of person who writes letters to the editor, and no research has been done as to how expressive of general public opinion a letter to the editor really is. However, William D. Tarrant did a study in Eugene in 1955 and 1956 of

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<sup>1</sup>Chapter three will discuss the validity of the documents from which the quotations have been taken. It has been suggested that if a formal organization had materialized during the presidential campaign to dispel the anti-Catholic propaganda with counter-propaganda, the "anti-bigots" would have been able to conduct a much more effective and thorough campaign through the letters-to-the-editor column.

TABLE 2-4

Sources of Information which Anti-Catholics Quoted in  
their Letters-to-the-Editor

Source	published (10)		unpublished (7)	
	no.	%	no.	%
Catholic encyclopedias	2	20	2	28
Papal encyclicals	1	10	2	28
Protestant Bibles	3	30		
Syllabus of Errors	1	10		
Foreign language newspapers	1	10	2	28
Pro-Catholic books	3	30	3	43
Catholic catechism	1	10		
Anti-Catholic books	2	20		
Catholic Year Book			1	14
Catholic magazines			1	14
Quotes of Catholic priests or bishops			1	14

\*Some letters have used more than one source; therefore the percentage totals more than one hundred percent.

the letters to the editor of the Eugene Register Guard.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Tarrant's conclusions were that people who wrote letters to the editor "were found to be better educated, less mobile, more religious, more mature, more self-expressive, better read, more individualistic, and much older than the 'average citizen'."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Tarrant also came to the conclusion that more Republicans write letters to the Register-Guard than do Democrats; the associate editor substantiated this and said that of the letters received, those from the political right outnumbered those from the political left. It is self-evident that writers of letter-to-the-Editor columns are more self-expressive than the general public, and it seems that Tarrant's study does show conclusively they are older. Tarrant also came to the conclusion that there are fewer employed persons

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<sup>1</sup>William D. Tarrant, "Who Writes Letters to the Editor of the Eugene Register-Guard and why do They Write Them?" (unpublished Master's dissertation. School of Journalism, University of Oregon, 1957), pages 18-21. Mr. Tarrant did a study of the letters submitted to the Register-Guard for publication between November 1, 1955 and April 30, 1956. During this time 330 letters had been submitted to the Register-Guard for publication. Tarrant selected 189 letters through a process of sampling; the group of 189 was sent a mail questionnaire. The return on the questionnaire numbered 109.

The letter writers were broken into three categories: (1) those who had written but a single letter in the six month period, (2) those who had written two letters in this period, and (3) those who had written three or more letters during this period.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., page 126.



among the letter writers than among the general public. Business owners and retired people are disproportionately over-represented in their expression of opinion in letters to the editor.<sup>1</sup>

In some of the anti-Catholic letters written prior to the 1960 general election, the Catholic Church has been equated with "Godless Communism."

To A. E. O'Mara, concerning the statement that the R. C. Church stands as a bulwark to atheistic communism, I ask, how come there are more communists in Catholic dominated countries than anywhere in the world? Why is communism flourishing in Italy, the seat of Catholicism, in Cuba and Poland? 2

Another letter was sent unsigned to the Editor of the Register-Guard and was signed "Yours Truly a 79 year old Voter":

If Mr. Kennedy should go to Washington as president he will do just as the Pope or church tells him to do. He talks nice now but just wait if he gets elected. I hate Khrushchev but would vote for him just quick as I would for Kennedy.... I know you won't print this letter so there is no use for me to sign my name and besides the catholics might burn my house down. 3

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., page 110. It should also be noted that Speak Up which is a magazine devoted chiefly to reprinting letters which appear in newspapers throughout the country, conducted a survey in order to determine what kind of people write letters to the editor. In a survey of 10,000 letters, they found that 46 percent were written by men, 37 percent were written by women, and the rest were anonymous. Of the men, clergymen accounted for 23 percent of the letters, lawyers and civic leaders for 21 percent, active politicians for 18 percent, secretaries of various organizations for 15 percent, disgruntled public servants for 12 percent, and publicity seekers for 11 percent.

<sup>2</sup>Published letter to the Editor of the Register-Guard, October 25, 1960.

<sup>3</sup>Unpublished letter to the Editor of the Register-Guard, September 29, 1960.

In both letters the Catholic Church and its members are equated, in the writers' minds, with the worst possible philosophy, Communism. If these two letters represent only two "crackpots" who were completely unaware of the strong anti-Communist stand the Catholic Church had taken even before the Russian Revolution, the rationality of a large block of anti-Catholic voters would not be held so severely in question. However, the first letter quoted (in reply to A. E. O'Mara) was written by the wife of the president of the Eugene chapter of "Protestants and Other Americans for the Separation of Church and State" (POAU). If her fallacious reasoning had been disseminated only through one lone letter to the local newspaper, it would be of little concern; however, she was in the position to reinforce her arguments at local meetings of the POAU. Whereas readers of the letters-to-the-editor column might pay but little attention to a Mrs. X as a moulder of public opinion, her position of leadership within the POAU leads to her assuming the role of an authority.<sup>1</sup> In the instance of Mrs. X, status is conferred upon her because she is the wife of the leader of an active anti-Catholic organization. Admittedly only a very small percentage of the readers

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<sup>1</sup>Cecil A. Gibb, in a study of leadership, has said that the elevation of an individual to a position of leadership will be more dependent upon the nature of the group and its purpose than upon the personality of the individual. The choice of a leader is determined by the status of individual members with regard to the aims of the group. "The Analysis of Leadership," from The Study of Leadership, ed. C. G. Brown, Thomas S. Cohn (Danville, Ill.; The Interstate Printers and Publishers Inc., 1958), page 141.

of the letters-to-the-editor column were aware of her status, but she was able to reinforce the overt anti-Catholic behavior of this small minority.

In about a third of the anti-Catholic letters sent to the editor, quotations from the scriptures were cited as well as quotations from the Roman Catholic Encyclopedia, the Catechism of Christian Doctrine, and Papal Encyclicals. In addition to these sources, obscure foreign newspapers were cited to support the anti-Catholic attitude. The authors of these letters were contacted and challenged as to the validity of their sources. With the exception of one man who claimed that he had spent several evenings in the University of Oregon Library "finding out the facts" before he penned his letter, the anti-Catholic letter writers had used as their sources of information anti-Catholic tracts. These people also admitted that they had quoted verbatim from these tracts. While these people acted sincerely seeking to educate society as to the perils of Catholicism, the information disseminated is, by definition, propaganda.<sup>1</sup> The intentional propagandist

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<sup>1</sup> Leonard W. Doob has defined education as the imparting of knowledge or skill considered to be scientific or to have survival value in a society at a particular time. His definition of propaganda is the attempt to affect the personalities and to control the behavior of individuals towards ends considered unscientific or of doubtful value in a society at a particular time. Public Opinion and Propaganda (New York, Henry Holt Co., 1948), pages 237-240. In order to classify spurious anti-Catholic literature as propaganda, the first premise is that this literature has doubtful value within society at this time.

deliberately attempts to control the behavior of a group of individuals. He operates in such a fashion that some facts are grossly exaggerated if doing so serves his own purpose, and other facts are minimized or often times ignored completely. The propagandist often resorts to distortion of material - the change of a word here or the bringing together of two quite different ideas held by the same person in order to form a hybrid idea which will conform to the ends the propagandist is trying to achieve. The unintentional propagandist (in this case the letter writer) may be absolved of the charge that he is an insincere person. He devoutly believes in what he is doing and is, in fact, unable to recognize the propagandistic role he is playing. Because he is possessed by the sense of self righteousness in fulfilling his mission, he can consciously approve the use of misleading devices for the purpose of obtaining converts to his cause.<sup>1</sup>

The group of people who wrote anti-Catholic letters to the Register-Guard reinforce their own anti-Catholic feelings by writing the letters. In some cases the letter writer may have given support to other individuals in the community if they recognized the letter writer as acting in a position of leadership. In the Tarrant study, a majority of the letter writers said that they did not benefit themselves

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., page 278.

by writing letters to the editor. Those who did benefit, however, wrote their letters for the following three reasons: (1) a feeling of having performed a social obligation, (2) release of tension, and (3) personal satisfaction and ego-fulfillment. A majority of all the letter writers felt they were benefitting the community by writing letters.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly, after the first three or four anti-Catholic letters were printed in the Register-Guard, an accelerator effect operated which brought about an increase in the number of people who were willing to advocate an anti-Catholic position publicly. A number of experiments have been carried out showing that the greater the extent to which other people agree with one's opinion, the greater his feeling of correctness and the greater the stability of the opinion. When discrepancies of opinion arise among members of a group, a movement directed toward the reduction of the numbers of discrepancies may come about through group dynamics.<sup>2</sup> Although the accelerator effect which tended to assure the letter writer of the "righteousness" of his position operated on those who supported the anti-Catholic position, it also applied to the others, who had written in earlier deploring bigotry.

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<sup>1</sup>Tarrant, op. cit., page 122.

<sup>2</sup>Stanley Schachter, The Psychology of Affiliation (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1959), page 4.

The letter writers who answered the anti-Catholic charges were, for the most part, "first time" letter writers. A minority of them were Catholics who were defending their religion; the majority were Protestants who deplored the bases upon which the anti-Catholic groups were going to vote at the presidential level.

I don't suppose that anyone who has decided to vote against catholicism by voting for Nixon can have his mind changed, but we aren't all so bigoted and I hope that there are those who realize that this attitude hurts the protestant churches-- hurts the country--and imperils the chances for leadership by this country of the free world. 1

Two of the letter writers had such strong convictions against the anti-Catholic groups in the community and their rationale for voting at the presidential level that they stated they were going to vote for Kennedy, despite the fact that they were Republicans, solely on the basis that some other people were going to vote against him on religious grounds.<sup>2</sup>

The letter writers who considered themselves "anti-bigots" were, for the most part, in the position of always having to take a defensive position with regard to the Catholic Church. This weakened their position because before one charge could be refuted, another accusation had already been made. In one instance only were the so called "anti-

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<sup>1</sup> Unpublished letter to the Editor of the Register-Guard, October 31, 1960.

<sup>2</sup> Published letter to the Editor of the Register-Guard, October 20, 1960.

bigots" able to go from a defensive position to that of an offensive one. The Governor of Oregon, Mark Hatfield, Republican, had come from a conservative protestant Baptist background and was lauded by the Fundamentalist church groups as a Christian politician with their point of view on religion.<sup>1</sup> The Secretary of State Howell Appling Jr., a Republican, was a good friend of Mark Hatfield (he had appointed him to the Secretary of State position when it became vacated originally) and they spoke very well of each other publicly. Mr. Appling was, however, in a very untenable position in the 1960 election. He was coming up for re-election in a year when a Catholic was running for president. Mr. Appling was also a Catholic and realized that strong anti-Catholic feeling might manifest itself in an election on the state level since a large block of voters in Oregon had been sensitized to the "Catholic menace."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Appling's religious affiliation was a well-kept secret with but a very small percentage of the population (in the sample of 421 people only 5.5% knew that Appling was a Catholic) being aware of his religion. On October 31 of 1960, the following letter was sent to the Register-Guard and published.

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<sup>1</sup>Oregonian, (Portland, Oregon), June 29, 1952, pages 4-5, magazine section.

<sup>2</sup>In Chapter 4, it will be shown that this is exactly what happened. Anti-Catholic feeling manifested itself in a local circuit judge race.

In railing against the election of a Catholic to the Presidency, Leslie M. Scott states in a bulletin to 6500 fellow Masons that 'the Roman Catholic priesthood seeks political power in America' and that 'whenever they gain power, they restrict and persecute.'  
 Would Mr. Scott and those who share his nonsensical viewpoint also be as concerned about restrictions and persecution on the state level through the election of Catholic Howell Appling as Secretary of State? <sup>1</sup>

The "anti-bigots" were thus able to put themselves finally into a position of taking the offensive, but it was all to no avail. No replies to the letter came from the anti-Catholic group, and the "anti-bigots" did not follow up their position that had been established when Mr. Appling's Catholicism was unveiled.

There has been no study done as to how representative the view of letters to the editor are of the total population of a community. The political right in Eugene is much more strongly represented in the letters-to-the-Editor column than is the center or the political left. In the past there have been organized letter-writing campaigns to the Register-Guard in order to magnify the strength of a small interest group. In some large Eastern newspapers the letters to the editor which are selected to be published are only those which support the newspapers' editorial stand. The associate editor of the Register-Guard denies that this has ever happened in recent times in Eugene. No evidence is available that either the anti-Catholic writers or the

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<sup>1</sup>Published letter to the Editor of the Register-Guard, October 31, 1960.



"anti-bigot" writers were organized; all the evidence points to a spontaneous urge to educate the public either to the ill effects of Catholicism or to the fallacious reasoning of the "bigots." No attempt was made to study the influence of the letters to the Editor per se on voting intention. However, in interviews with the subjects, the interviewer would often be asked whether he had seen the letters to the Editor in the evening paper. Several times the newspaper was picked up and excerpts from the letters-to-the-Editor column were quoted to justify the persons being interviewed in cutting across party lines to vote for Nixon even though they were Democrats.

While the contents of the letters-to-the-Editor column in themselves may have had but little influence on voting behavior, their value to the interests of any one group may have been that they acted as a reinforcing agent for other educational, or if you like, propaganda, media. In spite of the fact that the "anti-bigots" were in the majority with regards to letters sent to the newspapers, their message was but a small feeble message compared with the total amount of anti-Catholic propaganda being disseminated. The message of the "anti-bigots," even if magnified, might have easily fallen on deaf ears since those who do not want to include it in their own belief system find no trouble in excluding it through rationalizing.

The main value of the letters-to-the-Editor column is that it is a very inexpensive instrument with which to reach a large mass of people. However, the most important function of the column is that it is often thought by the community to represent the views of a sizeable population, whether it actually does or not.

### III. CHURCH MEMBERS AND THEIR LITERATURE

"We cannot appease them. The only thing we can do is to control the conventions and primaries, as well as the nominations. The non-Catholics still are in the majority, but they must be instructed and warned, and that takes time. Begin now. Protestants believe in liberty; Catholics are taught to believe in authoritarianism."

The type of strategy employed in any political campaign is almost without exception the determinant of whether a slate of candidates or a single candidate will be elected to public office. In order to mobilize effectively a body of voters to vote on the basis of religion, certain campaign devices have to be accepted and others have to be rejected, all on the basis of cost per effectiveness.

Anti-Catholic literature or propaganda was employed almost exclusively by some church groups to activate their church membership to vote on the basis of religion. Other groups used anti-Catholic literature in conjunction with other political campaign practices in order to motivate an anti-Catholic vote. It is for these reasons—the

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<sup>1</sup>P. M. Standish, "Excathedra," a report put into leaflet form, (Portland, Oregon: The Church Speaks, no date). Congresswoman Edith Green, John F. Kennedy's campaign manager for Oregon, said that 300,000 of the "Excathedra" leaflets had been printed and distributed not only in Oregon but throughout the United States.

strong reliance on mail and handbills in attempting to influence voters-- that in the present study strong emphasis is given to the field of anti-Catholic literature.

In the present study it was found that 61% of the fundamentalist church members answered that the religious affiliation of the presidential candidate would influence their voting behavior for or against the candidate. In comparison, only 8% of the Catholics and 13% of the "regular Protestants" (other than the fundamentalist sects) answered that their voting for the presidential candidate would be influenced by the candidate's religious affiliation.<sup>1</sup> The question

TABLE 3-1

MEMBERS OF CHURCHES WHO STATED THAT THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WOULD AFFECT THEIR VOTING FOR THAT CANDIDATE

Churches	Yes, Would Effect Voting		No, Would Not Effect Voting		Don't Know		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fundamentalists	92	61	58	38	2	1	152	100
Catholics	11	8	129	92	0	0	140	100
Protestants	13	13	87	87	0	0	100	100
No Church Pref.	4	17	19	83	0	0	23	100

<sup>1</sup>See Table 3-1 for complete data.

then remains, "What stimuli evoked a voting response based on religious doctrine rather than on political ideology?" It has been shown that church affiliation is more than a reference point for moral behavior; it can also be a reference point for election instructions. A study was conducted in the state of Washington to determine to which associations people turn for advice in elections. The size of the organization (in the community) seemed to be the determinant as to whether the people would turn to it or not for advice. The Protestant Church and the Grange were the two groups to which people referred to with the greatest frequency.<sup>1</sup> The people who belong to the fundamentalist sects seemingly are more highly oriented to their church than are members of other Protestant denominations. The fundamentalists go to church on Sunday morning and attend prayer meeting on Sunday evenings. During the middle of the week there is, more often than not, a church social, and Friday night is a favorite for a mens' supper. On Saturday night the children attend a Youth-for-Christ rally. By looking at Table 3-2, one can see that 22% of the fundamentalist

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<sup>1</sup>Robert E. Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), pages 193-195. Lane has also come to the conclusion that "the effectiveness of group appeals for membership political action is influenced by (a) size of group, (b) democracy in program determination, (c) group morale, (d) membership identification with the group leadership, (e) the group relevance of the political goals, (f) social homogeneity of the group, and (g) group facilitation of political expression. Groups with low political content are more likely to be positive political reference groups for non-members than are groups with high political content."

TABLE 3-2

ORGANIZATIONS WHICH MEMBERS  
OF THE SAMPLE BELONGED TO

Organizations By Type	Fundamentalist		Catholic		Protestant		No Church Membership	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Does not belong to an organization	67	44	39	28	35	35	10	43
Religious*	14	9	26	19	5	5	0	0
Religious and Labor	2	1	7	5	0	0	0	0
Religious and Professional	3	2	4	3	0	0	0	0
Religious and/or Civic and/or Fraternal	10	7	18	13	3	3	0	0
Religious and/or Professional and/or Civic and/or Fraternal	4	3	9	6	0	0	0	0
Labor	15	10	11	8	7	7	6	26
Civic and/or Fraternal	31	20	22	16	39	39	6	26
Professional and Fraternal	4	3	1	1	2	2	0	0
Professional	3	2	3	2	8	8	1	4
Don't Know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>101%</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>101%</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>99%</b>

\*Religious organizations are not defined as churches per se, however, church sponsored organizations are included in this category such as the Catholic Alter Society and formally organized men's clubs in the Protestant Churches.

members but only 8% of the other Protestant sects belong to formal religious organizations (this excludes churches per se although the religious organizations can be organized within the structure of the church).

A criterion to determine the degree of religious orientation would be to measure the frequency of church attendance and to determine the importance of the role religion plays in a person's life. It was hypothesized that there would be a positive correlation between the degree to which religion is felt to be important in an individual's life and church attendance. Table 3-3, which represents a measurement of

TABLE 3-3  
CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Church Category	Attend Church									
	Never		Sometimes		Most of time		Always		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fundamentalist	6	4	27	18	40	26	81	53	154	101
Catholic	4	3	8	6	21	15	104	76	137	100
Protestant	15	15	56	56	17	17	12	12	100	100
No Church Preference	12	67	6	33	0	0	0	0	18	100

TABLE 3-4

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION  
TO THE RESPONDENTS

Church Category	Unimportant		Not so Important		Somewhat Important		Very Important		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fundamentalist	0	0	3	2	15	10	134	88	152	100
Catholic	0	0	3	2	13	9	123	88	139	99
Protestant	4	4	4	4	45	45	46	46	99	99
No Church Preference	8	36	5	23	6	27	3	14	22	100

church attendance, indicates that 53% of the fundamentalists attend church regularly, as contrasted with the 12% of the other Protestants who have said that they never miss attending church. Table 3-4, which is concerned with the measuring of the importance of religion in a person's life, shows that 88% of the fundamentalists consider religion very important in their lives while only 46% of the Protestants consider religion very important. There seems to be a very high correlation between church attendance and the importance of religion, as demonstrated in Tables 3-3 and 3-4.

An analogy may be drawn between the member of a fundamentalist church sect and a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. Both members belong to organizations which attempt to integrate completely the lives of their members into their respective organizations.



Socially, politically and morally, both organizations make demands upon their membership.

Does a church's making heavy demands upon its members imply a direct relationship to the voting habits of the members of the congregation? It is hypothesized that any church as it increases its demands upon its members will tend to influence its members voting behavior in a similar degree. Again by looking at Table 3-2 one can see that members of the Catholic Church are much more church-oriented than even the fundamentalist sect members. 46% of the Catholics belonged to religious organizations as compared to 22% of the fundamentalist members, but only 8% of the Catholics maintained that religion would influence their voting intention, as illustrated by Table 3-1. The temperament of fundamentalist sect members and the leadership within the fundamentalist churches are the two variables which account for the fact that 61% of the fundamentalist respondents answered that religion would influence their voting behavior.

Through effective leadership in the church, it is quite conceivable that the rank and file of the church can be molded into an effective unified political force.

A question was asked of the respondents as to whether their ministers had commented on the presidential candidates. 31% of the fundamentalists replied in the affirmative while only 13% of the other Protestant respondents answered in the affirmative. It is known that

the percentage for fundamentalists is much higher than 31%;<sup>1</sup> however, it seemed that the respondents were reluctant to admit that their minister had made comments about the presidential candidates.

An argument can be advanced that it is the duty of a church to educate its members on the value of voting intelligently. In this way a church would be furthering the ideals of a Democracy. Several of the ministers did stress the importance of voting, but their reasoning seemed to be based for the most part, on religious reasons. For example, on October 30, 1960, at the Assembly of God Church in Eugene, there was stress placed upon the fact that unless the church members voted properly in the coming election, they might not be able to vote in the future. The closing prayer by the minister asked, "On this Reformation Sunday, Oh Lord, give us the wisdom when we cast our ballot to cross party lines if need be." Prayer is the high point in a religious service as this is the time when a man feels that he comes into a

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<sup>1</sup>Table 3-5 which was constructed primarily to find in which fundamentalist churches the ministers had commented on the presidential candidates. In every church except the Church of the Latter Day Saints and the First Christian Church, some of the respondents admitted that their minister had commented on the presidential candidates. Since that there was but one respondent that went to church every Sunday from the Church of the Latter Day Saints, the evidence here is very inconclusive. However, it is quite evident that the minister from the First Christian Church did not comment upon the qualifications of either presidential candidate.

TABLE 3-5

MEMBERS OF FUNDAMENTALIST CHURCHES WHO GO TO  
CHURCH EVERY SUNDAY AND WHO HAVE STATED  
THAT THE MINISTER COMMENTED ON THE  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Church	YES commented on candidates		NO did not comment on candidates		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Seventh Day Adventists	3	33	6	67	9	100
Church of the Nazarene	3	60	2	40	5	100
First Christian Church	0	0	14	100	14	100
Church of the Open Bible	10	56	8	44	18	100
Assembly of God	10	59	7	41	17	100
Baptist*	4	31	9	69	13	100
Letter Day Saints	0	0	1	100	1	100

\*Includes both the River Road Baptist Church and the Eugene Baptist Church.

special relationship with the divine. Prayer is the high-tension point in a man's religious experience.<sup>1</sup> When the prayer is coupled with voting instructions, it is easier to understand how the church member

<sup>1</sup>Frank S. Hickman, The Psychology of Religion (New York: Abingdon Press, 1926), page 221.

is able to sublimate his own political party identification and cast his vote on religious grounds.

On October 7, 1960, there was an election eve prayer meeting by five ministers at the First Baptist Church in Eugene.<sup>1</sup> Seemingly, the strategy of having an election eve prayer meeting was to re-enforce the church members' basis for voting: not party or candidate but religion.

September 29, 1960, was a high point for fundamentalist anti-Catholic sentiment. The POAU (Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State) and seven fundamentalist churches sponsored a religio-political rally at the Assembly of God Church in Eugene attended by 1200 people. Some of the comments made at the rally were:

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<sup>1</sup>An interesting sidelight to the election-eve prayer meeting was that this author arrived at the meeting exactly one hour before the meeting was to begin and had the opportunity to be in the same room with two ministers who were discussing a problem. There had been a letter in the Eugene Register-Guard the night before condemning the religio-political prayer meeting, and the ministers could not understand how the writer of the letter could have found out about the prayer meeting in time to get a letter to the Register-Guard and have it published. They believed that there had been a leak in their organization and thought that the only two organizations which could have gotten the information was either the Bureau of Internal Revenue (there had been talk that churches engaged in political activity might be investigated) or the Jesuits from the Catholic Church.

"The Knights of Columbus and Jesuits are coordinating to control this country... If the Roman church gains ascendancy, then liberty will be lost. It is the purpose of the Roman Church to conquer America... Our responsibility is to step over political lines and never let a Catholic be head of this country."

Although verification would be impossible, it would not be improbable to deduce that during the mid-week church activities, the "evils of Kennedy's Catholicism" were discussed and that the ministers re-enforced anti-Catholic feeling whenever possible.

It has previously been stated that the temperament of the fundamentalist church member is a contributing factor toward his susceptibility to manifest anti-Catholic sentiment. The current literature seems to support the assumption that there is a certain personality type which is attracted to fundamentalist churches.<sup>2</sup>

Several studies of conversion have been made, and the conclusions are that "people converted at public meetings are more easily hypnotized, display more motor automatisms and can therefore be classified to some extent as hysterics." Sydney G. Dimond has said in his book, The Psychology of the Methodist Revival, that the revivalist, in order to be effective, has to build up his audience to a high

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<sup>1</sup>J. B. Rowell, "Shall a Roman Catholic be President" (speech given at Assembly of God Church; Eugene, Oregon, September 29, 1960).

<sup>2</sup>Chapter 5 will describe the characteristics of fundamentalists in much greater detail.

emotional state in which "worldly reason" is inhibited; if reason is not inhibited, then the revivalist has to record failure.<sup>1</sup> With the fundamentalist church members being susceptible to hysteria-inducement on the part of their ministers, it is very easy to see that when emotion is greatly aroused at a religio-political prayer meeting,<sup>2</sup> voting intention can be swayed very easily. Frank Hickman has stated in his book, *The Psychology of Religion*, that the reason for an evangelistic meeting is to counteract the anti-religious environment (society) in which the church member is living.<sup>3</sup> The minister has to

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<sup>1</sup>Michael Argyle, *Religious Behavior* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), pages 56-57. Argyle has also said that a study done by Cantril in 1940 of the effects of Orson Welles' "Invasion from Mars" upon the populace showed that the people who were the most affected were also the most religious. The ones who were affected by the broadcast were also more suggestible and less intelligent than those not affected. Argyle has said that the fact that suggestible people are less intelligent has been confirmed by a number of other studies.

<sup>2</sup>Sydney G. Dimond, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), page 117.

Argyle has said that Protestant churches go through a regular sequence of development. He has said that each of the sects begin, as a small, economically and socially depressed group. The liturgy of the established churches is such that the people feel uncomfortable in church. After a few years the members increase in economic stature, and the sect begins to acquire the characteristics of the older churches. The religious behavior of the church members then becomes staid and unemotional. Those members who have not risen socially and economically cannot give free expression to their religious expression and start a new sect.

<sup>3</sup>In a book published by an evangelical publishing house for the training of ministers, there is a section devoted to giving the ministers instructions on how to build up the emotions of his congregation. It mentions that songs which are sung during regular church services are usually not suitable for evangelistic services. The best suited songs would have some of the following characteristics to build up the emotional state of the congregation: "(1) spiritual, (2) soul stirring, (3) lead to action and decision, (4) have a message (for the sinful heart)." Thomas Clinton Crume, *Evangelism in Action* (Louisville, Kentucky: Pentecostal Publishing Co., no date), page 118.

TABLE 3-6

MEASUREMENT OF THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION OF FUNDAMENTALISTS  
 IN COMPARISON TO THOSE THAT SAID RELIGION WOULD  
 INFLUENCE THEIR VOTING INTENTION AND THOSE  
 THAT SAID IT WOULD NOT INFLUENCE  
 VOTING INTENTION

Church Membership and importance of religion	YES Religion Effect Vote		NO Religion not Effect Vote		Don't Know		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Seventh Day Adventists</b>								
Very Important	9	69	4	31	0	0	13	100
Not so, or somewhat	1	100	0	0	0	0	1	100
<b>Church of Nazarine</b>								
Very Important	7	100	0	0	0	0	7	100
Not so, or somewhat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>First Christian Church</b>								
Very Important	13	43	17	57	0	0	30	100
Not so, or somewhat	2	40	2	40	1	20	5	100
<b>Church of the Open Bible</b>								
Very Important	20	74	6	22	1	4	27	100
Not so, or somewhat	1	100	0	0	0	0	1	100
<b>Assembly of God</b>								
Very Important	22	76	6	21	1	3	29	100
Not so, or somewhat	0	0	2	100	0	0	2	100
<b>Baptist Church</b>								
Very Important	15	65	8	35	0	0	23	100
Not so, or somewhat	2	29	5	71	0	0	7	100

break down strong party loyalties if he is to be effective in motivating his church members to swing to an opposition party candidate. As has been previously shown the suggestion the minister uses is couched in terms of an emotional prayer.

It was hypothesized that people who consider religion to be highly important in their lives will tend to vote on the basis of their religion to a greater degree than those who do not consider religion to be highly important in their lives. Table 3-6 was constructed to show that the importance of religion to a fundamentalist church member would affect that person's voting intention. It was thought that there would be an inverse relationship so that those who considered religion very important would find this an influential force upon their voting behavior while those who did not consider religion of such paramount importance would conversely be uninfluenced. In three churches there was an inverse relationship, and in two churches there was not. It should be noted that in one of these churches, the Church of the Nazarene, all of the members sampled thought that religion was very important. In both the Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Church of the Open Bible, there was but one person from each church who said that religion was either "not so important" or "somewhat important" and also said that religion would influence his vote. With but one person in a category, the statistical significance is insignificant. Conversely, it can be seen that in five of the six fundamentalist church groups, the percentage of members who indicated that they considered religion



very important and admitted that religion would influence their vote was greater than those who said that although religion was important, it would not influence their vote. It is interesting to note that the only church which does not conform to this trend, but instead rather significantly runs counter to it is the First Christian Church. Table 3-5 shows that this church was the only one of the fundamentalist group in which the minister made no public comments of the presidential candidates. With this in mind, one might accept the plausible explanation that the deviancy of the First Christian Church in Table 3-6 can be attributed to the fact that the minister of the First Christian Church had not instilled into his congregation the dire necessity for voting on religious grounds. The only contact that these people had with media which stressed voting on religion was possibly the POAU rally and perhaps contact with anti-Catholic literature.

TABLE 3-7A

MEMBERS OF PROTESTANT AND FUNDAMENTALIST CHURCHES WHO  
HAVE A STRONG RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION AND WHO DO  
NOT HAVE A STRONG RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION  
AND THE RELATIONSHIP TO VOTING FOR  
RELIGIOUS REASONS\*

Church Group and Religious Orientation	Intention to Vote on Religion		Will Not Vote on Religion		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Fundamentalist</b>						
Strong Orientation	83	73	31	27	124	100
Weak Orientation	3	21	11	79	14	100
<b>Protestant</b>						
Strong Orientation	25	20	20	80	25	100
Weak Orientation	5	12	37	88	42	100

\*Religious orientation was determined by respondents perception of importance of religion and church attendance.

TABLE 3-7B

MEMBERS OF PROTESTANT AND FUNDAMENTALIST CHURCHES WHO THINK  
RELIGION IS IMPORTANT AND WHO GO TO CHURCH MOST OF THE  
TIME OR ALL OF THE TIME AND THE RELATIONSHIP  
TO ENCOURAGING ANYONE TO VOTE AGAINST  
KENNEDY FOR RELIGIOUS REASONS

Church Group	Intention to Vote on Religion		Will Not Vote on Religion		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fundamentalist	27	34	53	66	80	100
Protestant	2	13	14	87	16	100

Table 3-7A gains tremendous significance when the fundamentalists and the other Protestants are compared in terms of their avowal of their intent to vote on the basis of religion or not. The inverse relationship becomes here apparent since 73% of the fundamentalists stated that religion would influence their vote while 80% of the Protestants stated that it would not influence their voting behavior. A separate question as to whether or not the respondent had given anyone encouragement to vote against Kennedy on religious grounds, was included, as indicated by Table 3-7B. It was thought that if a respondent had encouraged anyone else to vote against Kennedy on religious grounds, he himself would also vote on the basis of religion. The Protestants had an even stronger "No" response for this question than for the one represented by Table 3-7A. 87% of the Protestants stated that they had not encouraged anyone to vote against Kennedy on religious grounds. The fundamentalists, however, did not score as high

a percentage in Table 3-7B as they had in Table 3-7A; only 34% of the fundamentalists stated that they had encouraged anyone to vote against Kennedy on the basis of religion. This, however, does not invalidate the conclusions reached as a result of a study of Table 3-7A; it merely shows that 34%, or 27 church members, had such strong convictions on religion that they went to other people to show them the "evils of Catholicism" and to urge them to vote against Kennedy on religious grounds.

It was hypothesized that church members who have a strong religious orientation will be more inclined to vote on the basis of religion than those who are not strongly oriented. In Table 3-7A it can be seen that only 21% of the fundamentalists who are not strongly orientated said that religion would influence their voting. The Protestants had but 12% of the weak church-goers indicate that their voting would be controlled by religious issues, a percentage which is but a slight drop from the 20% scored by the strong church-goers who stated that they would vote on religious grounds. The interesting contrast comes between the fundamentalist who has a weak orientation to religion and the fundamentalist who has a strong orientation to religion. The conclusion, then, seems to indicate that there either is something inherent in the religion of the fundamentalists which influences their voting behavior or that these fundamentalists who have a strong

orientation to religion have been sensitized to Catholicism by their minister, religio-political rallies, or anti-Catholic literature, or perhaps a combination of all three.

Past studies indicate that for the most part political tracts and leaflets mailed to prospective voters are ineffective. They seem to invoke a minimum response as evidenced by the fact that people cannot remember, later, whether they received political literature or not.<sup>1</sup> It was hypothesized that fundamentalists who received anti-Catholic literature would be more inclined to vote on religious grounds than fundamentalists who did not receive anti-Catholic literature. In the

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<sup>1</sup>Robert E. Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1959), page 84. Lane maintains that articles with a political orientation in magazines are much more effective in their appeal inasmuch as the people who read magazines usually come from a much higher socio-economic level. Being from a higher socio-economic level, they are in effect the decision makers and the group in which there is a very high percentage of voting.

It cannot be said that campaign literature is entirely ineffective, however. A study was done by Alice S. Kitt and David B. Gleicher using data from the Elmira study on campaign literature. It was found that those respondents who had received campaign literature between August and October had a higher level of interest in the campaign than those who had not received the literature. Kitt and Gleicher also posited the proposition that rather than the literature affecting participation, it is also possible that people who have a very high interest level in the campaign are more apt to notice the political pamphlets and cards that they receive. Alice S. Kitt and David B. Gleicher, "Determinants of Voting Behavior," The Public Opinion Quarterly, XIV, no. 3 (Fall, 1950), pages 394-395.

present Eugene study it seems that anti-Catholic literature, which acted in the same way as political tracts inasmuch as the desired end of both was the election of one candidate and the defeat of another, had a strong effect on the voting intentions of the fundamentalists. However, the members of "regular Protestant" churches were almost unaffected by the heavy influx of anti-Catholic literature which engulfed the Eugene area before the election. A question was asked of all of the respondents as to whether the religious affiliations of any of the candidates would influence their voting intention. In Table 3-8A, it can be seen that 71% of the fundamentalists who received anti-Catholic literature were going to vote on religious grounds, as opposed to 51% who did not receive the anti-Catholic literature. Now by looking at Table 3-8B, one can note an interesting phenomenon. 13% of the "regular Protestants" who received anti-Catholic literature stated that the religion of the candidates would influence their voting intention, and the same percentage, 13%, of the respondents who did not receive anti-Catholic literature stated that the religion of the candidates would influence their voting intention. While the fundamentalists show a 20% net change effected by the anti-Catholic literature, with the "regular Protestants" there was absolutely no change in voting on the basis of religion.

The assertion can be made that the variable which is operating which tends to enamour respondents with anti-Catholic literature to the extent where there is the motivation to vote on religion is that of

TABLE 3-9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EDUCATION OF THE FUNDAMENTALISTS  
WHO RECEIVED ANTI-CATHOLIC LITERATURE AND STATED  
THEY WOULD VOTE ON RELIGIOUS GROUNDS AND  
THOSE WHO RECEIVED ANTI-CATHOLIC  
LITERATURE AND STATED THEY  
WOULD NOT VOTE ON  
RELIGIOUS GROUNDS

Education in years	Religion would effect voting		Religion would not effect voting		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Grades 1-8	6	67	3	33	9	100
Grades 9-11	3	75	1	25	4	100
Grade 12	17	74	6	26	23	100
Business or Trade School	4	80	1	20	5	100
Some College	13	65	7	35	20	100
College Graduate and/or Advanced Degree	10	78	4	22	14	100

education. It was hypothesized that the fundamentalists of a lower educational level would be more affected by anti-Catholic literature than fundamentalists with a higher level of education. By comparing the educational backgrounds of fundamentalists who received anti-Catholic literature and are going to vote on religious grounds with those who received anti-Catholic literature and are not going to vote on religious grounds, it should be possible to ascertain whether a significant variable is, in fact, education. By looking at Table 3-9 one can see that the difference in education between the fundamentalists

who received anti-Catholic literature and were going to vote on the basis of religion and those who received literature and were not going to vote on the basis of religion is almost negligible, thus the hypothesis was not confirmed. Therefore, within the fundamentalist category, education can be disregarded as a variable affecting the impact of anti-Catholic literature on voting intention.

It was hypothesized that fundamentalists who received anti-Catholic literature would be more inclined to perceive religion as being the difference between the two presidential candidates than fundamentalists who had not received anti-Catholic literature. One of the questions asked of respondents was what they thought the difference was between the two presidential candidates. There were various answers ranging the spectrum of liberalism to conservatism to the fact that one candidate could speak better than the other one. Table 3-10 shows that 10% of the fundamentalists who did not receive anti-Catholic literature perceived religion as being a difference between the two candidates. However, of those that received anti-Catholic literature, 34% believed that the difference between the two candidates was in the realm of religion. Again it can be seen that the anti-Catholic literature had a marked effect upon the fundamentalists. The literature seems to have sensitized the fundamentalists to the point where the difference between the two candidates in the area of religion is perceived by 34% of the fundamentalists.

TABLE 3-10

EFFECTS OF ANTI-CATHOLIC LITERATURE ON FUNDAMENTALISTS  
AND THEIR PERCEPTION OF RELIGION AS BEING A  
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

	Religious Difference		Other Reasons Than Religion or no Difference		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Received literature	26	34	50	66	76	100
Did not receive literature	7	10	66	90	73	100

It was hypothesized that fundamentalists who attended religio-political meetings would be more inclined to have received anti-Catholic literature than fundamentalists who did not attend religio-political meetings. In several other areas, the anti-Catholic literature, in every instance, had a decided effect upon the fundamentalists. As an example, of those respondents who attended the FOAU religio-political rally, 30% had received anti-Catholic literature and only 10% had not received anti-Catholic literature (see Table 3-11). However, in this instance, it is difficult to make the assumption that anti-Catholic literature inspired the respondents to become interested enough to attend a religio-political rally. Since anti-Catholic literature was also given out at the rally, it is entirely possible that it was the attendance at the religio-political rally which enabled the respondents to obtain anti-Catholic literature rather than the literature which inspired them to attend the rally.



TABLE 3-11

FUNDAMENTALISTS, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THOSE WHO RECEIVED  
ANTI-CATHOLIC LITERATURE AND THOSE WHO ATTENDED  
POAU (PROTESTANTS AND OTHER AMERICANS UNITED  
FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE) RALLY

	Attended Rally		Did Not Attend Rally		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Received literature	23	30	53	70	76	100
Did not receive literature	7	10	66	90	73	100

TABLE 3-12

FUNDAMENTALISTS, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THOSE WHO  
RECEIVED ANTI-CATHOLIC LITERATURE AND  
ATTEMPTING TO ENCOURAGE ANYONE TO  
VOTE AGAINST KENNEDY ON  
RELIGIOUS GROUNDS

	Urged to Vote Against		Did not attempt to Influence Vote		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Received literature	26	34	50	66	76	100
Did not receive literature	2	3	71	97	73	100

Another area in which anti-Catholic literature seemingly had an effect was in that of encouraging someone to vote against Kennedy due to his Catholic affiliation (see Table 3-12). It was hypothesized that fundamentalists who received anti-Catholic literature would be more inclined to actively encourage other individuals to vote against Kennedy on religious grounds than fundamentalists who had not received

TABLE 3-13A

FUNDAMENTALISTS DEMOCRATS WHO RECEIVED  
ANTI-CATHOLIC LITERATURE AND THOSE WHO  
DID NOT AND SELF PERCEPTION OF PARTY  
PREFERENCE WHETHER WEAK OR STRONG

	Strong Party Member		Weak Party Member		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Received literature	7	21	26	79	33	100
Did not receive literature	11	44	14	56	25	100

anti-Catholic literature. Of those who received anti-Catholic literature, 34% urged someone to vote against Kennedy due to his Catholic background. Now, of those who did not receive anti-Catholic literature, only 3% encouraged someone else to vote against Kennedy because of his religion. An individual who encourages someone else to vote has a much deeper conviction and more of a stake in the outcome of the election than the individual who keeps his convictions to himself and expresses them only at the ballot box.

One of the questions asked of all of the respondents required them to indicate with which party they identified themselves and whether they considered themselves to be weak or strong party members. More than half of the "regular Protestants" who were Democrats considered themselves to be strong party members. Of the fundamentalists, however, there was a much lower percentage of those who considered themselves strong party members. Of those members of churches which are

TABLE 3-13B

"REGULAR PROTESTANTS DEMOCRATS WHO RECEIVED  
ANTI-CATHOLIC LITERATURE AND THOSE WHO  
DID NOT AND SELF PERCEPTION OF  
PARTY PREFERENCE WHETHER  
WEAK OR STRONG

	Strong Party		Weak Party		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Received literature	5	56	4	44	9	100
Did not receive literature	14	56	11	44	25	100

designated as "regular Protestant," 56% of those who received anti-Catholic literature considered themselves to be strong party members and 56% of those who did not receive anti-Catholic literature also considered themselves to be strong party members (see Table 3-13B). The anti-Catholic literature seemingly did not have any effect in weakening party loyalties for the "regular Protestants." By looking at Table 3-13A, however, it can be seen that the fundamentalists did have their party loyalties undermined by the receiving of anti-Catholic literature. Fundamentalists who had not received literature were much stronger Democrats than those who had received anti-Catholic literature; the percentage being 44% and 21% respectively. It should be noted that the fundamentalist Democrats who did not receive anti-Catholic literature had a lower percentage of party strength than the "regular Protestants." With this in mind, the assumption can be made that the anti-Catholic literature was but one factor among several which sensitized the fundamentalists to considering Catholicism as being "evil."

TABLE 3-14

THE EFFECT OF ANTI-CATHOLIC LITERATURE ON  
 FUNDAMENTALISTS AND THE PERCEPTION OF  
 HOW CATHOLICS WILL VOTE IN THE  
 ELECTION

	Republican		Democrat		Split Vote		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Received literature	1	1	59	80	14	19	74	100
Did not receive literature	3	5	45	76	11	19	59	100

From the foregoing data, it would seem that anti-Catholic literature would affect the fundamentalists' perception of how the Catholics would cast their votes in the general election. Table 3-14 does not substantiate this. The fundamentalists who received anti-Catholic literature believed that 80% of the Catholics would vote the Democratic ticket while of those who did not receive anti-Catholic literature, 76% believed that the Catholics would vote Democratic. The difference of 4% is not highly significant. In both groups, those that received the literature and those that did not, 19% believed that the Catholics would split their vote.

Perhaps the most interesting phenomenon occurred with the "regular Protestants" and their perception of how Catholics would vote. Again, as with the fundamentalists, anti-Catholic literature did not have any appreciable effect on their perception of the Catholic vote. Only 3% of those that received anti-Catholic literature and 4% of those that

TABLE 3-15

THE EFFECT OF ANTI-CATHOLIC LITERATURE ON  
 "REGULAR PROTESTANTS" AND THE  
 PERCEPTION OF HOW CATHOLICS  
 WILL VOTE IN THE  
 ELECTION

	Republican		Democrat		Split Vote		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Received literature	45	62	2	3	26	36	73	101
Did not receive literature	37	65	2	4	18	32	57	101

did not receive it believed that Catholics would vote Democratic (see Table 3-15). 36% of the "regular Protestants" who received the literature believed that the Catholics would split their vote while 32% of those who did not receive the literature believed the same. This forms a marked contrast with the fundamentalists, of whom at least three-fourths thought that Catholics would vote Democratic.

Since the politically educated tend to believe that Catholics, for the most part, vote Democratic, and even among the politically naive there is a folklore that Catholics traditionally vote Democratic, it seems very strange indeed that the "regular Protestant" perceive the Catholic voter as being non-Democratic. A plausible explanation may be, however, that the "regular Protestants" are "leaning over backwards" in order not to seem prejudiced towards Catholics. Perhaps they were aware that Catholics traditionally vote Democratic, but in order to avoid appearing bigoted, when they were asked the question of how

Catholics were going to vote, they offered that they thought was a socially acceptable answer, that they were either going to vote Republican or that they were going to split their vote.

It was hypothesized that fundamentalists who had a personal contact with the distributors of anti-Catholic literature would be more affected by the literature than fundamentalists who had not had a personal contact with the distributors of anti-Catholic literature.

The respondents who answered that they had received anti-Catholic literature were also asked where they had obtained the literature. Table 3-16 was constructed in order to show the relationship of the sources of anti-Catholic literature to whether or not the respondent was going to vote on the basis of the presidential candidate's religion. Also shown in this table is the extent to which impersonal anti-Catholic literature (that is literature placed under the door, in an automobile, or sent unrequested through the mail) affected voting intention as contrasted with the influence of anti-Catholic literature in which personal contact was involved (that is literature received from a friend, received from an individual passing it out on the street, etc.).

With but one exception the literature which was given to the respondent in which personal contact was involved was more effective in deciding whether the respondents would use religion as a basis for voting. All of the literature had an impact, but when it was received

TABLE 3-16

RELATIONSHIP OF THE SOURCES FROM WHICH  
 FUNDAMENTALISTS RECEIVED ANTI-CATHOLIC  
 LITERATURE AND WHETHER RELIGION  
 WOULD INFLUENCE THEIR VOTE

	Religion effect vote		Religion not effect vote		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sent in mail after it was requested	5	100	0	0	5	100
Received at a religious political rally	7	88	1	12	8	100
Received from a friend	8	80	2	20	10	100
received on the street	10	91	1	9	11	100
Picked up in church vestibule	21	81	5	19	26	100
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Placed under door in home	4	67	2	33	6	100
Placed in car	2	67	1	33	3	100
Sent in mail, not requested	16	70	7	30	23	100

on an impersonal basis, it had much less influence on the fundamentalist voter. As an example, literature placed under the door in the home or placed in an automobile influenced 67% of the fundamentalists who so received it to state that religion would influence their voting while

80% of those who received the literature on a personal basis, from a friend perhaps admitted to the same.<sup>1</sup>

The one exception to the supposition that anti-Catholic literature which is disseminated in an impersonal fashion is less effective in influencing voting came when the respondents stated that they had received their anti-Catholic literature after requesting that it be sent to them in the mail. In this instance, 100% of the respondents who had requested anti-Catholic literature through the mail stated that religion would be a factor which would be taken into account when they were going to vote. It is quite easy to understand, in this case, why impersonal mail literature would seem to be effective. The respondents who requested anti-Catholic literature were, in all probability, already anti-Catholic in their views, and the sending for and receipt of anti-

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<sup>1</sup>Samuel J. Elderveld, "Experimental Propaganda Technique and Voting Behavior," American Political Science Review, (March, 1956), page 161. The same sort of results were found in a study done at Ann Arbor, Michigan, to determine the effectiveness of personalized and impersonalized propaganda techniques. Five hundred individuals were selected who were known (by checking voting records) to have been apathetic in voting in local elections. A portion of these people were subjected to a mail propaganda campaign while another portion was directly contacted by party workers and personal canvassing by students. It was found that personal contact motivated 25% of the voters who had never before voted in local elections to go to the polls. An impersonal mail campaign motivated only 8% to 12% (depending on the type of mail) of the voters who had previously never voted in local elections to vote.



Catholic literature merely re-enforced the bias which they had already erected against Catholics.<sup>1</sup>

In still another area, caution should be exercised; that is, in the category of those respondents who stated that they had received anti-Catholic literature when they attended the POAU religio-political rally. In this category 88% of the respondents said that religion would influence their voting intention. It is quite possible that the POAU meeting was only the catalyst which crystalized these people's voting behavior and that the anti-Catholic literature merely re-enforced the decision they had previously made to cast their vote for or against Catholicism rather than for or against any candidate as such.

A study was done at the University of Minnesota on the effects of propaganda. It was found that those individuals who had their belief system shaken by counter-propaganda preferred to hear arguments from their own side in order to bolster their own system of belief. It was also found that once these people were given a chance to listen to people who agreed with them they tended to ignore the propaganda arguments.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>One family that was interviewed who were members of the Church of Nazarene tried to give some anti-Catholic propaganda to the interviewer during the course of the interview. They stated that they had sent for several hundred copies of anti-Catholic propaganda for which they had paid and were giving it to all of their friends and acquaintances.

<sup>2</sup>May Brodbeck, "Role of Small Groups in Mediating Propaganda," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LII (March, 1956), pages 635-650.

TABLE 3-17

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE NUMBER OF SOURCES FROM WHICH  
 FUNDAMENTALISTS RECEIVED ANTI-CATHOLIC LITERATURE  
 AND WHETHER RELIGION WOULD INFLUENCE  
 THEIR VOTING INTENTION

Number of Sources	Vote On Religion		Not Vote On Religion		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Did not receive literature from any source	35	51	34	49	69	100
One source	36	67	18	33	54	100
Two sources	14	78	4	22	18	100
Three sources	4	100	0	0	4	100

Hovland and Weiss, in another study, found that although a respondent to a propaganda document knew the content very well, the communication was often discounted as coming from a source with propagandistic purposes. However, over a period of time, the source of the propaganda is discounted and the propaganda itself is remembered.<sup>1</sup>

With these two studies in mind, Table 3-17 was constructed in order to show the relationship between the number of sources from which the fundamentalists received anti-Catholic literature and the extent to which religion would influence their voting intention. It was hypothesized that among fundamentalists, those who received anti-

<sup>1</sup>C. I. Hovland and W. Weiss, "The Influence of Source Credibility on Communication Effectiveness," Public Opinion Quarterly, XV (1951-1952), pages 635-650.

Catholic literature from more than one source would be more inclined to vote on religion than fundamentalists who received no anti-Catholic literature or literature from but one source. It is assumed that in order to become a militant anti-Catholic voter, the desired voting response has to be triggered within the individual by some sort of a "basic truth"; i.e. Catholics are not like other people, they are subjects of Rome, and their first loyalty is to a powerseeking Pope. Only one stimulus (one piece of anti-Catholic literature) may be regarded as political propaganda and not the "truth." Continued exposure to different sources of anti-Catholic literature from varied authorities will give some authenticity to the material and it is likely to be regarded in the realm of "truth" rather than as mere propaganda, which is not to be taken very seriously. From Table 3-17, it can be seen that 51% of those who received no anti-Catholic literature stated that religion would influence their voting intention. They may have received stimuli from elsewhere, perhaps comments made by their ministers, friends, or perhaps through growing up in a family environment which was anti-Catholic. The gamut could extend from 51% to 100% in terms of the extent to which a stimulus can influence voting intention. It can be seen from Table 3-17 that 67% of those receiving anti-Catholic literature from one source said that religion would influence their voting intention. Of those fundamentalists that received anti-Catholic literature from two sources, 78% stated that religion would influence their voting intention; and 100% of those that

received anti-Catholic literature from three sources stated that religion would influence their voting intention. There is a steady progression that goes from 51% who received no literature to 100% of those that received three pieces of anti-Catholic literature who indicate that they are going to let religion influence their voting intention.<sup>1</sup> Evidently the more a fundamentalist is exposed to anti-Catholic literature, the more that literature becomes, for them, the "truth."

From the foregoing analysis, it would seem that anti-Catholic literature was a very important factor in motivating the fundamentalists to vote on the basis of religion. However, it would be quite plausible to challenge the previous findings on the basis that strong party members, even though they received anti-Catholic literature, read it, and disregarded it. It might be that the weak party members were the only ones who were affected by the anti-Catholic literature and who accepted it as the "truth."

Table 3-18 was constructed in order to show the relationship of the party strength of fundamentalists who received anti-Catholic

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<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that in the questionnaire there were no questions relating to the number of pieces of literature received from any one source. In any future study a question of this sort would be invaluable in order to see whether the same results would result as those obtained in correlating sources of literature and voting intention.

TABLE 3-18

RELATIONSHIP OF PARTY STRENGTH OF FUNDAMENTALISTS AND "REGULAR PROTESTANTS" CONTRASTED WITH THOSE WHO RECEIVED ANTI-CATHOLIC LITERATURE AND THOSE WHO DID NOT RECEIVE ANTI-CATHOLIC LITERATURE

Party Strength	Received Literature		Did Not Receive Literature		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Strong Democrat Fund.	4	22	14	78	18	100
Strong Democrat Prot.	5	22	18	78	23	100
Weak Democrat Fund.	27	71	11	29	38	100
Weak Democrat Prot.	4	21	15	79	19	100

literature and those who did not receive anti-Catholic literature. The results confirm the hypothesis that strong party members tend to disregard anti-Catholic literature while weak party members have a greater tendency to accept anti-Catholic literature. Only 22% of the strong Democrats stated that they had received anti-Catholic literature while 71% of the self-designated weak Democrats stated that they had received anti-Catholic literature.

From this analysis it seems that while anti-Catholic literature might influence the fundamentalist voter who is a weak Democrat to base his vote on a candidate's religion, anti-Catholic literature has little or no effect on the fundamentalist who is a strong party member. The strong party member evidently is so thoroughly committed to his party that any literature which attacks a candidate of his party, is either not read, read and disregarded, or possibly read and the

TABLE 3-19A

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FUNDAMENTALISTS WHO ARE STRONG DEMOCRATS WHO RECEIVED AND DID NOT RECEIVE ANTI-CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA AND WHETHER RELIGION WOULD INFLUENCE THEIR VOTING INTENTION AND FUNDAMENTALISTS WHO ARE WEAK DEMOCRATS WHO RECEIVED AND DID NOT RECEIVE ANTI-CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA AND WHETHER RELIGION WOULD INFLUENCE THEIR VOTING.

Strength of Party Self-Identification	Religion Influence Voting		Religion Not Influence Voting		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Strong Democrat</b>						
Received propaganda	2	29	5	71	7	100
Did not receive propaganda	2	18	9	82	11	100
<b>Weak Democrat</b>						
Received propaganda	21	81	5	19	26	100
Did not receive propaganda	6	43	8	57	14	100

information interpreted as a personal attack upon himself, thus becoming, in essence, a re-enforcing agent making him determined to cast his vote for his party's candidate in order to flaunt his disregard for a strong opposition. It is very unlikely that anti-Catholic literature just happened to be received by weak party members. By looking at Table 3-18, it can be seen that there is no appreciable difference in percentage between the strong party member and the weak party member who received anti-Catholic literature. 22% of the strong Democrats stated they had received anti-Catholic literature while 21% of the weak Democrats stated they had received the literature.

TABLE 3-19B

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN "REGULAR PROTESTANTS" WHO ARE STRONG DEMOCRATS WHO RECEIVED AND DID NOT RECEIVE ANTI-CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA AND WHETHER RELIGION WOULD INFLUENCE THEIR VOTING INTENTION AND "REGULAR PROTESTANTS" WHO ARE WEAK DEMOCRATS WHO RECEIVED AND DID NOT RECEIVE ANTI-CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA AND WHETHER RELIGION WOULD INFLUENCE THEIR VOTING.

Strength of Party Self-Identification	Religion Influence Voting		Religion Not Influence Voting		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Strong Democrat</b>						
Received propaganda	0	0	5	100	5	100
Did not receive propaganda	1	8	12	92	13	100
<b>Weak Democrat</b>						
Received propaganda	1	13	7	87	8	100
Did not receive propaganda	2	13	13	87	15	100

In Table 3-19A the evidence is fairly conclusive that anti-Catholic literature becomes effective only when it is read by a weak party member. Table 3-19A shows that only 18% of the strong Democrats who did not receive anti-Catholic literature were going to vote on the basis of religion while 29% of the strong Democrats who received anti-Catholic literature were going to vote on the basis of religion. There is a marked contrast between the strong Democrats and the weak Democrats in regard to the effect of anti-Catholic literature on their voting intention. Again, by looking at Table 3-19A, it can be seen that 43% of

the weak Democrats who did not receive anti-Catholic literature stated that their voting intention would be affected by the religious affiliation of the presidential candidates. 81% of the weak Democrats who received anti-Catholic literature stated that the religion of the candidates would influence their voting intention. Of the strong Democrats, anti-Catholic literature affected 11% of them while 38% of the weak Democrats were positively affected by anti-Catholic literature.

Table 3-19B, which compares the effects of anti-Catholic literature on the voting intention of strong and weak "regular Protestants," shows that anti-Catholic literature had little appreciable effect on the strong Democrat and the weak Democrat. 13% of the weak Democrats who received literature and 13% of those that did not receive anti-Catholic literature stated that religion would influence their voting intention. 8% of the strong Democrats who did not receive anti-Catholic literature stated that religion would influence their voting intention. Anti-Catholic literature operates as almost a negligible factor in influencing the voting of the "regular Protestants."

In order to further show the effects of anti-Catholic literature in affecting the voting intention of weak and strong party members, Table 3-20 was constructed. In this table the strong Democrats and the weak Democrats who have and have not received anti-Catholic literature and who are, or are not going to vote on the basis of religion are contrasted in order to determine whether it is anti-Catholic literature that operates as a factor in influencing voting or whether it is party



TABLE 3-20

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FUNDAMENTALISTS WHO ARE STRONG DEMOCRATS WHO RECEIVED AND DID NOT RECEIVE ANTI-CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA AND WHETHER THEY URGED SOMEONE TO VOTE AGAINST KENNEDY FOR RELIGIOUS REASONS AND FUNDAMENTALISTS WHO ARE WEAK DEMOCRATS WHO RECEIVED AND DID NOT RECEIVE ANTI-CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA AND WHETHER THEY URGED SOMEONE TO VOTE AGAINST KENNEDY FOR RELIGIOUS REASONS

Strength of Party Self-Identification	Urged to Vote Against		Did not Urge Vote Against		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Strong Democrat</b>						
Received propaganda	1	20	4	80	5	100
Did not receive propaganda	0	0	10	100	10	100
<b>Weak Democrat</b>						
Received propaganda	9	43	12	57	21	100
Did not receive propaganda	1	9	10	91	11	100

identification. Here, the results are comparable with the results obtained in Table 3-19A, since that seemingly anti-Catholic literature only affects church members with weak party commitments. Anti-Catholic literature has a strong influence on the weak Democrat but almost no influence on the strong Democrat. Both Tables 3-19A and Table 3-20 support the supposition that anti-Catholic literature is only effective with the fundamentalist who is a weak Democrat. The strong Democrat almost totally disregards anti-Catholic propaganda. Among fundamentalists who did not receive anti-Catholic literature but religion influenced their voting intention it is thought that their

voting decision was based on other factors. Attendance at religious political rallies, comments by their ministers and discussing the religious issue with their friends would have as strong or perhaps stronger impact (see Table 3-16) on their voting decision than that affected by anti-Catholic literature.

#### IV. VOTING

"On this Reformation Sunday, Oh Lord give us the wisdom when we cast our ballot to cross party lines if need be."<sup>1</sup>

The results of the 1960 general election in Oregon's fourth district in which Eugene is located appear at first glance to be confusing. As an example, Maurine Neuberger, a Democrat, obtained a plurality of 12,224 votes over her opponent Elmo Smith in the senatorial race, thus giving her 53.3% of the total popular vote. Mr. Nixon, Republican candidate for president received 5,051 more votes than his opponent Mr. Kennedy, thus giving Nixon 51.3% of the popular vote. Democratic Congressman Porter was defeated by Republican Edwin Durno by 4,075 thus giving Mr. Durno a 2.2% edge of the popular vote.<sup>2</sup> The confusion becomes rampant when it is found that the Democrats had a voter registration edge over the Republicans in the fourth district. There were many factors which contributed to the confused voting pattern in the fourth district; Mr. Porter's stand on Red China,

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<sup>1</sup>Prayer delivered by Dr. Webb at the Assembly of God Church in Eugene, Oregon, October 30, 1960

<sup>2</sup>"1960 Official Vote in Each State, All Congressional Districts," Congressional Quarterly Special Report, March 10, 1961, page 35.

sympathy for Maurine Neuberger due to the fact that her husband Senator Dick Neuberger had just died and Kennedy's Catholicism.

According to census information as of April 1, 1960, Oregon had a population of 1,768,687. As of January 1, 1960, the state of Oregon had a Catholic population of 169,934 or 9.3% of the total state's population.<sup>1</sup>

Oregon has a relatively small percentage of Catholics in its population in comparison with other states. Anti-Catholic sentiment manifested itself much more vigorously in Oregon, however, than in eastern states in which Catholics comprise over 50% of a total state's population. In a state in which Catholic members predominate it would seem that Protestants would feel threatened since they might feel that Catholics might pass legislation which would discriminate against Protestants. This type of speculation is not valid. Catholicism acting as a major political factor becomes evident in areas in which Catholics are decidedly in the minority such as the South, Midwest and rural areas in which Protestantism predominates. An explanation of this phenomenon is given by Seymour Lipset. Lipset finds that wherever the social structure so operates as to isolate individuals or groups who have the same political outlook from individuals or groups with different outlooks, the lack of knowledge and socializing with the

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<sup>1</sup>"Percentage of Catholics in the 50 States and D.C.," Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 1960, page 813.

outgroup tends to make the isolated group intolerant and prone to back political extremists.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Christie and John Garcia found that a person's personality is structured by the community in which he lives.<sup>2</sup> He accepts the customs of the community as his own customs, community institutions are mirrored in his own conduct. It is thought that if a community is predominantly Protestant, isolated for the most part from social relationships with Catholics, then the community will stand as firmly against a foreign ideology such as International Catholicism as it will against a foreign ideology such as International Communism. If an individual in the community attempts to modify his political or religious views he is in effect rejecting the values of the community and is likely to be socially ostracized.<sup>3</sup>

Another theory which contributes to understanding the fears of Protestants of the Catholic voter is one offered by Gerhard Lenski in his recent book, The Religious Factor. Lenski found that white Protestants were the most critical of other religious groups because of

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<sup>1</sup>Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960), page 87.

<sup>2</sup>Richard Christie and John Garcia, "Subcultural Variation in Authoritarian Personality," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 46, no. 4 (October, 1951), pages 460-461.

<sup>3</sup>Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1955), page 106. Berelson found that during the political campaign, at the grass roots level, political discussion consisted more of the exchange of mutually agreeable remarks than of controversial ones. Evidently social forces operate in a manner that making such remarks is taboo.

supposed religious and economic intolerance of these groups. Lenski's explanation for this phenomenon is that historically the United States has been a Protestant nation, therefore since its culture has been mainly molded by Protestants, it expresses Protestant viewpoints and values. Other religious groups when they come into the United States are assimilated into the Protestant culture and therefore tend when necessary to judge Protestants more favorably than other religious groups which have diverse values. Traditionally Protestants have been the holders of power. As non-Protestants come increasingly into power positions and their commitments to traditional American standards (Protestant orientated) is not certain, the non-Protestant is feared.<sup>1</sup>

Lenski also points out that while Protestants single out different characteristics of Jews and Catholics for criticism, they are more than twice as likely to single out Jews for criticism in economic areas than in political areas. The Jew constitutes a threat economically to the white Protestant. The Catholic is seldom criticized for so called economic intolerance since the Protestant does not perceive the Catholic as comprising an economic threat.<sup>2</sup>

Lenski's explanation contributes to an overall understanding of anti-Catholic sentiment on the part of Protestants but fails us in

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<sup>1</sup>Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), page 59.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pages 59-60.

attempting to differentiate religious and political attitudes of specific communities, i.e., why are some communities or areas of the country anti-Catholic and some seemingly express little or no anti-Catholic sentiment.<sup>1</sup> Lenski's explanation, however, might possibly explain why there has been so little anti-Catholic sentiment in large cities in which the population is predominantly Catholic.

Bernard Berelson's analysis of minority voting patterns in communities might be helpful in explaining the strong anti-Catholic sentiment expressed by Protestants in an area such as Eugene in which less than 10% of the population is Catholic. Berelson has said that minority voting patterns are reflections of the tensions between minority and majority groups in the community. He maintains that during an election campaign the minority and majority groups are expected to manifest community tensions by the division of political support.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the Fundamentalist Protestant church member who has been indoctrinated once a week with the notion of the Papal conspiracy is given a chance during an election in which a Catholic is a candidate for office to outwardly express his anxieties and frustrations. The

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<sup>1</sup>As an example an analysis of Senator Kennedy's 1952 election in various parts of Massachusetts seemed to show no relationship between the degree of Catholic concentration and the degree of Kennedy support. Kennedy's largest margin in Massachusetts came from the county with the smallest number of Catholics. Barnstable County was only 27.2% Catholic but Kennedy had a 13.1% lead over the Republican candidate in that county. Elmo Roper, "The Myth of the Catholic Vote," Saturday Review, XLII, no. 44 (October 31, 1959), page 42.

<sup>2</sup>Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1955), page 73.

church member not only can vote against the candidate but can also write letters to the local newspaper and give out anti-Catholic tracts. Pleas of religious tolerance may not affect this person since a prejudiced person is one who has adjusted to the world in which he lives. As Ernest Dichter states, the reformer is in effect asking the prejudiced person to destroy his perceived world and to accept an entirely different type of structure.<sup>1</sup> The prejudiced person will not shatter his own world so easily.

The Fundamentalist church member in Eugene apparently manifested his anti-Catholic sentiment externally by voting against the Democratic candidate for president who was a practicing Catholic. It was hypothesized that a number of Democratic Fundamentalists would cross party lines and vote for the Republican Protestant candidate for president. By looking at Table 4-1 it can be seen that 61% of the Fundamentalist self-identified Democrats seemingly voted on the basis of religion by voting for the Republican candidate. Only 27% of these Democrats stated that they planned to vote for the Democratic Catholic candidate for president. Again looking at Table 4-1, and the Fundamentalist Democrats voting preference for senator, it can be seen that

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<sup>1</sup>Ernest Dichter, The Strategy of Desire (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960), page 202.



TABLE 4-1

VOTING INTENTION OF FUNDAMENTALISTS AND "REGULAR" PROTESTANTS  
FOR THE PRESIDENCY AND FOR THE SENATE

President Voting Intention

Church Type and Party Identification	Nixon		Kennedy		Undecided		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fundamentalist Democrat	41	61	18	27	5	7	3	4	67	100
"Regular" Protestant Democrat	6	15	31	76	4	10	0	0	54	100
Fundamentalist Republican	81	95	0	0	4	5	0	0	85	100
"Regular" Protestant Republican	47	87	2	4	5	9	0	0	54	100

Senate Voting Intention

	Smith		Neuberger		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fundamentalist Democrat	7	11	44	70	12	19	63	100
"Regular" Protestant Democrat	7	17	32	78	2	5	41	100
Fundamentalist Republican	53	62	14	16	19	22	86	100
"Regular" Protestant Republican	29	55	17	32	7	13	53	100

70% preferred the Democratic candidate. Only 11% were crossing party lines to vote for the Republican candidate. Among the Republican Fundamentalists no one stated they would cross party lines to vote for the Democratic Catholic candidate at the presidential level. However, again looking at the senatorial race, only 62% stated that they would definitely vote for the Republican candidate. It seems quite evident that at the presidential level some factor is operating to distort the normal voting pattern, assuming the norm is for registered partisans to either vote for the candidates of their choice or cross-over in comparable proportions in voting for different offices. Indications are that this factor is the religious affiliation of Mr. Kennedy.

At the outset of the study it was hypothesized that among Fundamentalist church members who were Democrats there would be a larger percentage who would be undecided in their voting intention in the presidential race than in the senate race. The basis for this hypothesis is rooted in the idea that because there would be a conflict between religion and party identification, the conflict would not be solved until very late in the campaign, perhaps in the election booth. It is for this reason that it was thought there would be a very high percentage of Fundamentalist Democrats who would be undecided in their

voting preference for president.<sup>1</sup> Looking at Table 4-1 it can be seen that this hypothesis was not confirmed, only 7% were undecided. This is much lower than the 19% of the Fundamentalist Democrats who were undecided in the senatorial race.

It seems that at the presidential level the expected cross-pressure between party identification and religion was already resolved. The Fundamentalist Democrat had been exposed to the "Dangers of the Catholic Conspiracy" as early as April of 1960. Many Democratic respondents indicated they had "made up their mind" whom they would vote for before the Democratic National Convention should Senator Kennedy receive the presidential nomination.

During the campaign period of the election the Fundamentalist had been exposed to the "dangers of a Catholic president" every Sunday from the pulpit. Moreover, the church member had had his mailbox filled with anti-Catholic tracts and the daily newspaper which he read was filled with letters-to-the-editor which were anti-Catholic in tone.

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<sup>1</sup>In the Campbell study of the 1952 election a new theory of the time of voting intention was evolved. The 1952 election caused conflict in the minds of Democratic voters who were attracted to the Republican presidential candidate. These Democrats made their voting decision much later than Republicans, seemingly because of personal conflict between political values. This theory runs counter to an earlier study, The People's Choice by Lazarsfeld, which attributed late decisions to voter indifference. Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Rowe Peterson Co., 1954), page 214.

The Fundamentalists' friends shared the same viewpoint on Catholicism and because the Catholic population of Eugene is very small, he was not able or unwilling to associate with Catholics which might have led to some moderation of his anti-Catholic views.<sup>1</sup>

As previously explained in the first chapter "Survey Design," the actual voting registration of a large percentage of the respondents was checked at the County Court House. A question was asked of all the respondents as to which political party they identified themselves. A percentage of the Catholic respondents self-identified with the other political party than the party they were registered to at the County Court House. Two explanations can be given for this. The first is that

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<sup>1</sup>In the voting study done by Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee it was found that the voter that had friends who were both Republicans and Democrats were less sure of how they were going to vote than the voter whose friends belonged to the same party he did. Thus, it seems that "a sense of security about one's judgement seems to be a function of the congeniality of the personal environment." They also found that only about one in five Republicans had a Democrat among his immediate associates and only about two in five Democrats have a Republican friend. Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1955), pages 94-98. It is felt that religious associations and political associations affect the individual in the same way, i.e., social interaction tends to produce moderation of views. In the 1954 Michigan Study, Campbell and Cooper first hypothesized that among these people who are subject to political influence from more than one group, that if group influences are congruent, those people holding overlapping positions will be more partisan in their votes and attitudes than people who belong to only one of these relevant groups. They found that their data in general confirmed this hypothesis. Angus Campbell and Homer C. Cooper, Group Differences in Attitudes and Votes (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1956), page 104.

the voter had not taken the time to change his party registration before election day. The second explanation is that the voter so identified the party with whom he was registered with a group which would harm him that he completely abandoned his party. If the first explanation is disregarded on the basis that the voter by not changing his actual party registration in the face of a changing political philosophy disenfranchise himself from voting in the primary election of his chosen party, then we are left with the second explanation.

By looking at Table 4-2 it can be seen that 10% of the registered Republican Catholics self-identified as Democrats and 15% of the registered Fundamentalist Democrats identified themselves as Republicans. These two groups may have so embroiled themselves with the issue of religion in the election that they would not even acknowledge they belonged to the party that they felt would cause them harm if the party was victorious at the presidential level. With these two groups, cross-pressure is in some cases a myth since they have totally committed themselves to the opposing party and thus completely resolved even potential conflict.

The issue of Catholicism permeated most sectors of the Fundamentalist church members life. His identification with a political party, as with most voters, became relevant to his political behavior only at election time and the issue of Catholicism completely overshadowed party identification. If commitment to a political party had been a commitment to an ideology the Fundamentalist might have felt an

TABLE 4-2

**SELF IDENTIFIED REPUBLICAN FUNDAMENTALISTS AND SELF  
IDENTIFIED CATHOLIC DEMOCRATS AND THEIR  
ACTUAL PARTY REGISTRATION**

Church Type Self Identified	Republican		Democrat		Unknown		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Republican Fundamentalist	54	59	14	15	22	24	1	1	91	99
Catholic Democrat	9	10	56	64	22	25	0	0	87	99

additional significant cross-pressure. However, since the political parties in the United States are not ideological parties in the European sense, this problem did not arise with the Fundamentalists.<sup>1</sup>

As compared with the Fundamentalist Democrats, the Catholic Republican group had a high percentage of persons who were undecided as to how they were going to vote. Twenty-three percent of the respondents (see Table 4-1A) stated they were undecided as to how they were going to vote. The Catholic Republicans were presumably cross-pressured between religious affiliation and party identification and could not decide how to vote. Twenty-three percent of the Catholic Republicans were crossing party lines to vote for Kennedy and 54% were intending to vote for Nixon.

<sup>1</sup>Somewhat in contradiction with my theory are the findings of Campbell, Gurin and Miller in The Voter Decides. They found that 90% of the Democrats never thought of themselves as Republicans while 25% of the Republicans said that at times they thought of themselves as Democrats. Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Rowe Peterson and Company, 1954), page 102.

TABLE 4-1A

VOTING INTENTION OF CATHOLIC DEMOCRATS AND  
CATHOLIC REPUBLICANS FOR THE PRESIDENCY

Party Identification	President Voting Intention							
	Kennedy		Nixon		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Catholic Democrat	81	92	1	1	6	7	88	100
Catholic Republican	11	23	26	54	11	23	47	100

Among the Democratic Catholics only 1% were crossing party lines and stated that they intended to vote for Nixon. This is understandable because such a voting intention would be contrary to both their party registration and their religious affiliation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>It was found in the Elmira study conducted by Berelson that the Catholics voted Republican less than half as much as the Protestants. Berelson controlled on income because it is generally accepted that Catholics have a lower (average) income level than Protestants and this might be the intervening variable effecting voting. Controlling on income at all levels, Berelson still found on each socio-economic level that about half as many Catholics vote Republican as Protestants. Berelson thus maintains that there is a strong "religious vote" in this country. Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1955), pages 64-66.

In an article by Elmo Roper in the Saturday Review he stated that as of September 1950, 68% of the Catholics who were likely to vote, intended to vote for Kennedy; 18% intended to vote for Nixon; 14% were undecided or would not give their preference. 60% of the Protestants planned to vote for Nixon, 30% for Kennedy and 10% were undecided or undisclosed. Catholic independents were planning to vote for Kennedy in the ratio of 3:1. 25% of the Protestant Democrats were planning to vote for Nixon while only 4% of the Catholic Democrats were planning to vote for Nixon. When Democrats who were planning to vote for Nixon were asked their reasons, 29% of them said it was because of Kennedy's religious affiliation. Elmo Roper, "The Catholic Vote: A Second Look," XLIII no. 45 (November 5, 1960), page 27.

The propaganda which was disseminated to the Fundamentalists on the "dangers of Catholicism" mentioned only the danger of having a Catholic for president. There was no mention made of the danger of having a Catholic for sheriff or as a member of the state legislature. However, the Catholic issue affected other candidates running for other offices. As an example, in Eugene there was a non-partisan circuit judge race in which a Catholic candidate and a non-Catholic candidate were contending. Looking at Table 4-3 it can be seen that if the Fundamentalists were not aware that Leavy was a Catholic, 37% of them intended to vote for Leavy, 37% were undecided and 25% intended to vote for Spencer, the Protestant candidate. Since both candidates were seemingly well qualified for the position and the race was non-partisan there was little to differentiate the two candidates. The fact that voters are generally apathetic towards such a contest (many times the voter will not even complete his ballot in the local races) is probably the reason 37% of the Fundamentalist voters were undecided in their voting preference. Again looking at Table 4-3 and the voting preference of Fundamentalists who were aware of the religious affiliation of Leavy, it is found that only 27% indicate their preference for Leavy, 58% indicate their voting preference for the Protestant candidate, Spencer, and the percentage of those who were undecided as to how they were going to vote is but 15%.



TABLE 4-3

FUNDAMENTALISTS AND CATHOLICS VOTING INTENTION WHO  
KNOW LEAVY IS A CATHOLIC AND THOSE WHO DO NOT  
KNOW HE IS A CATHOLIC

	Leavy		Spencer		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Know Leavy is Catholic								
Fundamentalists	9	27	19	58	5	15	33	100
Catholics	64	90	4	6	3	4	71	100
Don't know Leavy is Catholic								
Fundamentalists	41	37	28	25	41	37	110	99
Catholics	28	50	6	11	22	39	56	100

Perception of Leavy's Catholicism is the variable affecting voting intention. Among those Fundamentalist who were not aware of Leavy's religion there was a high percentage of undecided voters. There is a much lower percentage among the Fundamentalists who were aware of his religion. The Fundamentalist now has a basis upon which to vote which he did not previously have. Whether voting on the basis of a candidate's religion is a rational basis for casting a vote is not relevant. The relevant factor, whether rational or irrational, is that he now has a basis upon which to make a choice.

Whereby Leavy's Catholicism operated to his disadvantage with Fundamentalist voters, it operated to his advantage with the Catholic

voters.<sup>1</sup> Again by looking at Table 4-3 it can be seen that of the Catholics who did not know that Leavy was a Catholic, 50% indicated a voting preference for Leavy and 39% were undecided. Ninety percent of the Catholics who were aware of Leavy's Catholicism indicated that they intended to vote for him which is a wide contrast with the "don't know" Catholics, of which only 50% expressed a voting intention for Leavy. Again, like the Fundamentalists, the Catholics who were aware of Leavy's church affiliation who indicated that they were undecided constituted a very small percentage. As with the Fundamentalists who finally had a criterion upon which to make a judgement between the two candidates, the Catholic aware of the religious difference between the candidates, had the same criteria, religion.

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<sup>1</sup>In a personal interview with Judge Leavy, he stated that he was a graduate of Notra Dame, was active in the Catholic Church being chairman of the Lane County Catholic Charity Incorporated. He also stated that he belonged to the Knights of Columbus although he had not attended one of their meetings in over a year. Leavy attributed his success in the campaign to the fact that he used television more than Spencer did in the general election. He believed this enabled the people in his own church to recognize him and possibly mobilize any potential Catholic vote. Interview with Judge Leavy, November 15, 1960. Elmo Roper in his analysis of religious voting said that there is stronger evidence of pro-Catholic voting on the part of Catholics than of Pro-Protestant voting on the part of Protestants. Mr. Roper believes the pro-Catholic vote is supplemented by a certain amount of pro-Catholic voting on the part of Protestants who are incensed by anti-Catholic remarks by their fellow church members. Elmo Roper, "The Catholic Voter: A Second Look," The Saturday Review, XLIII no. 45 (November 5, 1960), page 53. It is possible for this reason, that Judge Leavy defeated Spencer.

It has been agreed by the leaders of both political parties that one mistake which Richard Nixon made in his campaign strategy and which very likely accounted for his loss of the election was in debating John Kennedy. Nixon was well known and did not need the publicity while John Kennedy was less well known. A television debate with Nixon presumably made Kennedy better known to many eligible voters. In addition the consensus of opinion among leaders of both parties was that Kennedy made a better appearance on television than did Nixon.<sup>1</sup>

It was hypothesized that Fundamentalist voters would not recognize the fact that Kennedy had made the more effective television appearance. By looking at Table 4-4 it can be seen that the hypothesis was confirmed. In this table, however, it seems that the Fundamentalist Democrat was being somewhat cross-pressured. As an example, 43% of the Fundamentalist Republicans stated that they believed that Nixon made the better presentation on television. The percentage difference is almost negligible between the Fundamentalist Republican and the Protestant Republican,<sup>2</sup> inasmuch as 40% of the "regular Protestants" thought that Nixon made the best television presentation. The percentage falls to

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<sup>1</sup>"More Light on 60 Election," U. S. News and World Report, (December 12, 1960), pages 78-82.

<sup>2</sup>In the analysis of Table 4-4, "Regular Protestants" are treated as the control group. This could be somewhat misleading inasmuch as 13% of this group stated that the religious affiliation of the presidential candidate would influence their voting behavior (see Table 3-1).

TABLE 4

CATHOLICS AND FUNDAMENTALISTS OF BOTH PARTIES  
WHO VIEWED THE T.V. DEBATES AND THEIR  
CHOICE AS TO WHOM MADE THE  
BEST PRESENTATION

	Nixon		Kennedy		Equally Effective		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Catholic Republican	10	21	12	25	26	54	48	100
Fundamentalist Republican	30	43	4	6	36	51	70	100
Catholic Democrat	1	1	56	70	23	29	80	100
Fundamentalist Democrat	11	21	20	38	22	42	53	101
Protestant Republican	17	40	9	7	23	53	43	100
Protestant Democrat	2	5	24	63	12	31	38	99

21% among Fundamentalist Democrats who believe that Nixon made the better presentation. Now by looking at the percentage of Fundamentalist Democrats who stated that Kennedy made the best presentation we find a percentage of 38%; this in contrast with the Fundamentalist Republican group of whom only 6% stated that they believed that Kennedy made the best television appearance.

If the anti-Kennedy indoctrination had been totally successful there would not have been the high percentage of Fundamentalist Democrats who believed that Kennedy had made the best television presentation since this would be an admittance of an important attribute to the Catholic candidate.

This is not to say that the anti-Kennedy indoctrination did not have an effect. Comparing the "Regular Protestant" Democrat who believed that Nixon made the best appearance we find that there is only 5% in this group as contrasted to the 21% of the Fundamentalist Democrats. Also among the "Regular Protestant" Democrats it is found the 63% believed that Kennedy made the best presentation in contrast to only 38% of the Fundamentalist Democrats. However, one might assume that if the indoctrination of the Fundamentalist Democrats had been completely successful that it would have been very likely that the "Equally Effective" category or the "Nixon made the best presentation" category would have absorbed the 38% figure given to Kennedy.

It is interesting to note that among Catholic Republicans their religious affiliation apparently influenced their assessment as to who made the best television presentation. Only 21% stated that Nixon made the best appearance as contrasted to 40% of the "Regular Protestant" Republicans and 43% of the Fundamentalist Republicans. A much higher percentage of the Catholic Republicans than either the Republican "Regular Protestants" or the Republican Fundamentalists stated that Kennedy made the better presentation.

It was hypothesized that there would be a lower percentage of Fundamentalists who stated that Kennedy made the best television presentation would state a voting preference for Kennedy than of "Regular Protestants" who stated that Kennedy made the best television

presentation.<sup>1</sup> Also hypothesized was that a higher percentage of Catholics who stated that Kennedy had made the best television presentation would indicate a voting preference for Kennedy than of "Regular Protestants" who also stated that Kennedy made the best television appearance. It can be seen in Table 4-5 that both hypotheses were confirmed. Only 50% of the Fundamentalists stated a preference for Kennedy as compared with 88% of the "Regular Protestants." Ninety-five percent of the Catholic group which stated that Kennedy made the best presentation is somewhat higher than the "Regular Protestant" group.

The importance of the data in both Tables 4-4 and 4-5 is twofold. Of primary importance is the fact that a strong religious orientation during an election which is directed towards influencing voting not only operates to change voting patterns but also alters other perceptions and affects the outcome of propaganda and political "education" on the part of the religious group member. The question of who presented the best political debate may be colored to some degree by the ideology of the viewer of the debate. However, even political bias, under some circumstances, can be overcome by very well presented

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<sup>1</sup>As in footnote 2, page 100, it should be noted that "Regular Protestants" are used as a control group.

TABLE 4-5

REGULAR PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND FUNDAMENTALISTS WHO  
STATED THAT KENNEDY MADE THE BEST T.V. PRESENTATION  
AND THEIR VOTING PREFERENCE FOR PRESIDENT

	Kennedy		Nixon		Undecided		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fundamentalist	10	50	5	25	3	15	2	10	20	100
Catholic	53	95	0	0	3	5	0	0	56	100
Protestant	21	88	2	8	1	4	0	0	24	100

arguments and by the style of the debater. Of secondary importance is that in the area of television debates, cross-pressure was being exerted on the Fundamentalist Democrats. In this area the anti-Catholic indoctrination had not been completely successful.

Of primary interest in election analysis is information concerning the respondents' perception of the party preference of different demographic classes. It was hypothesized that the Fundamentalists' perception of the Catholic voter was that of voting Democratic and that the Catholic perceived the Protestants voting Republican. The hypothesis was formulated because both groups had been heavily propogandized both formally and informally as to the voting intention of the other group. It is also thought that if the Fundamentalists perceived all or most Catholics as voting for the Democratic Party, this would solidify their own voting intention in order to counter, in their eyes, Catholic political power. The converse applies to the

Catholic voter, i.e., if he thinks that all Protestants are going to vote Republican this will solidify his own voting intention in the opposite direction in order to counter Protestant bigotry.

In the 1952 study conducted by Campbell, questions were asked of respondents as to how they perceived the voting preferences of members of their own group and of the different groups. The following data were obtained.<sup>1</sup>

Catholic voting	Democrat	Republican	Split	Don't Know	Not Ascertained
members	22%	6%	38%	32%	2%
non-members	15%	9%	22%	53%	1%

Of course in 1952 there was no religious issue involved in the election to sensitize the voters to the voting preference of different religious groups. Over one-half of the non-Catholic members stated that they did not know how that Catholics might vote, whether Republican or Democratic. Since that the question was much more relevant to the Catholic, the "don't know" category dropped to one-third. However, Catholics who stated that their group would vote either Republican or Democratic is less than one-third, since the total of the preference for perceived Democratic voting and perceived Republican voting is but 28%.

<sup>1</sup> Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Rowe Peterson Co., 1954), page 214.



In the 1960 election the religious affiliation of Kennedy was an important variable which affected the voters of almost all religious groups in some way. The electorate was sensitized to the religious issue. In the Eugene study both Protestants and Catholics had a preconceived notion of how the other group was going to vote. Looking at table 4-6, it can be seen that only 9% of the Fundamentalists and 11% of the Catholics and "Regular Protestants" stated that they did not know how these different religious classes or categories were going to vote. The comparison between these percentages and those of the respondents in Campbell's 1952 study is striking. It seems doubtful that the electorate had been educated between 1952 and 1960 to the fact that Catholics tend to vote Democratic and Protestants tend to vote Republican. Both Protestants and Catholics thought that the other group had developed some solidarity within its' group. It is thought that the perception of the "other" group as having solidarity would tend to solidify their own group with regard to voting intention.

In Table 4-6, it is interesting to note that 68% of the Fundamentalists perceived the Catholic voter as voting Democratic while but 26% of the Catholic voters thought that Catholics were going to vote Democratic. Now by looking at the table again it is found that 43% of the Catholic voters perceived Protestants as splitting their vote between the two parties as compared to but 19% of the Fundamentalists who stated that Protestants would split their vote between the two parties. From these percentages it would seem that the Fundamentalist

TABLE 4-6

PERCEPTION OF PARTY PREFERENCES OF FUNDAMENTALISTS,  
"REGULAR PROTESTANTS" AND CATHOLICS AND HOW  
THEY PERCEIVED THE PARTY PREFERENCES OF  
DIFFERENT DEMOGRAPHIC CLASSES

Perception of Catholic Vote

Church Type	Repub.		Demo.		Split		Don't Know		N. A.		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fundamentalist	4	3	107	68	25	16	15	9	7	4	158	100
Catholic	2	1	36	26	85	61	15	11	2	1	140	100
"Regular" Protestant	2	2	50	50	36	36	11	11	1	1	100	100

Perception of Protestant Vote

Church Type	Repub.		Demo.		Split		Don't Know		N. A.		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fundamentalist	82	59	4	3	46	29	18	11	8	5	158	100
Catholic	49	35	9	6	60	43	20	14	2	1	140	100
"Regular" Protestant	35	35	3	3	45	45	16	16	1	1	100	100

church member had been indoctrinated much more thoroughly than either the Catholic church member or the "Regular Protestant" church member.

If my thesis is accepted that the higher the percentage of the group that states that the demographic groups will split their vote between the two parties, the most tolerant and less indoctrinated the

group is, then it would seem that the Fundamentalists show the highest degree of indoctrination. Again looking at Table 4-6 it can be seen that with regard to the perception of the Protestant vote, there are but two percentage point differences between the perception of "Regular Protestants" and Catholics.

As in most voting studies, what was found for the most part was the obvious, i.e., the voter who belongs to one party (disregarding all other variables) will tend to vote for the party's candidates more so than the opposing party's candidates. However, there were hypotheses which were seemingly disproved, as an example, that of the cross-pressured voter.

The basis of the whole thesis is that there is a different voting pattern evidenced by Fundamentalists as opposed to "Regular Protestants" just as there is a different voting pattern exercised by Catholics as opposed to either Fundamentalists or "Regular Protestants."

The question posed at the beginning of the chapter, was why did the Democrats lose the election in Oregon despite a 50,000 edge in voting strength? Part of the answer has been made obvious, however, part of the answer should be further clarified.

It was found in a post-election analysis by Dr. Eugene Lindstrom, a mathematician for IBM, that the higher the Catholic percentage in

each state's population, the greater the Democratic gain over 1956.

The following are Dr. Lindstrom's findings.<sup>1</sup>

Catholic % of state population	Change in Democratic Vote 1956-1960
9% or less	up 1.4%
10%-19%	up 5.2%
20%-29%	up 7.3%
30%-39%	up 15%
40% or more	up 16.8%

It has to be remembered that Oregon had but 9.3% of its population, Catholic. Thus Oregon can be considered one of the states in which the Catholic population was so small that it had little effect on voting. If Oregon had been a state in which 40% or more of the population was Catholic then undoubtedly the state would have supported John F. Kennedy the Democrat rather than Richard Nixon the Republican. The results of an election study in the South on religious voting gives insight to Oregon's patchquilt pattern of voting. In the election analysis done by Stokes, Campbell, Miller and Converse<sup>2</sup> it

<sup>1</sup> "More Light on 60 Election," U.S. News and World Report, (December 12, 1960), pages 73-82.

<sup>2</sup> Philip Converse, Angus Campbell, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes, "Stability and Change in 1960: A Reinstating Election," American Political Science Review, Vol. 55 no. 2 (June, 1961), pages 269-280.

was found that in the South that "strong" Democrats in their sample made little contribution to the 1960 Democratic turnout. The increase in turnout came from "weak" Democrats who turned out in such great numbers over their participation in the 1952 and 1956 election that their turnout surpassed the "strong" Democratic turnout. The analysis is that anti-Catholic feeling overcame party loyalty and the motivation to vote was based on an anti-Catholic feeling rather than on party principles. Although not substantiated this also could have occurred in Oregon. The Fundamentalist for the most part not being highly educated and having a lower income has in the past abstained from voting either because he was apathetic about issues or he could not understand them. However, the religious issue was something that he could understand and his minister and his friends very easily converted this into a black and white issue with which he could make a decision to vote. The result was an exodus from the Democratic Party of the members with weak commitments. The result, a Republican victory, was based not on political philosophy but to a great extent on the religious affiliation of the presidential candidates.

## V. CONCLUSION

Religious freedom for all...every individual has rights to his own conviction.... Our responsibility is to step over political lines and never let a Catholic be head of this country.

During the 1960 presidential election campaign the accusation was made by newspaper editorial writers, by liberal Protestant ministers and by political candidates that basing the voting decision on a candidate's religious affiliation was an irrational act. It was said that voting should be based upon a candidate's qualifications, i.e., upon a rational basis for voting rather than religious affiliation. Perhaps after the heat of the campaign, these same critics began to understand that to a member of a church sect which had incorporated into its dogma the fear of Catholicism, voting on the basis of religion was a rational act on his part.

Leonard W. Doob has said that to call behavior inconsistent at any given moment or over a given period of time is often misleading.

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<sup>1</sup>Notes taken at "Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State" religio-political rally; address by J. B. Rowell. First Assembly of God Church, Eugene, Oregon, September 29, 1960.

Apparently inconsistent actions may be consistent with a broader principle or set of attitudes within the individual. Doob then concludes that whereby socially or in the eyes of the multitude the individual is irrational or inconsistent, psychologically he may be consistent.<sup>1</sup> Allport has stated that the political nature of man is indistinguishable from his personality as a whole. "A man's political opinions reflect the characteristic modes of his adjustment to life."<sup>2</sup> If we then accept the logical thesis of Allport it may be said that political participation, at any level is a reflection of a person's personality as molded by his environment. Even the act of non-participation is in effect an indicator of personality. The person perhaps feels alienated from the political system and thus sees no reason to participate. It is also possible he has an interest in the political system but his information is restricted (this could be a matter of values, i.e., buying True Romance rather than the Reporter) and thus knowing of no difference between candidates does not deem it necessary to vote.

A number of studies have been conducted in order to determine the factors which contribute to prejudice. Some sociologists have theorized

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<sup>1</sup>Leonard W. Doob, Public Opinion and Propaganda (New York: Henry Holt Company, 1948), page 65.

<sup>2</sup>Gordon W. Allport, "The Composition of Political Attitudes," American Journal of Sociology, XXIV, by Robert E. Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), page 97.

that the higher the educational level of the group, the lower the prejudice. A study was done in South Africa to determine whether educated people were more tolerant than the less educated. The results seem to show that those with University training were much more tolerant than those with but an elementary education.<sup>1</sup> However, in another study conducted by the National Opinion Research Center of over 2500 white respondents in the United States correlating the level of education with prejudice, the conclusion drawn from the study was that general education does not diminish prejudice.<sup>2</sup>

In the present study it was hypothesized that the higher the educational level of the respondents, the lower would be the level of religious prejudice. By looking at Table 5-1 it can be seen that there is no correlation between education and voting on the basis of religion (religious prejudice) among either the "Regular" Protestants or the Fundamentalists. In every educational category, however, it can be seen that the type of religious affiliation effects whether the respondents will vote on the basis of religion or not. As an example, among "Regular" Protestants who have had a tenth grade education or less, only 9% stated that religion would influence their voting. Among

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<sup>1</sup>Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, abridged ed. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954), page 405.

<sup>2</sup>Babette Samelson, "Does Education Diminish Prejudice," The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 1, no. 3 (August 1945), pages 11-13.



TABLE 5-1

EDUCATION OF "REGULAR" PROTESTANTS AND FUNDAMENTALISTS AND  
 WHETHER THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL  
 CANDIDATES WOULD ALTER VOTING INTENTION

Education	Yes		No		DK		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>"Regular" Protestants</u>								
Grades 1-10	1	9	10	91	0	0	11	100
Grades 11-12	6	18	28	82	0	0	34	100
Trade School, Some College, or Business School	3	10	26	90	0	0	29	100
College Graduate or College Graduate Student	3	12	22	88	0	0	25	100
<u>Fundamentalists</u>								
Grades 1-10	29	64	15	33	1	2	45	100
Grades 11-12	27	60	18	40	0	0	45	100
Trade School, Some College, or Business School	20	54	16	43	1	3	37	100
College Graduate or College Graduate Student	14	64	8	36	0	0	22	100

TABLE 5-2

FAMILY INCOME OF "REGULAR" PROTESTANTS AND FUNDAMENTALISTS  
AND WHETHER RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION EFFECTS  
VOTING INTENTION

Income	Effect Vote		Not Effect Vote		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Fundamentalists</b>								
0-\$3,999	23	55	18	43	1	2	42	100
\$4,000-\$6,999	27	56	21	44	0	0	48	100
over \$7,000	20	65	11	35	0	0	31	100
<b>"Regular" Protestants</b>								
0-\$3,999	3	18	14	82	0	0	17	100
\$4,000-\$6,999	4	12	30	88	0	0	34	100
over \$7,000	4	10	35	90	0	0	39	100

the Fundamentalists with a tenth grade education or less, 64% stated that religion would influence their voting intention. A difference of 55% seemingly has resulted due to the type of church the respondents were affiliated. Now by looking at the category of college graduates or those doing post-graduate college work it is seen that among Protestants, 12% stated that religion would influence their voting intention while among Fundamentalists in the same educational category, 64% stated that religion would influence their voting intention. In this instance there is a difference of 52% which seemingly is accounted for by the type of church the respondent was affiliated. As can be

seen in Table 5-1 there is an equally high percentage difference in the other educational categories.

It was hypothesized that the higher the income level of the respondent, the lower would be the level of religious prejudice. By looking at Table 5-2 it can be seen that with regards to "Regular" Protestants this hypothesis has been confirmed. Eighteen percent of those that have an income under \$4,000 stated that the religious affiliation of the candidates would influence their voting intention. Those in the \$4,000 to \$6,999 income bracket were less prejudiced and those with an income over \$7,000 were even less prejudiced. When we look at the Fundamentalists in Table 5-2 the hypothesis has been completely disproved since that seemingly the higher the income level, the higher the prejudice.<sup>1</sup> However, the most interesting thing about the data in Table 5-2 is the great disparity in prejudice between the Fundamentalists and the "Regular" Protestants at every income level. With those respondents with an income under \$4,000 there is a difference

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<sup>1</sup>An explanation for this phenomenon might possibly be that those Fundamentalists who are in the upper income bracket are very strongly committed to their religion. It would seem that a member of the Fundamentalist church who is able to achieve a high income would be inclined to change his church affiliation from one which is usually associated with the lower class to that which is associated with a higher class level, i.e., one whose members generally are in the upper income levels. Therefore, it is possible that Fundamentalists who have not changed their church affiliation are "hard core" church members and therefore the church's position on Catholicism would have a very strong impact on their voting behavior.

of 37% between the Fundamentalists and the "Regular" Protestants. With respondents with an income of over \$7,000 a year there is a difference of 55%.

From Tables 5-1 and 5-2 it seems quite evident that voting on the basis of religion (prejudice) is not a function of either income or education but seemingly that of church affiliation.

It would seem that in order to understand the psychological makeup of the individual whose voting behavior is primarily influenced by religion it is necessary to understand the institutions which help to mold his personality.

In a very general sense the Fundamentalist church member has been categorized by students of religious psychology. Michael Argyle in his book, Religious Behavior, has said that Fundamentalists belong largely to the working class and are relatively uneducated. Although he does not have empirical evidence, he speculates that members of sects (Fundamentalists) are more intropunitive and also tend to have hysterical

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<sup>1</sup>John Garcia and Richard Christie in a study of authoritarianism and ethnocentrism came to the conclusion that "Individuals tend to have an ideology regarding minority groups which is in conformity with their personality structure--this relationship existing within the culturally sanctioned frame of reference regarding minority groups. Richard Christie and John Garcia, "Subcultural Variation in Authoritarian Personality," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVI no. 4 (October 1951), pages 457-470.

tendencies much more than liberal denominational members.<sup>1</sup> Boisen believes that Pentecostals tend to become authoritarian in their personality since that they believe that the divine manifests itself in the unusual (ability to speak in tongues and modern day miracles) and thus the religious prompting does not come from spiritual inspiration from within but instead comes from without by an authority figure.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Michael Argyle, Religious Behavior (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), pages 175-176. In a study conducted at Columbia University Teachers College in 1935, more than fifty individuals interested in religious education were selected for a study of Liberal vs. Conservative attitudes with regards to religion. All of the subjects were competent in the fields of religious dogma. A series of open ended interviews were conducted and the results obtained were: 1. People with a liberal view towards religion are usually more intelligent. 2. Respondents with a liberal attitude towards religion were usually better educated. 3. Radicals and ultra-conservatives in their religious outlook tend to be badly adjusted emotionally. 4. Dominant people tend to be liberal in religious outlook while submissive people tend to be conservative. 5. There was a relationship between liberal and conservative political backgrounds and liberal and conservative religious backgrounds. Whether the respondents were politically liberal or conservative influenced the degree of religious liberalism or conservatism. Intelligence of the respondents was measured by means of I. Q. tests and the ability to adapt to new situations. Thomas A. Symington, Religious Liberals and Conservatives (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Press, 1935), pages 19-22.

<sup>2</sup>Anton T. Boisen, Religion in Crisis and Custom (New York: Harper Brothers, 1955), page 90.

since that "speaking in tongues" is usually encouraged by actions of the minister.

Another student of religious psychology has said there are basically two types of religions which effect prejudice. W. Edgar Gregory maintains the one manifesting the least prejudice is more of an inner religious feeling. This "upholds the cause of brotherhood with compassion and devotion to a God who loves all people and seeks the reclamation of all." The second type is an institutionalized form of religion which emphasizes loyalty to an external authority. The external authority makes a judgement which separates the saved from the unsaved.<sup>1</sup> In this way prejudice is manifested since there is intolerance on the part of one authority for another self-proclaimed authority.

All Protestant churches have doctrines which are institutionalized; however, some Protestant churches are much more intolerant of other authority figures than other Protestant churches. The Fundamentalist churches for the most part believe that only they have the "true" doctrine which is necessary for the believer to follow in order to be "saved." Interviews with the ministers of different church denominations

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<sup>1</sup>W. Edgar Gregory, "Research and the Psychology of Religion," Readings in the Psychology of Religion, ed. Orlo Strunk Jr. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1959), page 162.

seemed to show that the more liberal Protestant churches did not believe that only they had the "true" doctrine, which had to be followed in order to be "saved."

The Catholic Church has been criticized by many since the church is completely centralized and thus is able to quite effectively discourage criticism on the part of its members.<sup>1</sup> However, it should be noted that the Catholic Church exhibits a note of tolerance which is

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<sup>1</sup>In the chapter, "Religious Theory and Social Policy," in Tawney's work, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, the thesis is advanced that the Protestant churches were forced by the rise of an impersonal capitalistic system to modify their doctrine to conform with the capitalistic institutions. In effect a social consciousness had to be subverted in order to be compatible with the capitalist who was gaining his wealth through exploitation. Pages 128-149. "To contemporaries the chosen seat of the Puritan spirit seemed to be those classes in society which combined economic independence, education and a certain pride in their status, revealed at once in a determination to live their own lives, without trucking to earthly superiors, and in a somewhat arrogant contempt for those who, either through weakness of character or through economic helplessness, were less resolute, less vigorous and masterful than themselves." R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (New York: Mentor Books, 1926), page 168. It should be noted here that the Puritans were opposed to a church authoritarian in character. The example from Tawney is used here to demonstrate the reliance placed on the individual and the lack of a social consciousness. In support of the thesis that Protestantism originally lacked a social consciousness is the following quote from Max Weber: "The member of the sect had to have qualities of a certain kind in order to enter the community circle. Being endowed with these qualities was important for the development of rational modern capitalism.... They were constantly and continuously bred in him. For, like his bliss in the beyond his whole social existence in the here and now depended upon his proving himself." Max Weber, From Max Weber Essays in Sociology, trans. and ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pages 320.

not present in the doctrine of Fundamentalist churches. The Catholic Church although believing that only they have the "right" doctrine also believe that a member of a Protestant church who is well meaning in his religious practices and has not had the opportunity to understand Catholic doctrine can also be "saved." Fundamentalist church doctrine is not so tolerant since they believe that no matter how zealously the Catholic practices his religion, he is doomed to hell.

Argyle has said that religious movements among various minority groups can be classified into three types:

- (a) those that passively accept their disprivileged status, emphasizing only the importance of religious values....
- (b) those which criticize without attacking the social order, and withdraw from society, and (c) those that protest aggressively on religious grounds against society at large.<sup>1</sup>

Recent studies in Holland and Sweden have shown that in the geographical areas where Fundamentalism flourishes, the Communists have the greatest strength.<sup>2</sup> Possibly the reason for this is that Communism has its greatest attraction in areas in which economic hardships exist. Fundamentalism is bred in areas in which there is economic deprivation and consequent low education level due to the lack of opportunity. Some of the people in the area are attracted to Communism and some to Fundamentalism although they are diametrically

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<sup>1</sup>Argyle also mentions that there is no empirical evidence, but he believes with Yinger that minority group religions are more actively aggressive than passive. Michael Argyle, Religious Behavior (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), page 134.

<sup>2</sup>Seymour Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1960), page 108.



opposed. Lipset has found that in the poor eastern parts of Europe the Communists have been very careful not to offend the Fundamentalist's religious dogma.<sup>1</sup> Possibly the reason for this is that Fundamentalists tend to be other-worldly and not concerned with changes in the political and economic system. They believe that sufferings on earth will reap them greater benefits in heaven and the oppressors on earth will receive their just rewards in hell.<sup>2</sup>

The Communists see no threat from Fundamentalist dogma. Evidently the Communists feel that such religious organizations even if they are not actively interested in either opposing or helping the Communists cause at some future time might be of use. Fundamentalists are highly oriented towards their church not only for spiritual satisfaction but also for entertainment and community service. The church is a focal point of all of their needs. Because the membership of the Fundamentalist church is so committed to the church as a religious and social institution, the penetration of the authoritarian leadership structure by party members would be an excellent method of disseminating Communist dogma and gaining converts.

Robert Lane found there is less participation and interest in politics by those in lower socio-economic class positions in the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., page 109.

<sup>2</sup>See footnote 1, page 120, for the explanation of this type of attitude.

United States and offers six propositions to explain this. These are:<sup>1</sup>

Proposition number one: lower status women have less time for political activity. Proposition two: those of the lower socio-economic class feel at a disadvantage trying to compete with upper status members of the community and this leads to withdrawal from community affairs. Proposition three: members of the lower socio-economic class belong to fewer organizations and thus they are not as aware of community affairs. Proposition four: The lower class person has less economic security and feels he has less of a sense of control over his environment than those from the middle and the upper class. Proposition six: because he is a member of the lower socio-economic class he has a low educational level and therefore has less of a capacity to deal with abstract issues.

Lane also suggests that members from lower economic groups tend to delegate decision-making in the community to those with more income and education.<sup>2</sup>

From the evidence which has been presented in chapters two and three it would seem that Lane's analysis of political participation of the lower socio-economic classes would not be completely valid for the residents of our research community in the 1960 Presidential election. However, Lane also makes the observation from evidence he has found that people who take stands on issues of the day are more active in politics than others.<sup>3</sup> From the findings in chapters two and

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<sup>1</sup>Robert Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), pages 234.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 229-230.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 173.

three it seems quite evident that the Fundamentalist church member was activated politically by his minister and other church related reference groups. Thus it is possible to reconcile Lane's findings with those in the present study.

Proposition number one stated that lower status women have less time for political activity. Allport says that while there have not been any scientific studies as to why certain people follow demagogues, observers have found that usually the people are uneducated, and over 40 years of age who have not succeeded in life. Also the presence in the audience of demagogues of many stoic-faced women suggest that he fulfills a secret love for these women.<sup>1</sup> Thus if the assumption is made that the minister acts in the manner of a demagogue and tries to invoke an anti-Catholic feeling in his congregation the women particularly will tend to follow his suggestions.

There was no item on the questionnaire to measure the effectiveness of the minister's propaganda on the church members. However, it was hypothesized that a higher percentage of women with a "strong" religious feeling would vote on the basis of religion than men who had a "strong" religious feeling. Table 5-3 was constructed in order to determine if the sex of the respondent was an important variable

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<sup>1</sup>Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, abridged ed. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books), page 392.

TABLE 5-3

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION AMONG MALE AND FEMALE FUNDAMENTALISTS  
AND RELATIONSHIP TO WHETHER RELIGION  
WILL INFLUENCE VOTING INTENTION

Sex	Influence Voting Intention							
	Yes		No		DK		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Male</b>								
Somewhat Important	1	11	7	88	1	11	9	100
Very Important	32	59	22	41	0	0	54	100
<b>Female</b>								
Somewhat Important	2	33	4	67	0	0	6	100
Very Important	56	71	22	28	1	1	79	100

contributing to religious prejudice. As can be seen, there is a difference of 22% on whether the religious affiliation of the candidates would influence voting intention between men who think religion is somewhat important and women who think religion is somewhat important. The difference is 12% between the two groups who think religion is very important. The hypothesis has been confirmed but the intriguing results need more explanation. One explanation may be that the minister fulfills a yearning for love for these women and whatever the minister proclaims is followed. It is possible, however, that men are more interested in politics and thus base their vote on information on issues rather than religion. The women not being interested in politics

and issues have no information except that disseminated by the church on the religious qualifications of the candidates.

Lane's second proposition that members of the lower socio-economic class tend to withdraw from community affairs because they feel they cannot compete with upper status members of the community is able to be reconciled with the activism displayed by Fundamentalist church members in the 1960 election. Boisen maintains that crisis periods tend to be associated with religious awakening. Since the dogma of the Fundamentalist churches is imbued with anti-Catholicism, the possibility of a Catholic being elected president of the country constitutes a crisis period for members of the Fundamentalist churches. During such a situation Boisen says that anxiety is likely to be the result and this leads to what is seen by the members as constructive measures.<sup>1</sup> However, any type of action by Fundamentalist church members has to have a catalyst. The minister acts as such an agent. The minister may not personally believe the point of view that he is advocating. In order to strengthen his own position in the church hierarchy the minister will, it has been shown, sometimes use propaganda devices in order to

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<sup>1</sup>Anton T. Boisen, Religion in Crisis and Custom (New York: Harper Bros., 1956), Chapter IV.

advocate points of view he does not personally hold.<sup>1</sup> When the minister is effectively able to offer action which will combat Catholicism, the Fundamentalist then attempts to actively compete in the election campaign.

Lane's third proposition; members of the lower socio-economic class belong to fewer organizations and thus they are not as aware of community affairs since belonging to various community groups supplies him with information about community affairs, is able to be reconciled with active participation by Fundamentalists during the election. The minister in the Fundamentalist church offered complete information not only as to the dangers of Catholicism and how a Catholic president would pose a threat to Protestant churches but also as to the action to be taken to counteract this potential threat. It might be hypothesized that the more organizations which the Fundamentalist belonged to (thus giving him a wider source of information) the less he would be inclined to oppose a candidate solely on the basis of religion. By adhering to but one organization, its doctrines and its actions, there were no counter-pressures on the Fundamentalist which might possibly cause him to mitigate his views. In this instance belonging to but a few

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<sup>1</sup>Frederick E. Lumley in an attempt to verify whether Protestant churches used propaganda devices to promote doctrine and increase membership found preachers and religious teachers who advocated points of view they did not believe in, or only did so half-heartedly. Other religious leaders did not understand some of the doctrines and principles of their churches but used the terminology of "sacred tradition" to reconcile their not understanding the doctrine and their own belief system. Frederick E. Lumley; The Propaganda Menace (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co, 1933), pages 336-337.

organizations was an asset for initiating political action by the leadership in such organizations.

Lane has stated that in order to better understand any given social situation, a knowledge of the psychological processes of the individual provided much more insight into the situation than merely the knowledge of the situation and the overt response of the individual to the situation.<sup>1</sup> It is for this reason that an attempt is made to analyze the personality of the Fundamentalist.

Paul Johnson has pointed out there is a similarity between the prejudiced person and the paranoid. The paranoid person insists on an either-or solution and arrives at premature closures disregarding contrary evidence.<sup>2</sup> Thus the prejudiced person restricts his source of information to a very narrow sector of all of the information which is obtainable. Individuals who belong to lower socio-economic groups in society are less likely to be as highly educated as those from the upper socio-economic groups in society. They are less likely to have access to information if for no other reason

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<sup>1</sup>Robert Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), Page 99.

<sup>2</sup>Paul E. Johnson, Personality and Religion (New York: Abingdon Press, 1951), page 191.

than that they are not aware of the information or where it might be obtained. Thus the information they obtain comes from a very narrow sector of society. This factor might contribute to manifesting prejudice among lower socio-economic groups.

The church may support ideas, points of view, and doctrines which are not directly related to religion such as the position taken by many Fundamentalist churches during the 1960 election regarding the election of the Democratic candidate for president, John Kennedy. If the Fundamentalist church member is exposed to but one point of view or position he tends to support one view and chastizes other points of view, if for no other reason than he is not familiar with them. Thus he arrives at some conclusions disregarding any other conclusions because he is either unfamiliar with contrary evidence or he has closed his mind to the implication of the evidence.

There have been several studies of prejudice which have found a relationship between prejudice and conservatism. A study was conducted in London on racial prejudice in 1940<sup>1</sup> and it was found

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<sup>1</sup>S. P. Adinarayanah, "A Research in Colour Prejudice," The British Journal of Psychology, XXXI (1940-1941), 217-229). Richard Christie and John Garcia conducted a study designed to measure the relationship between ethnocentrism and authoritarianism. The study was conducted with respondents from the University of California and from a university in the southwest. One of the conclusions from the study was that "individuals tend to have an ideology regarding minority groups which is in conformity with their personality structure--this relationship existing within the culturally sanctioned frame of reference regarding minority groups." Richard Christie and John Garcia, "Subcultural Variation in Authoritarian Personality," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVI no. 4 (October, 1951), 457-470.



there was a positive correlation between conservatism and those who would deny minority groups civil rights. In several studies conducted with college students to determine factors causing prejudice it was found that those who scored high on prejudice, scored higher on questions designed to measure conformity to conservative nationalistic views than the low scorers on prejudice.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted that one of the very few widely read ultra-conservative magazines, the American Mercury, is published by "Defenders of the Christian Faith Inc.," a Fundamentalist publishing house. The magazine carries articles supporting racial segregation,

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<sup>1</sup> A study was conducted of college students in six eastern universities in order to find whether individual attitudes are generated with the same intensiveness in all situations. A scale was devised which included items such as war, capital punishment, intolerance, etc. The results seemed to indicate that persons taking a stand on one social issue tend to adopt a similar position on others. Ross Stagner, "Studies of Aggressive Social Attitudes: 1. Measurement and Interrelation of Selected Attitudes," The Journal of Social Psychology, XX (1944), 109-118. A similar study was done by Gardner Lindzey, and it was found that those who scored high on prejudice scored higher on a question to measure conservatism than the low scorers on prejudice. Gardner Lindzey, "Differences Between the High and Low in Prejudice and their Implications for a Theory of Prejudice," Journal of Personality, XIX no. 1 (September 1950), pages 16-40. In a study regarding the etiology of prejudice it was found that the prejudiced person is not prone to sympathize with the underdog and the prejudiced person has a disciplinarian outlook on life. Gordon W. Allport and Bernard W. Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice," The Journal of Psychology, XXII first half (July 1946), pages 9-39.

In the present study there were no questions relating to political liberalism-conservatism; however, the high percentage of Fundamentalists who stated that religion would influence their vote (see Tables 5-1 and 5-2) and the results of previous studies relating to factors which cause prejudice would possibly be a basis for speculating that in the present study, among the Fundamentalists there is a high degree of political conservatism.

condemning the "world-wide Jewish money conspiracy" and condemning "Catholic persecution of Protestants."

It is also important to note that recently the leadership of Fundamentalist church groups have become increasingly associated with right-wing political activities which tend to restrict civil liberties.

In the first chapter, evidence was introduced from the findings of the University of Michigan Survey Research Center that if religion had not been a factor in the presidential election, Mr. Kennedy would have won the 1960 election by 54% of the popular vote instead of by just a fraction over 50%. The Michigan study and the study done in Eugene both present data which suggest that religion is an important factor which must be understood and investigated before the complete dynamics of voting behavior can be understood.

From the evidence in the present study it is predicted in the 1964 presidential election the Fundamentalist church groups in Eugene will be as vocal in opposing a Catholic in the White House as they were in 1960. It is predicted that if the leadership in the Fundamentalist churches is able to mobilize the general membership by discounting President Kennedy's neutral attitude (even perhaps pre-Protestant attitude) during his administration, as nothing but a papal plot to silence the opposition, religion will be as much a factor in the 1964 presidential election as it was in 1960.

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