THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

A STUDY OF THE PRESS COVERAGE

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Study of the Press Coverage of the Assassination of President Kennedy

Introduction

On the blackest Monday in recent American history, November 25, 1963, a managing editor in Virginia took time out from the pressing tasks which had engaged him for four days, and wrote a letter to his colleagues on the Research Committee of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association.

"Since last Friday," he wrote, "the communications media have experienced one of their great times. Television and radio quickly geared to full coverage and eliminated commercials and many other programs."

He and others "who are aware that newspapers have a new form of competition and that newspapers cannot stand still," he wrote, would like to see APME tackle a number of questions raised for the press by the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas on Friday, November 22. What had the public done during the period following the assassination? Had newspapers suffered or gained? What about the reading time devoted to newspapers? Did this increase when the papers gave full coverage? Did newspapers expand space for adequate coverage? Did street and counter sales rise or fall? How much might be added to a press run when such major stories break? How many newspapers put out round-up editions for special sale after the Kennedy story ended and what were the results?

With this letter, R.K.T. (Kit) Larson of The Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star, Norfolk, Virginia, set in motion a study project that continued through the long, hot summer of 1964, culminating in this report.

Richard J. Hartford, Managing Editor of The Hartford(Conn.) Times, Chairman of the APME Journalism Research Committee, approached the Department of Journalism at The University of Michigan about making such a study in February. Within weeks, plans were underway in Ann Arbor for the project.

In January, I. William Hill of The Washington Star, General Vice Chairman of APME's Continuing Study Committees, had summed up the aims of the study and had offered some questions of his own: "What we want is a study of how newspapers and newspaper readership are affected by a story like the assassination...With TV and radio going full blast day and night on the one subject, what affect did this have on the newspaper reading public? Did more people read newspapers?... In the light of experience with radio and TV competition during the assassination period, is there anything newspapers should be doing that they aren't?"

To the guidelines from Larson, Hartford, and Hill were added two more lines of investigation when, in March, the U.P.I. Reporter and the A.N.P.A. Newsletter published results of two surveys. Two dozen editors queried by UPI had reported both losses in advertising revenue and increased production costs during those five demanding days in November (although, reported the U.P.I. Reporter, "most of the respondents claimed no special credit for their extra effort or money losses. They were only doing what came naturally.") Reporting on a survey of 90 newspapers, ANPA cited the finding that 7,330,651 extra copies had been sold during the four days, November 22-25. Thirty-nine papers reported that they had published extra editions, with aggregate circulation of 1,750,786.

Meanwhile, the Department of Journalism decided to purchase a microfilm collection comprising ten rolls of film of 224 newspapers published in the 50 states, covering the period, November 22-26. Prepared by the Micro Photo Division of the Bell & Howell Company, these microfilms represented newspapers drawn primarily from the company's list of more than 800 newspapers being currently microfilmed, plus some other newspapers not being serviced. The company reported that it had attempted, in its selection, to choose "publication of regional importance."

With this research tool for content analysis available, it was decided that the APME study should be two-pronged: a questionnaire survey of the newspapers in the microfilmed collection posing the questions raised by APME and a study of the actual coverage of the tragedy and its aftermath by these newspapers, with particular emphasis upon use of wire services and other sources, use of staff, coverage of local aspects, backgrounding and interpretation. These parallel studies, it was felt, would result in more meaningful data from both the content analysis and the survey.

Examination of the microfilms, when they arrived in Ann Arbor, revealed that a few of the 224 papers were weeklies published after the events, most of them on November 30, and that some of the dailies were microfilmed for only one, two, or three days of the period. It was decided, therefore, that the analysis and the survey would be limited to the individual dailies and the combinations of morning and evening dailies under one ownership, plus Sunday editions, which were microfilmed for four or five days. These covering four days do not publish on Saturday or on Sunday.

A questionnaire posing ten questions covering the subjects suggested by earlier guidelines went off to 191 managing editors or executive editors in June. Forty-one of these editors represented papers microfilmed for the five days, 87 represented papers microfilmed for four days, and 63 represented combinations of papers microfilmed for four or five days.

Of the 191 questionnaires sent out, 106 have been returned. They cover 114 newspapers, since eight respondents filled out questionnaires for combinations. The sample appears to be fairly representative, in light of the recent trend toward a decline in numbers of competing newspapers, for one questionnaire addressed to a newspaper in a city with three papers came back stamped: "Publication Permanently Suspended."

Content analysis, started on the papers in the microfilm collection long before the deadline for return of the questionnaires, has covered 143 individual newspapers, or 127 individual papers and combinations of papers counted as one unit for the four-day or five-day span. Although more than the total returning questionnaires, this is fewer than the total selected for both content analysis and survey originally. After the last responses to the questionnaire had been received, it was decided, in order to complete the project in time for this report, to limit content analysis on the remaining papers on microfilm to those for which questionnaires had been returned. Continuation of the content analysis and investigations of aspects not covered in this report are being undertaken, and should provide a complete and final report at a future date.

Profile of the Newspapers

Of the 143 dailies analyzed on microfilm, 66 are morning and 77 are evening;

84 publish Sunday editions. The range in circulation is from one daily with less than 10,000 circulation up to three Sunday editions with circulations between one million and one-and-a-half million. Extras were published on November 22 by 32 of these papers, on November 24 by two papers, and on November 25 by three papers. One daily put out four different extras on November 22 and another put out three. The complete breakdown on this profile of the papers studied follows:

Circulation in Thousands	No. of Dailies	No. of Sunday Editions
(-10,000)	1	
(10-20)	7	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
(20-30)	15	
(30-40)	6	1
(40-50)	4	2
(50-60)	6	3
(60-70)	6	3
(70-80)	6 6 3 3 8 26	2
(80-90)	3	2
(90-100)	8	
(100-150)		13
(150-200)	15	13
(200-250)	15	9
(250-300)	7	7
(300-350)	4	<u>1</u>
(350-400)	4	4
(400-450)	. 1	2
(450-500)	ı	
(500-550)	4	7
(550-600)		3
(600-650)	1	
(650-700)		2
(700-750)	λ ₄	3
(750-800)		1
(800-850)	2	The second secon
(900-950)		1
(lm-1.5m)	-	3
	Total 143	84

Content Analysis Highlights

Sixteen papers, selected for a wide range of circulations, were measured for total space devoted to the Kennedy coverage, in both text and art. Five questionnaires were returned from this group, all reporting that the papers represented in the questionnaires had added space for coverage, had increased their use of pictures during the period, and had experienced gains in circulation during the period. The breakdown of this measurement analysis, together with the data on the responding newspapers, follows:

Circulation in Thousands	Editions	Dates	Space in Col. Inches
(-10,000)	(PM	22	(
(10-20)	(AM&S	24-26	(1431
(10-20)	PM	22,23,25,26	1443
(20-30)	(PM*	22	(69

Circulation in Thousands	Editions	Dates	Space in Col. Inches
(60-70) (80-90) (20-30) (40-50) (50-60) (70-80)	(AM (S PM (AM (S	23,25,26 24 22,23,25,26 23,25,26 24 22	(2199 (<u>503</u> <u>2255</u> ((<u>3763</u> (<u>335</u>
(100-200) (70-80) (40-50) (90-100) (80-90)	(AM&S* (PM (AM (S (PM*	23-26 22 23,25,26 24 22,23,25,26	(4165 (22 (1983 (562
(100-150) (90-100)	(S (AM	24 23,25,26	(2332
(100-150) (90-100) (200-250)	(S PM* S	24 22 24	(<u>3230</u> (1384
(150-200) (100-150) (700-800) (1m-1.5m)	(AM PM&S (AM (S*	23,25,26 22 - 26 22,23,25,26 24	(<u>1884</u> 5461 ((6031

Note: Combinations - (

Reported increased space and increased circulation - *

Eighty-two individual papers (or 66 units for the period, if combinations of papers are counted as one unit) were analyzed not only as to content but also as to how often text materials classified under 34 different categories appeared. This was to determine how many articles, editorials, and columns were published during the period by this sizable proportion of the total number of papers studied. The tally on this analysis, details of which are covered later in this report, found that these papers had published a total of 7,143 articles, editorials, and columns--exclusive of their reporting of the "hard" news of the assassination, the arrest and subsequent murder of Oswald, and of the rites for the slain President held in Washington.

Survey Highlights

In responding to the survey questionnaire (see next page), 100 editors reported that their newspapers had increased the news space during the five days, and 102 reported that they used more pictures. Circulation gains for the period were reported by 103 editors, 46 of whom said their circulations continued higher after this period.

Fifty-seven editors reported that they cancelled advertising or lost advertising, with 39 reporting total dollar-volume losses. Seventy-one said their costs increased during this period.

Eighteen editors cited figures on circulation of special round-up editions, although many others reported sales of other kinds of special sections and/or sales of the Associated Press and United Press International publications.

Only two editors reported readership studies covering the period, but several others cited evidences of heightened readership and interest.

APME Journalism Research Study (Questionnaire)

- 1. Did you increase the news space of your newspaper during the period, Nov. 22 through Nov. 26? How much?
- 2. Did you use more pictures during this period in covering the assassination and related news? (Estimate increase in col.inches)
- 3. What percentage increase did you have in street sales, counter sales, news-stand sales, and in total circulation during this period?
- 4. Did your circulation continue higher after this period? How much? What is your present circulation?
- 5. If you put out roundup editions for sale later, how many were sold?
- 6. Did you throw out advertising or publish more advertising during this period? Estimate gain or loss.
- 7. If you suffered a loss in advertising revenue during this period, what was the total loss in dollar volume?
- 8. If your costs were greater during this period, what percentage increase occurred in newsprint expense, personnel expense, other expenses? What was total added cost in dollars?
- 9. If you made studies of readership covering this period, what were the results--for example, in time spent reading about the assassination and related news?
- 10. In light of your experience during this period, what do you think newspapers should be doing to meet radio-TV competition in news? For example, how much should be added to press runs in covering a major story such as this?

Eighty-one editors commented on the experience of this period, most of them offering recommendations for the guidance of fellow editors in covering such major stories in the future.

Coverage: Text and Pictures

The decision to concentrate the content analysis upon local aspects, interpretation, and background rather than upon the reporting of the main events of the period came about because it was reasoned that this was the area of coverage in which the newspapers could not only compete with the faster electronic media, but one in which the print media held certain distinct advantages. If the study was to be significant, it was felt, it would have to investigate how well the newspapers being analyzed had carried out their responsibilities, not just as conveyors of the primary news, but as suppliers of a permanent record of events and as providers of meaningful contexts for the major events which they and the other media were reporting.

This decision did not extend to the pictures, however. These were a part of the print media offering which appeared to be an important contribution to the permanency of record, as well as an area of more or less direct competition with the visual medium of television. Past studies by this researcher and others had demonstrated that television coverage of events tended to spur the print media to offer more than was normal in the way of graphic depictions of these events, and it seemed desirable to check on this effect of the one medium upon the other in this instance. Pictures and cartoons were therefore studied for their total impact, not just for their relevance to local coverage, interpretation, and background.

Within the limits set for the content analysis of text material, it was soon apparent from study of the microfilmed newspapers that these areas would comprise a host of possible forms of identification. Rather arbitrarily, perhaps, it was therefore decided to categorize these materials under subject headings ranging from very general ones to rather specific ones, with local stories, editorials, and interpretative columns generally excluded from these categories and listed separately. Altogether, including the latter three general categories, the findings were generally easy to assign, and the study ended up with 34 different categories, including a relatively small number of items lumped under the heading, "miscellaneous."

It should be emphasized again that, in concentrating upon these items in the content analysis, the research did not record the major "hard" news coverage by these newspapers—the assassination itself, the rites in Washington, and the arrest and subsequent murder of Oswald. Every newspaper in the study covered these major events in greater or lesser detail, none failing to report all major, significant aspects of the main events. At the same time, most of the papers studied also reported other, unrelated events occurring during this period—again, some in detail and in large numbers of "other" stories, and some with less space, apparently, than they would have given these events on "normal" news days.

Text:

The Appendix to this report presents the listings of articles, editorials, and columns found in the 143 papers, as well as a listing of pictures and cartoons. Articles were not listed and were not counted in the tally of articles

in the 82 individual papers if they were brief (one, two, or three paragraphs) unless they appeared in at least one paper in greater length, indicating that the original item (usually from a wire service) had been cut.

The total of 7,143 text items tallied from the examination of the 82 papers selected from the total of papers studied breaks down as follows, the sources of these items being given in parentheses, together with the number of times of items from each source appeared:

Assassination Attempts (actual tries, threats, etc.): Total-37; (Staff-19; AP-15; UPI-1; CQ-2). Assassinations of Other Presidents (including other heads of state): Total-85; (Staff-48; AP-30; UPI-5; Hearst Headline Service-1; unidentified-1). Assassination Probes (other than stories of evidence in Oswald case): Total-104 (Staff-14; AP-56; UPI-19; combined wire services-5; New York Times-5; Scripps-Howard-4; Washington Post-1). Business Outlook, Reactions (other than straight stock market report): Total-74; (Staff-23; AP-36; UPI-7; wire services-2; New York Times-4; unidentified-2). Governor Connally (not including references in other categories): Total-152; (Staff-7; AP-71; UPI-65; New York Times-5; wire services-3; unidentified-1). Dallas (not including references in other categories): Total-134; (Staff-39; AP-48; UPI-20; wire services-4; New York Times-8; New York Herald Tribune-5; Scripps-Howard-2; Chicago Daily News-2; unidentified-6). Editorials (assassination and related subjects): Total-323; (Staff-318; AP-1; Publisher's by-lined-2; local minister-1; Copley News Service-1). Effects of Assassination (other than political; not including references in other categories): Total-61; (Staff-19; AP-24; UPI-9; New York Times-3; Herald Tribune-1; Washington Post-2; Scripps-Howard-1; Reuters-1; unidentified-1). Eyewitness Accounts (of assassination, Oswald slaying, etc.): Total-111; (Staff-23; AP-52; UPI-21: Scripps-Howard-3; Los Angeles Times-1; non,journalists-2;) (Jack Bell-AP-25) (Merriman Smith-UPI-13) (Bob Jackson, Dallas Times Herald-AP-14) (Dallas policemen-AP, staff-18) (ambulance driver-UPI-4) (T. McGarry-UPI-3). Fidel (Castro and Cuba reactions, statements, etc.): Total-29; (Staff-4; AP-15; UPI-9; unidentified-1). Gun (rifle used by assassin, gun laws, etc.): Total-47; (Staff-22; AP-4; UPI-16; Times-Post Service-1; Chicago Tribune-1; unidentified-1). Interpretive Columns (exclusive of by-lined articles in other categories): Total-311; number of columnists-116; (Marlow-AP-17) (Reston-New York Times-36) (Sulzberger-New York Times-11) (Krock-New York Times-9) (McGill-Atlanta Constitution-15) (Pearso: -16) (Buchwald-4) (Alsop-6) (Baker-New York Times-5) (W. S. White-6) (Max Freedman-8) (Lawrence-6) (Sevareid-5) (Goldwater-7) (Drummond-8) (Childs-7) (Evans & Novak-4) (Bishop-6) (Hoppe-4) (Lippmann-5) (Gould-New York Times-3) (Taylor-3) (Robb-3) (Chamberlain-3) (Frankel-3). John Fitzgerald Kennedy (including kin, life, term, wounds, etc.): Total-726; (Staff-195; AP-342; UPI-118; wire services-9; New York Times-16; Herald Tribune-12; Chicago Daily News-4; Gallup-4; Times-Post Service-1; Washington Post-1; NANA-1; Dallas Morning News-1; Chicago Sun-Times-1; unidentified-19). Jacqueline Kennedy (not including references in other categories): Total-255; (Staff-58; AP-93; UPI-75; wire services-16; New York Times-2; Herald Tribune-3; Washington Post-1; Chicago Daily News-1; Los Angeles Times-1; Scripps-Howard-1; Chicago Tribune-1; London Standard-1; New York News-1; unidentified-1).

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John Jr. and Caroline (not including references in other categories): Total-
120; (Staff-18; AP-13; UPI-75; wire services-5; Herald Tribune-4; New York
Times-2; Scripps-Howard-1; unidentified-2).
Ladybird Johnson (not including references in other categories): Total-42;
(Staff-12; AP-19; UPI-1; wire services-3; New York Times-5; unidentified-2).
Lyndon Baines Johnson (not including references in other categories): Total-
622: (Staff-161; AP-265; UPI-98; wire services-16; New York Times-15; Herald
Tribune-12; Scripps-Howard-21; Hearst Headline Service-4; New York News-4;
Chicago Tribune-2; Washington Post-2; CQ-1; Los Angeles Times-1; NEA-2;
NANA-2: unidentified-16).
Local (all by staffs): Total-684.
Moscow (including Soviet bloc; not including references in other categories):
Total-163; (Staff-8; AP-93; UPI-27; wire services-11; New York Times-9;
Reuters-8; Herald Tribune-1; Scripps-Howard-1; unidentified-5).
National (outside newspaper's state; not including references in other cate-
gories): Total-247; (Staff-60; AP-82; UPI-68; wire services-15; Los Angeles
Times-1; Chicago Tribune-1; NANA-1; New York Times-1; unidentified-18).
Oswald (other than straight news of capture, murder): Total-458; (Staff-89;
AP-219; UPI-80; wire services-33; New York Times-13; Scripps-Howard-6; NANA-
3: Herald Tribune-2: Hearst Headline Service-2: Chicago Tribune-1: Pompano
Beach Sun-Sentinel-1; unidentified-9).
Political Outlook (not including references in other categories): Total-74;
Staff-40; AP-20; UPI-5; New York Times-5; Scripps-Howard-2; Los Angeles-1;
Chicago Daily News-1).
Presidential Succession (not including references in other categories):
Total-68; (Staff-31; AP-27; UPI-4; wire services-2; New York Times-2; CQ-1;
Chicago Daily News-1).
Rites (for JFK only; net including references in other categories): Total-
552; (Staff-170; AP-236; UPI-104; wire services-16; New York Times-10;
Scripps-Howard-4; Herald Tribune-3; Times-Post Service-2; Washington Post-2;
Chicago Tribune-2; Hearst Headline Service-1; unidentified-2).
Ruby (not including references in other categories): Total-143; (Staff-42;
AP-51; UPI-30; wire services-11; New York Times-2; Herald Tribune-2; Scripps-
Howard-1; Washington Post-1; Chicago Daily News-1; unidentified-2).
State (outside newspaper's community, within state; not including references
in other categories): Total-262; (Staff-168; AP-70; UPI-18; wire services-2;
unidentified-4).
Security (chiefly Secret Service; not including references in other categor-
ies): Total-136; (Staff-32; AP-43; UPI-32; wire services-9; New York Times-
5; Herald Tribune-5; Scripps-Howard-2; NEA-2; NANA-2; Knight-1; Washington
Post-1; unidentified-2).
Tippit (not including references in other categories): Total-lll; (Staff-
16; AP-45; UPI-45; wire services-3; unidentified-2).
United Nations (not including references in other categories): Total-52;
(Staff-21; AP-16; UPI-9; Los Angeles Times-2; New York Times-1; Hearst Head-
line Service-1; Chicago Daily News-1; unidentified-1).
Vatican City (not including references in other categories): Total-57;
(Staff-3; AP-31; UPI-14; wire services-1; Reuters-4; New York Times-2; Los
Angeles Times-1; unidentified-3).
Warnings, Premonitions; the Presidential "Jinx" (not including references in
other categories): Total-125; (Staff-13; AP-39; UPI-4; wire services-2;
Scripps-Howard-1; Los Angeles Times-1) (Jinx-35) (Graham-9) (Stevens n-6)
(phone call-7) (student letter-2) (judge-1) (woman-1) (Dixon-2) (roundup-1)
(Texas woman-1).
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Washington (not including references in other categories): Total-239; (Staff-110; AP-70; UPI-29; wire services-9; Herald Tribune-5; Scripps-Howard-3; Times-Post Service-2; Washington Post-2; Los Angeles Times-1; CQ-1; New York Times-1; Chicago Tribune-1; Chicago Daily News-1; Hearst Headline Service-1; Rep. J. H. Boggs-1; unidentified-3). World (not including references in other categories): Total-510; (Staff-81; AP-185; UPI-129; wire services-17; Reuters-32; Herald Tribune-11; New York Times-15; Chicago Daily News-6; Scripps-Howard-4; London Times-2; Manchester Guardian-2; Times-Post Service-1; Washington Post-1; NANA-1; unidentified-23). Miscellaneous (not included in other categories): Total-24: (Staff 21:

Miscellaneous (not included in other categories): Total-24; (Staff-21; AP-2; UPI-1).

Because The New York Times, which is among the newspapers in this study, is generally acknowledged as the "newspaper of record" in the United States, a tally was made of the number of times articles in the above categories appeared in the Times. Where these were from wire services or other sources, they were entered in the over-all tally as such, but were entered as "staff" if by Times writers. In this connection, it should be noted that citations of the New York Times, as well as of other newspapers in the over-all tally, as sources means that articles from these papers appeared in other newspapers. The Times, therefore, was a source for articles in other newspapers, as were a number of the major U.S. dailies. The Times tally, as categorized, follows:

Assassination Attempts-2; Assassinations of Other Presidents-4; Assassination Probes-2; Business Outlook, Reactions-15; Governor Connally-5; Dallas-9; Editorials-18; Effects-2; Fidel-2; Gun-1; Interpretive Columns-10; John Fitzgerald Kennedy-24; Jacqueline Kennedy-5; John Jr. and Caroline-3; Ladybird Johnson-2; Lyndon Baines Johnson-25; Local-24; Moscow-9; National-20; Oswald-9; Political Outlook-4; Presidential Succession-2; Rites-23; Ruby-5; State-1; Security-6; Tippit-2; United Nations-3; Vatican City-3; "Jinx"-1; Washington-15; World-33; Miscellaneous (the Presidency)-2. Total - 291.

Art (Pictures and cartoons):

An incomplete list of picture and cartoon subjects, based upon a spot check of art in these newspapers, appears in the Appendix. There are 309 pieces of art or combinations in art layouts in the list. Since the newspapers, for the most part, also published art on other subjects, it would appear from this analysis alone that picture use shot up during this period, and this is borne out by the reports from the survey.

Comments: (on some findings in content analysis)

First, it is interesting to note some perspectives on the Kennedy tragedy and its aftermath gained from examination of so many U.S. newspapers. Historically, violence in the United States had struck successfully at the highest level of government only thrice before, and that relatively recent security branch, the Secret Service, had not lost a President to an assassin since taking over the responsibility for protecting the Chief Executive. That both of these records are either surprising in the extreme or reflect great credit upon those who have been charged with protecting our presidents is the conclusion one reaches after reading some of the articles on attempted assassinations, on the problems facing the Secret Service and local police forces when the President appears in public, and on the widespread expressions of violence and evidences

of homicidal insanity directed at the man who holds the office symbolized by the White House. In view of all this, it comes as something of a shock to learn that federal laws provide penalties for the murders of 48 classifications of government officials, but not for taking the life of the President.

These articles, and those relating to previous presidential assassinations, (see Appendix) leave one with a disquieting sense of undercurrents flowing from the past to the present in America in which senseless killing rises to the surface to cast a pall over the nation at rather frequent intervals. The killings, moreover, are not limited to the mentally ill misfits or to the grievance-filled assaulters of heads of state; they almost as frequently arise from the efforts of self-appointed avengers. The parallels between the Lincoln and Kennedy assasinations are by no means restricted to such superficial aspects as the fact that the successors of both presidents bore the name, Johnson, or that in each case a Southerner killed the President and a Southerner succeeded to the high office. As there are similarities between John Wilkes Booth and Lee Harvey Oswald (if he, indeed, did commit the recent crime), there are also marked similarities between Boston Corbett, the Union soldier who shot and killed Booth (Kansas City Star feature story), and Jack Ruby.

Violence as an outgrowth of extremism is also a constant theme in these readings. Denunciation of extremism abounds in the news columns, in editorials, and in interpretative columns. Articles and pictures give ample proof of the existence among us of persons and groups whose fanaticism is directed at destroying others. Widespread concern about this state of affairs leaps out from headline after headline, as in this example: "Representative, Overcome With Grief, Scores Those Who Encourage 'Crackpots'" Among picture and cartoon subjects, too, awareness of the need to focus attention on these elements is amply manifest. There is the minister marching up and down beside the White House fence, bearing a sign on a stick; he has crudely lettered there: "I Warned JFK and God Has Punished Him" (see Appendix). An advertisement from a Dallas paper, reproduced in the Boston Globe, was placed by the American Fact-Finding Committee, described as a "hate group" and its advertisement as a "hate ad." The Dallas Times Herald's cartoonist, Bob Taylor, expresses some of the self-examination that city was undergoing in his drawing of a criminal type slinking down an alley, his clothing labeled: "The Forces Of Hate That We Have Allowed To Fester in Our City." Taylor captions it: "Still at Large." To make sure it wasn't missed, one paper made a five-column by 5.5-inch cut of a picture showing one of the "impeach Warren" billboards that have blossomed in the South. Scarred and partly obliterated, the billboard has been frequently set afire, the cutline reports, as a symbol of a "pocket of hate" which "goes far beyond fair discussion and debate and serves only to incite zealots--perhaps to acts such as that perpetrated by Lee Harvey Oswald who assassinated President Kennedy." This seems a commendable effort to make a point with art and cutline- until the last nine words, which assume Oswald to be guilty, but that is another matter, taken up in this report later on.

As further evidence that the undercurrent of violence still runs strong, there is the rash of stories of threats, both after the Kennedy assassination and after Oswald was killed. There are the stories of outbreaks of violence and even of deaths, and of well-grounded fears for Kennedy's safety that were expressed before he ever went into Texas. A man, watching TV, curses Kennedy and the United States, and is shot dead by his stepson. The Philadelphia Bulletin reports two different instances in which two priests talked men out of using guns "to avenge the President." A Chicago man tells his wife he's going to

shoot himself in the head--"like Kennedy" -- and he proceeds to do so, with the same results. It would appear that Jack Ruby of Dallas was not the only American unhinged by Kennedy's violent death.

Light is shed on Ruby's actions and state of mind that weekend, before he lunged into the limelight on national television, in the reports about him from acquaintances, reporters, and eyewitnesses. He was "near the breaking point" on Friday evening, after the assassination, a Dallas newsman wrote. He was among those present at both of the Oswald press conferences in the jail, Friday night and Saturday, a photographer and a justice of the peace stated. Finally, his attorney revealed that he had a gun with him on these occasions, but was unable to seize the opportunity to use it. It is of incidental interest to note from the many reports of him that Ruby apparently was virtually ubiquitous, before he settled down in Dallas, for the people who once knew him locally or in some other part of the United States appear to be legion.

Having read all this, one is well able to understand the jitters that gripped security forces across the country after the assassination—a tragedy which confirmed, or more than confirmed, the worst fears of those who had been conscious of the violence undercurrent. There was the widely used wire service story of the search for a "man with a weapon," reportedly seen on the roof of the Internal Revenue Building in Washington (he turned out to be a window washer with a bucket). Newspapers in every state reported beefing up of security for prominent officials and their families, while many states and cities placed their police units on alert.

These perspectives are heightened by a further sense of participation in a stream of history. As one reads these newspapers, the reflection is inescapable that similar chapters in America's past are not nearly as remote as one might have thought. In the category of local articles, particularly, there are many accounts from persons who recall or even participated in the events surrounding past presidential assassinations. Reporters interviewed local residents who remember the Garfield and McKinley assassinations; A University of Houston professor who eulogized Kennedy had delivered a eulogy to McKinley; a man told of serving in the honor guard at the McKinley funeral, and a 99-year-old man, a child when Lincoln was shot, has spanned in his lifetime the four U.S. presidential assassinations.

For the most of the U.S. press, the assassination was a "national story, but for the papers of Texas it was "state" or "local." Nine Texas papers, or seven units if two combinations of papers are counted as one paper, were examined in this study. Both of the Dallas papers were covered. Their reporting of what may well go down in history as the greatest tragedy and the biggest news story of this century—an event exploding in their own backyard, so to speak—is worth special attention.

Issues of these nine papers for Friday, November 22, all reporting the series of events that began with the gunfire from the school book depository building in Dallas, also contained remnants of the allout coverage these papers had given to Kennedy's visit to Texas. The Dallas Times Herald, for example, in a hastily made-over front page of its earlier edition-just beginning the build-up of assassination news with the first couple of stories-carried an eight-column, two-line banner headline, four wide-measure columns of text, a six-column, picture of Kennedy's arrival, and a one-column picture of Johnson. In the Dallas Morning News, the lead editorial welcomed Kennedy and stated that Dallas

had shed the "sharp cleavages" of partisanship. The Ft. Worth Star-Telegram emblazoned "Welcome, Mr. President" across the top of Page One, and still presented, in later editions, a score or more of pictures of the Kennedys and Johnsons among crowds and at functions in Texas during the period before the assassination.

Pictures not only reflected the all-out effort to cover the visit to the state by the President, but served to bring home forcefully the sudden transition from welcoming and hospitality to grief, blighted hopes, and shame. From the Austin American and Statesman, over UPI wires, came an over-all view of the empty dining room at the Austin Municipal Auditorium where the Texas Welcome Dinner for the visitors was to have been held; the expanse of tables with their napery and silverware and crystal, the rows of empty chairs, the beflagged dais, with not a soul in sight, leave the viewer with a touch of the feelings engendered by that final scene in the film version of "On the Beach," in which a city street, denuded of humanity, stretches away into the distance. Likewise, the reproduction of the Texas Welcome Dinner program--never to be used--and the shot of the empty chair reserved for the President at the Dallas Trade Mart. In another picture, the wife of Dallas' mayor waits for her husband in an open car outside Parkland Hospital--and she appears at that moment to have been as isolated and alone as millions of Americans at that hour felt they were stricken and alone.

Then the reader sees the bullet scar on the curb in Dallas, pointed out by a policeman, and a television cameraman being searched outside the hospital, and the hospital blackboard recording the moment of Lee Harvey Oswald's death, and Ruby's room--in disarray after an FBI search, and officials searching luggage at Dallas' airport--as passangers stand by--in the wake of bomb threats. These pictures sum up the horror of 72 hours in Dallas.

Then, there are the evidences of the nature of Texas politics, and an article which places one more weight of tragedy and irony on the scales. One citation will serve to illustrate the political scene as reported by Texas' own press. The article is headed: "Congress Race in 10th District Takes 'Cruel Twist.'" It tells how signs placed about a Texas city urged voters to "Scratch Lyndon's Boy, Jake" (J.J. Pickle, a Johnson friend and former aide), and how these signs suddenly took on a different meaning, with the assassination. The report that brings out the irony and tragedy is by a Washington bureau staffer of the Ft. Worth Star-Telegram, who wrote that the Texas political feud, which Kennedy came to Texas to try to extinguish, was settled aboard the Presidential jet plane just one hour before Kennedy was struck down.

In the immediate aftermath of the assassination, the Dallas papers, whose community was most directly affected, pulled no punches in publishing reports of adverse commentary, although they also, quite naturally, did not omit stories favorable to Dallas. The Dallas Times Herald presented the AP story from New York of the statement by the presiding Episcopal bishop in the United States in which he declared that indifference to hate was to blame for this tragedy. "Press Raps Dallas Police," states a headline on an AP roundup of editorial comment, and "Telegrams To City Mostly Abusive" is another headline on a local story which reports that 50 of 68 wires on the mayor's desk are critical.

Likewise, there is a straightforwardness about one headline, particularly to a reader who recalls the headline in a Mississippi paper on the occasion of the arrest of Beckwith for the slaying of Medger Evers. Beckwith, scion of an old

Mississippi family, had been born in California, which permitted the headline writer to announce: "Californian Charged in Evers Slaying." By contrast, the eight-column banner in the San Antonio Express & News on 23rd read: "Texan Charged as Assassin;" considering Oswald's early years in New York and his extended residence in New Orleans and elsewhere--not the least, Russia--this seems forthright, indeed.

Favorable comment found in the Texas papers examined included a reprint in the Dallas Morning News of a Chicago Tribune editorial defending Dallas and a Times Herald story headed: "Paper Says Dallas Okay;" the latter quoted a St. Joseph, Mo., paper.

Some further citations on what the Texas papers did appear later in the section of comment pro and con the press' performance, but what the Dallas papers had to say editorially seems a fitting way to conclude these remarks specifically about this group. The Dallas Morning News, on the 23rd, ran its editorial page with all rules in black. The lead editorial, headed "John F. Kennedy," began: "The assassination of President John F. Kennedy is a cruel, shameful mark in this city's history and a tragedy for the country..." The News' editorial on the 25th was widely cited in other papers across the country. Headed simply, "Dallas," it made a strong plea for "calm and balance" among the citizenry.

The Times Herald, on the 23rd, published an editorial headed, "Let Us Search Our Hearts," in a prominent position on Page One. On the 24th, its lead editorial, "A Kinship and an Understanding," enclosed in a black border, urged understanding, prayers, and good will for President Johnson. Page two of the Times Herald the next day carried another prominently displayed editorial, "Night of the Soul," which began: "Even as we are staggered by one violent discharge of hate following another, the citizens of Dallas are surely engaged in the greatest spiritual self-examination any American community has undergone in this century." In that same issue, the lead editorial page piece was headlined: "Death's Sad Intimacy." This editorial began: "In death, Dallas has found a new love and respect for John F. Kennedy..." And it closed with these words "...John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Dallas will forever be together on the pages of history."

A really rather remarkable editorial appeared in the Times Herald on the 26th. Headlined "Elements of Blame," the lead-off editorial said: "The Press and the police must share the blame for the shooting of Lee Oswald. And in saying this, the Times Herald recognizes the fact that its reporters and photographers were present, eager to cover the event of the moving of the accused assassin of President Kennedy..." After citing the responsibilities of the police, the way the press might have handled coverage of this event-by pooling-and the fact that the Dallas police knew Ruby, and arguing they should not have permitted him to be present, the editorial concludes: "These are elements of blame which both the press and the police must recognize and, in the future, take into consideration. The lesson came hard."

Some Kudos

Comments citing praiseworthy press performance, when totaled up, were found to far outweigh questions raised about policies and practices which seemed to warrant close scrutiny on the part of editors if mistakes made under the pressures of a period such as this are to be avoided in the future. At that, notes

of a favorable character were by no means exhaustive, and, even in this relatively small group of papers out of the total of daily papers in the U.S., kudos for outstanding performance could not be issued for every paper or for every example of fine journalism. Not all examples of the practices cited adversely are reported, either; in almost all instances, if the criticisisms sting, those anonymous editors who recognize their own papers' output in these should take comfort in the fact that there were other papers from which examples of this nature might have been taken.

It seems logical to begin the progrand con commentary with discussion of some of the messages which some of the newspapers addressed to their readers (although these appear last in the listing of subject categories, under the heading, "Miscellaneous;" see Appendix, P. 35). These directed attention to policies with respect to withholding of advertising, comics, features, and the like, as well as giving glimpses, in a few cases, into "behind-the-scenes" forces in play and circumstances surrounding the professional work of journalists. It would seem a worthwhile effort for a paper to make from time-to-time, or at least on occasions of major news, if the editors took readers "inside" their operations to explain policies and the very personal nature of newspaper work. Just to cite some examples from this study:

The Hartford Courant ran a Page One note explaining that sports news was being played down during this period, that smaller headlines were being employed over other news, and that columns and some other features were being omitted-all in the interest of giving full and tasteful presentation of the major news--of the assassination and its aftermath.

The Wilmington News & Journal note explained that advertisers had been requested to drop out of the paper on the national day of mourning, but that some advertising would stay in because of mechanical problems, and that no disrespect was meant.

The Boston Herald announced that no advertising or editorial matter not in keeping with mourning would be published, except advertising and material already printed and distributed.

The Charleston Gazette and Mail explained that many regular features and columns were being omitted to make room for complete coverage of the events surrounding the assassination and Johnson's assumption of office. The note also explained that many advertisers had cancelled advertising for Sunday and Monday, since their stores would be closed on Monday, but that some were unable to because their ads were on pages locked up earlier in the week. It was also pointed out that the TV logs up to Tuesday were incorrect, as all regular programs had been pre-empted by coverage of the national tragedy.

The Charlotte News explained to their readers that they were receiving their paper late because every effort had been made to get the latest news in before going to press.

The Dallas Times Herald announced there would be no comics in the paper until after the Kennedy funeral.

"Here's How We Got The News," a headline in the Chicago American, appeared over the series of bulletins received, from the first on the shooting of Kennedy to the report that he was dead.

The Daily Kennebec Journal reported that its extra on November 22 had been its fourth extra in recent times, the other occasions having been VE and VJ Days, and the death of a governor of Maine.

"In A Newspaper City Room You're Always Waiting--The Big One, When It Comes, You Don't Believe," the Rochester Democrat-Chronicle headlined its piece taking readers into the newsroom to view the activities that followed the first flash from Dallas.

"Page 1 Underwent Surgery As Newsroom Moved Fast," covered a similar account by the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and "Vindicator Kept Readers Posted As News Arrived" headlined another "inside view" for Youngstown.

"Newspapers Hush In Grief and Horror" appeared over a Milwaukee Journal headline telling how employees of both the Journal and its sister paper, the Sentinel, fell silent to pray or to meditate at ll a.m. on November 25 as the rites began in Washington.

For readers who might want these historic issues, many papers offered a package of four or five issues for this period, or provided pull-out sections giving a roundup. Many others used the AP's Friday-Monday chronology of events, or prepared their own, as the Chicago American did in its "Four Days That Shook the World," to give readers a compact record.

As for the coverage per se, many papers showed commendable enterprise in using local staffs effectively in getting all local angles covered and/or in employing staffers in Washington, Dallas, and abroad to provide first-hand accounts. On finding celebrities from out of town in their communities at this time, many papers sought out these persons for comment and reaction. Examples of such interview stories were those giving statements by anthropologist-author Margaret Mead, Senator Mansfield, Professor Barghoorn, a Catholic bishop just returned from Ireland and describing the reaction to the assassination there, the wife of the Illinois governor and daughter of slain Mayor Cermak of Chicago who suffered the fatal consequences of an assassination attempt on President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Senator Goldwater, and African leader Adebo. Likewise, experts on various aspects were consulted for their views, as in the interviews with psychiatrists on the motivations of assassins and for attempts to analyze men like Oswald and Ruby; the interviews with local rifle and marksmanship experts rounded up in an article reporting their agreement that the assassin must have been intimate with his weapon, since the rifle found by police was a mediocre weapon but was used with great skill; the Chronicle's interview with a Houston detective, a rifle expert, who explained why the President was a perfect target for the assassin at the moment the shots were fired; the Milwaukee Sentinel's interview with comic Vaughn Meader, who voiced his shock and grief at the violent death of the man he had impersonated and spoke of the way in which many persons he had met that day had associated him with the Kennedys, even to the point of expressing their sympathy to him.

Using the long-distance telephone, some papers got first-hand accounts to augment the staff and wire service stories by calling directly to persons and places they had decided could fill out their coverage. Instances here are the reports based on telephone calls to a local bishop who was attending Catholic Church meetings in Rome; the Dallas police and Parkland Hospital for first-hand information on November 22; officials in state capitals and congressional delegations in Washington.

Correspondents and bureau staffs often supplied wrapups that put the news into over-all contexts and gave readers perspectives on developing issues. An excellent analysis in this area was the article by the Denver Post's United Nations correspondent, William Frye, on the effects of the assassination and the change from Kennedy to Johnson on the UN, as voiced by a number of foreign envoys. Another was the complete and well-written wire service story explaining the last rites of the Catholic Church which millions of non-Catholic had viewed on TV, and another was the article explaining the Church's view of death. Chicago Tribune published an excellent background piece comparing the Kennedy Assassination to that of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary in which certain European statesmen found the excuse for launching World War I. Jimmy Breslin, in Washington for the Boston Globe, wrote of the grave digger who was summoned on Sunday morning to prepare the Kennedy grave--and of his reactions to the event that caused him to be summoned. J. F. Ter Horst, Washington bureau chief of the Detroit News, supplied a meaningful story of the memento card given those attending the requiem mass in Washington; the headline highlighted its significance well, also, in stating "Kennedy's Words Go Home With World's Leaders," in reference to the excerpts on the card from Kennedy's inaugural address.

Local articles also added to the reader's sense of the continuity of history, even when they were not interviews with local residents. One, for example, reported that the city council of Denver had delved into the records and, in the first book of minutes kept for the council, had found the resolution passed in tribute to Lincoln at his death 98 years before. The resolution was slightly rephrased and was issued in tribute to Kennedy. Another told of the paper's reporting of Lincoln's assassination, cited the many parallels between that tragedy and the current one, and appeared under the heading: "Lincoln Killed, Johnson Sworn In--A Century Ago The Same Headline."

To get the news firsthand, and to supplement their own staffs and the other usual sources of news, a few papers monitored foreign broadcasts. An example was the report from a Miami paper of a Castro speech delivered over Havana radio, in which the Cuban leader spoke with regret of Kennedy's assassination, but wound up attacking not only Johnson but Kennedy as well.

In keeping with these attempts to bring their readers firsthand accounts of events, many papers made use of the excellent eyewitness reports available from the wire services and from the Dallas papers, while those newspapers which had sent staffers to Texas with the President or who rushed reporters to Dallas at the first flashes on the assassination were often able to provide eyewitness stories by members of their own staffs. These were not limited to accounts of the assassination, however; the slaying of Oswald and the behavior of Jack Ruby in the period between the assassination and his shooting of the accused man were the subjects of several reports by newsmen who were there, and one of the articles was written by one of the chief participants -- Judge Sarah T. Hughes, who administered the oath of office to Johnson. With these and other reports that were available (see Appendix), it is somewhat surprising, in fact, that many papers did not make use of any eyewitness accounts, even those offered by the wire services to which they subscribe. In a few cases, as in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the AP or UPI eyewitness stories were paired with accounts by staffers; in the Plain Dealer, the AP-moved account by Bob Jackson, Dallas Times Herald photographer, of the assassination was paired with that by Alvin Silverman of the paper's Washington bureau.

The Dallas papers' staffs could be expected to provide some eyewitness stories, and they had many. During the five days, for example, the Times Herald published eight, including the masterfully done piece by Merriman Smith of UPI. The others were by the motorcycle policeman who was riding alongside Kennedy's car when the shots came; a Dallas woman giving her account as she saw the assassination from her place in the crowd along the motorcade route; the Bob Jackson story; Bob Hollingworth of the staff, who told of his trip from Washington with Kennedy and of events as seen by him up to and including the assassination; Bill Burrus of the staff, on the arrival of the wounded Oswald at the hospital and of his death within a short time after; staffer Bob Fenley, who witnessed the slaying of Oswald, and the editorial page editor, who wrote movingly of the way in which the news came to the crowd waiting at the Trade Mart.

Adding to these accounts from Dallas were the Morning News' story of the assassination by Ann Donaldson, the paper's society editor who was in the crowd along the route, and photographer Jack Beers' report on the slaying of Oswald-which he caught with his camera so fully.

Several articles by distinguished persons—all nonjournalists—appeared amidst the columns of staff—written and wire service or syndicated material. Gifted writers for the most part, these special correspondents provided accounts of major events or wrote appreciations of the late President. Two examples are the description of the Kennedy funeral written by historian Barbara Tuchman and published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and the tribute to Kennedy written for the Philadelphia Bulletin by Archibald McLeish, then author in residence at the University of Pennsylvania.

Writing of high quality was by no means a distinguishing feature of these persons alone; the many examples of fine writing by journalists proved again that the adage about a picture being worth ten thousand words applies only rarely. Some of the columnists, local as well as syndicated, wrote moving, enlightening, illuminating pieces. The reporters, writing about what they saw and what they had learned of the events of these five days, usually under great pressure, often turned out writing that would stand the test of time and of waning emotionalism. There were many good leads that might be cited here, and any number of entire articles and columns that would be reproduced in this report if space only permitted. Simply to present a sampling, here are a very few among the many leads which caught the eye and stuck in the memory:

"The weather was beautiful, but the world seemed terribly askew. They took John F. Kennedy down Pennsylvania Avenue in the wrong direction."

"There is blood on Dallas' Elm St., and sorrow will never wash its stain."

"All that man could do for him had been done. The priests and the princes stood with bowed heads at the graveside in Arlington Cemetery. Now there began 15 minutes when the nation itself seemed hardly to breathe in the agony of realization that the casket before its eyes contained its youngest President. This was the moment of the committal to the earth of John F. Kennedy, and the terrible finality and futility of the loss surged from the green plot to the ends of the country by television and by radio."

"The man who killed President Kennedy did more than murder a President. He murdered an image of the United States as a nation where--contrary to history--that sort of thing simply can't happen."

To supplement the writing by reporters and others, several of the papers provided texts of original materials on which stories were based. These would serve both to explain and to give readers a lasting record of the words of some of the chief actors in the unfolding tragedy. Occasionally, in turn, texts were accompanied by explanatory articles to clarify text references for those readers who may have missed earlier stories or the TV coverage. Some examples:

Texts of Khrushchev's messages to President Johnson and to Jacqueline Kennedy.

Texts of the eulogies to Kennedy delivered at the Capitol Rotunda rites by Chief Justice Warren, Sen. Mansfield, and House Speaker McCormack. In one paper, the Mansfield eulogy text was accompanied by an explanation of the references to the placing of the ring on Kennedy's finger in terms of the ambulance driver's eyewitness account of how Jacqueline removed her wedding band and slipped it on her dead husband's finger, kissed him for the last time, and left the hospital.

Text of the sermon by the Rev. Phillips Brooks delivered after Lincoln Assassination.

Texts of Kennedy's inaugural address and other speeches; many of the newspapers reproduced excerpts of his undelivered address prepared for delivery at the Trade Mart in Dallas, and a few published the entire text. Also published were Kennedy's favorite Bible passages and his creed.

Text of the cablegram of condolence sent to Jacqueline Kennedy by Madame Nhu.

Text of President Johnson's proclamation of a day of mourning; the Thanks-giving Day proclamation which President Kennedy had prepared and which Johnson asked be read across the nation.

Editorials and special, analytical articles (including interpretative columns; columns and editorials are listed as separate categories in the Appendix) on the one hand served both to express the general sentiments and to suggest thoughts for further reflection and on the other to explain, clarify, and develop some of the main aspects of the succession of events. Editorials were sometimes banal, and a few papers carrying columns published none on the assassination or related events during the entire period, although nationally syndicated columns were used in these papers and although evidence from many other papers showed that these columnists wrote on these subjects. On the whole, these same papers also neglected eyewitness accounts, analytical articles, and other available interpretative materials. They stood out from the great majority of the papers examined, however, for which the record shows a solid offering.

In terms of subject matter, the editorials covered almost every conceivable dimension of the tragedy. Kennedy, himself, was analyzed as a man and as the President, even to the legacy he had left to the American people; his wife, his children, and his family came in for sympathetic, sensitive treatment; the background and qualifications of the new President were widely discussed, with many editorialists urging that Johnson be given full support during the transitional period that lay ahead; they myriad problems of this period, and beyond, were also covered, analyzed, and offered up for solution, and the natures of

Oswald and Ruby, the effects of the assassination upon our alliances, and the virulence of the pockets of hate in our society, to name but a few, were also dealt with.

Among the nagging questions in the minds of millions was one distilled out of the shock, grief, and rage following in the wake of the assassination: How could any human being become so twisted as to commit such a crime? Because Oswald had been seized and faced a mounting tide of evidence against him, much of this questioning focussed upon him--as, later, the desire to understand turned to his slayer, Ruby.

The best answers that could be found to these questions, probably, came from psychiatrists. Alton Blakeslee's article presenting a summation of the views of a number of doctors, widely used by AP member newspapers, was an outstanding specimen of the many pieces done on this, and the New York Times report by John Osmundsen, science writer for that newspaper, not only stood out among articles prepared by staffers, but was extensively reprinted. A good example of the pairing of stories on this--one by the staff from interviews with local psychiatrists and the other Blakeslee's--appeared in the Rochester Democrat & Chronicle. An excellent Oswald analysis piece was done by Sid Moody, AP Newsfeatures writer; it first came to notice in this study in the Grand Forks Herald, where a headline writer had nicely caught the essence of it in: "Danger Signs Lacking in Misfit Oswald's Life."

Another in this genre, headlined in one paper, "Mystery of Oswald Fixed in History," was by Mike Cochran of AP. Its lead is worth reproducing here: "The name of Lee Harvey Oswald, echoed around the world, never will be forgotten. He died to become perhaps the most despised man in American history. The defiant young man never even had a chance to clear his name." This is commendable balance and restraint--quite in contrast to the examples of "trial by newspaper" in which Oswald was convicted out of hand.

Some peripheral questions also came in for scrutiny, and one given the widest treatment was that growing out of the revelation that Oswald had purchased his rifle from a Chicago mail order house. Examination of laws governing guns, of the mail order business in weapons, and of the traffic in firearms within communities and states, as well as between states, appeared to turn up some rather shocking findings. It must have been something less than comforting, for instance, if one were a Miamian, to learn from the Miami News that more than 5,000 mail-order rifles were shipped into Miami monthly. But then, Chicago, from where Oswald had ordered his rifle (at a cost slightly over \$12!), and Detroit, one of the many cities in which reporters went out to look into the traffic, were typical of places where such stories were bound to raise alarm. The Chicago American and the Detroit News even had strikingly similar headlines on their stories: "If You Need A Gun, Just Bring Cash," and "Want a Murder? Buy Gun by Mail."

Dallas citizens, already shaken up enough, read that a gun dealer in their community had told reporters the "Oswald rifle" had been a big seller two years ago, while another report reminded them that the city's gun law had been ruled unconstitutional and still another quoted an official as stating that Dallas, thus lacking its own law, did not enforce the Texas gun law, either.

Besides these questions, readers might have wondered about some references in articles, except where their newspapers provided them with the answers. The

legend of the "Jinx" of the presidency -- that a president elected every twenty years, in a year ending in zero, would die in office--seemed to be worth the space given to it by many newspapers, since the record had borne out the legend. But not until this research, moving through the states alphabetically in the content analysis, reached Oregon did any background for the legend come to light. The Portland Oregonian printed an article recalling that in 1811, after his defeat in battle, a Shawnee chief put a curse on Gen. William Henry Harrison, and then added, for good measure, that the curse would extend to every U.S. chief elected every 20 years. The Chief specified that the curse would mean the death in office of Harrison (whose election he apparently foresaw) and of those who succeeded him at the intervals set up under the terms of the curse. Considering the number of persons who had premonitions of Kennedy's death or issued warnings about it (see Appendix), the "Jinx" legend actually fell into place among a goodly portion of spine-tingling tales proffered to the readers who remain nostalgic for the old-time Sunday supplement. One hundred and twenty-five of these were counted in the tally of the 82 papers, and one paper provided its readers with a complete roundup of all of them.

Although not ignored nor forgotten in the focussing of attention on the Kennedys and Johnsons, Governor John Connally, who caught part of the fire directed at the Kennedy car, did not figure widely in articles about background and interpretative aspects of the tragedy. It was in a newspaper from his own state that one first learned that he was the first governor of Texas on whom an assassination attempt had been made (the Houston Post) -- if he was an intended victim, as the stories of Oswald's letter to him when Connally was Secretary of the Navy implied, if Oswald fired the shots. The Houston Post also carried the excellent article on "the presidential complex," delving into the area of assassin motivation by way of examining cases of persons who have fastened their far-fetched hopes or their fevered resentments upon the President of the United States. The Post article personalizes this brand of mental illness by following the case of a man who crashed his small truck through the White House gates in an attempt to reach President Kennedy; previously, he had made several efforts to see the President and had written letters, and subsequently he was committed to a mental hospital. He was one of 84 persons in a Washington hospital and one of an estimated 50,000 mentally disturbed men and women catalogued by the Secret Service as suffering from mental diseases which sooner or later bring them to center their attentions upon the President. Two psychiatrists who have been seeing patients passing through the District General Hospital have engaged in a detailed study of this phenomena, and are reviewing currently some 40 cases. the Post reported.

It was also the Houston Post which relayed the story told by an aide to Sen. Tower which, the Post commented, might supply a motive for the assassination. According to this report, an anti-Castro Cuban had called upon the Senator in Washington. This man had said he had it on reliable authority that the United States and the Soviet Union were plotting cooperatively to get rid of Castro, who had become a nuisance to both countries. If pro-Castro forces in the United States or Cuba had gotten wind of this plot, the aide was quoted as speculating, might they not have ordered the assassination of Kennedy to foil it? The article noted that the FBI, when asked about this by the Post, said the report had not come to its attention but that it would investigate. The reporter concluded his piece with a review of AP reports that Oswald had visited the Mexican and Soviet consuls.

One question that seemed uppermost in many minds was whether or not "business as usual," "life as usual" should be the watchwords of the people during the aftermath of the tragedy. A Miami Herald feature writer left no doubt as to where he stood as he reported that night life in that area had dimmed only slightly; this was, he strongly implied, inexcusable. Sports pages were full of cancelled contests, of debate as to whether or not to carry on with games, and of articles and columns on the pros and cons of the question: "to play or not to play?" Some stories reported the protests of ministers' groups and of others; some presented the arguments of proponents of "sports as usual," including the defense by Pete Rozelle of the NFL decision to play its Sunday games. Some sports columnists argued it was outrageous to think of continuing games at such a time, while others declared that the dead Kennedy would have wanted the games to go on. Cape Canaveral (soon to be renamed for Kennedy) fell silent and delayed its moonshots in respect to the late President, but other, presumably more important activities continued, to the accompaniment of solemn declarations that Kennedy would have wished this, too. In some places, workers walked off their jobs as a tribute to Kennedy, while a group of U.S. Army engineers, assisting in the rebuilding of earthquake-torn Skopje, Yugoslavia, said they would work even harder as their tribute, and a firm turning out submarines announced the same policy. The national telegraph wires observed a traditional one-minute silence, and a newspaper, The Toledo Blade, began to bring its readers up to date on assassination news when its striking unions voted to end their walkout as their way of paying respects.

In their employment of pictures, the newspapers covered in this study provided many further evidences of imagination and of full awareness that readers wanted scenes they had witnessed on television brought back "frozen" for their careful study and retention. Likewise, pictures of aspects of these events which their readers might have missed seeing on the screen, or which TV's ranging cameras had not been able to cover in the midst of all the demands being made on them, not only complemented the written coverage but added to the personalizing of the story.

Identification of persons in pictures of large groups, or in blurred reproductions of scenes shot at the height of action and tension, was of particular assistance to readers. The AP, which had moved out a virtually panoramic shot of the world leaders descending the steps of the cathedral in Washington, provided a numbered sketch, which some of its clients used, so that readers could identify each individual. Many papers reproduced the striking picture taken through the windshield of the Kennedy car at the moment of impact of the shots, and their cutlines explained who was visible. But the reproductions of this picture which served the reader best were those in which arrows or numbers directed the reader's attention to persons and to details. Similarly, the Washington Post's interview with the man depicted in a widely used photograph taken just outside the White House fence, the picture in which the man's sign and its lettering were clearly decipherable (see Page 10 and Appendix), revealed that he was a lay preacher in an obscure religious sect.

The most vivid scene of the entire period as brought to viewers by television was the "live" broadcast of Oswald's murder, in all likelihood. For those of their readers who had "been there" via video, and to provide those readers who had not with the next-best thing, a few papers took "stills" from the rival medium. The San Francisco Examiner, in a six-column box labeled "Death of Lee Harvey Oswald," presented four pictures taken from CBS-TV as the burst of violence was recorded in Dallas, plus an AP picture of Oswald writhing on a stretch-

er. Another example of this was the NBC-TV Photo via AP Wirephoto published by the Cleveland Plain Dealer in which Oswald's face shows his anguish as the bullet strikes him and the cutline explains that the back, shoulders, and head of the man in the foreground, past whom we see this moment of intense pain, are those of his assailant, Jack Ruby.

Effective use of striking, single pictures is also demonstrated in a number of other papers. To cite but a few: the Philadelphia Bulletin's eight-column by ten-and-a-half-inch picture on Page One of the solemn scene in the East Room of the White House, with the guards at attention and two priests kneeling in prayer beside the bier; the Dallas Times Herald's reproduction of the widely used shot taken by its photographer, Bob Jackson, at the moment Ruby fired at Oswald, across its eight columns and running twelve inches deep; the Richmond Times-Dispatch's eight-column by six-inch picture of the rites in the Capitol Rotunda, spread across the bottom of Page One; the Seattle Post-Intelligencer's eight-column by sixteen-inch picture of Kennedy above an editorial headed: "Martyr."

Pictures of objects and subjects mentioned in the news, about which readers were bound to be curious, further assisted fuller understanding. The Ft. Worth Star-Telegram's readers would better understand stories of police investigation procedures with the picture of the paraffin cast of Oswald's hand print, and the references in many stories to the fact that Oswald was booked under Texas law for murder, although accused of the assassination of the President of the United States, gained added impact with the reproduction of the standard form on which the scrawled entries of a policeman appeared to be a seemingly routine crime report.

Combinations of pictures and text, of pictures and drawings, and various "spreads" of art further assisted readers to understand events and in relating events of the past and present. Many of these arrangements of graphic depictions from the actual scenes no doubt gave readers something more lasting and more meaningful than the television pictures, which generally provided only fleeting glimpses, over in a few seconds. Exceptions to the latter, of course, were the networks' coverage of the requiem mass, the funeral, and the rites in the Capitol Rotunda; still, one found the newspapers' pictures of even these scenes carried an impact which had been heightened by seeing them on television.

Presented in no order other than that in which they were found in the content analysis, here are some examples:

The Miami News presented two pictures, each four columns by nine inches, the first of which showed the assassinated President Lincoln lying in state while the second was a striking view of the Kennedy bier in the Capitol Rotunda, with a statue of Lincoln in the background. The headline provided the perspective carried out also in the text. It read: "New York 1865...Washington 1963."

The Greensboro News paired a picture by a staff photographer of the type of cartridge used in the assassination with the AP picture of the Dallas detective holding the captured rifle.

The Dayton Journal Herald presented an imaginative picture layout on the presidential succession. Superimposed on a larger picture of the White House was a picture of Johnson, with an arrow drawn to a picture of McCormack and, in turn, an arrow from this picture to one of Hayden.

The Philadelphia Bulletin paired an artist's sketch and a picture. The staff artist's drawing depicted the assassin crouched at the window, as seen from the rear, while the AP picture showed the building in the background, the motorcade in the foreground, and an arrow drawn from the building window to the Kennedy car.

With a story on the "high and lonely office" of the presidency, AP supplied eight pictures of presidents, which several papers combined into meaningful presentations.

The New Orleans Times-Picayune took pictures of two items given to a local resident by Oswald when he was in New Orleans distributing literature for the Fair Play for Cuba committee, and combined these with an interview account of the man's recollections of Oswald. The pictures were of a "Guide Book for Marines" and of a leaflet, "Hands Off Cuba," both of which are incribed with Oswald's name.

The Atlanta Journal, under the headline, "What An Extra Really Means," spread nine pictures on steps in the preparation of the edition and of crowds buying copies at its office counters.

The Woonsocket Call presented four local pictures under the healine: "In Memoriam--Many Are the Ways of Expression." The pictures were of a local woman with her original portrait of Kennedy fashioned by pasting postage stamps on a large sheet of cardboard, of a store window with a flag-draped bier in it, of a minister with a poster paying tribute to Kennedy, and of a florist's window in which Kennedy's portrait is tastefully banked with flowers.

The Houston Post display of pictures focussing on both the main actor and on others in the drama surrounding the capture of Oswald included three shots of Oswald's press conferences, the officer heading the Dallas police ID bureau who is shown holding up the card bearing Oswald's finger prints, Dallas Police Chief Curry, Capt. Fritz of the homicide division and chief investigator in the case, the justice of the peace who took the charges against Oswald, and M. N. McDonald, one of two Dallas patrolmen who captured Oswald.

The Seattle Times reproduction in pictures of many reader boards along streets and highways from which advertising had been removed and pleas for prayer and/or expressions of sympathy displayed. The headline read: "Signs Reflect Nation's Grief."

These comments on the use of art would not be complete without a reference to cartoons. Some of the drawings were run-of-the-mill and unimaginative, to say the least, but the surprising discovery was that excellent cartoons evocative of sound emotional response—as distinct from the maudlin and the tritecame so often from the pens of local artists. One has become accustomed to expecting and getting a high order in the cartoonist's art from such syndicated giants as Bill Mauldin and Herblock, but the number of staff artists who, virtually unsung outside their own communities, produced for this period poignant and moving pictures proved a pleasant bonus.

Two of the most frequently used syndicated cartoons were Mauldin's drawing of Lincoln, bowed in grief with head in hands, in his massive chair in the Lincoln Memorial, and Herblock's stricken family in front of their television set, the mother weeping in the background and the father and child staring into

the screen with grief, shock, and disbelief written on their faces—as these were stamped upon millions of faces that day. In the local cartoon category, that of the Dallas Times Herald on the forces of hate has already been mentioned; it was outstanding as much for its reflection of the self-examination current among the responsible and thoughtful citizens of Dallas as for its proclamation to outsiders that Dallas knew just where the trouble lay. Another cartoon one could not forget was the Greensboro News drawing, captioned "The Cortege," showing a mass of humanity, stretching away into the distance over hill and dale, marching behind the caisson and casket. Similarly, the Rochester Democrat & Chronicle cartoon, "1865...and...1963," summed up the repetition of national grief within a century in depicting mourners grouped around the Kennedy bier, while Lincoln looks on gravely from a background of clouds.

Because adverse comment with respect to some of the headlines will be found later in this report, it should be emphasized here that headlines in general were adequate to excellent, and that the summing up of articles listed in this study was often possible on the basis of headlines in which the deskmen had condensed the essence of the articles into a few words.

A few headlines were striking and moving, in keeping with the articles over which they appeared. A television column in the Chicago Sun-Times, hailing the massive coverage by TV during the several days, carried the heading: "The Sponsor Was Death." One of the most moving stories about Jacqueline Kennedy was headlined: "Her Eyes Like A Wounded Deer's, In Her Heart Courage;" an anonymous headline writer at the Cleveland Plain Dealer had completely caught the spirit of the story in this headline.

Oswald, as will be pointed out, became a convicted assassin some headlines, and in others was referred to as a Communist. But there were plenty of examples of headlines over news reports and background articles about Oswald which scrupulously identified his status. Over the report of the radio interview with Oswald in New Orleans, the Rochester Democrat & Chronicle presented a headline delineating two frequently mixed terms: "Killer Suspect 'Marxist,' No Communist." In other examples, the word choices were carefully made: "Police Say Case 'Air-Tight' Against Accussed Assassin," "President Kennedy's Accussed Killer Shot To Death In Crowded City Jail," "Owner of Dallas Night Club Slays Presidential Assassination Suspect."

A previously quoted lead on the impact of the assassination abroad came from the article sent from Japan by Keyes Beech of the Chicago Daily News. One headline over it virtually told the story: "Assassin Murdered American Image--Japanese Have Curious Reaction, Think U.S. Has Let Them Down." While the number of times stories, editorials, and columns were headed "A Profile in Courage" and "An American Tragedy" led one to wonder about the amount of thought that had gone into preparing them, the number of times headlines reflecting original and imaginative thinking appeared led one to realize that with pressures and deadlines against them, many deskmen had succeeded in complementing text with the best that the high art of headline writing can provide. A few striking examples were those employing quotations. The Akron Beacon Journal, over Merriman Smith's fine UPI story of the rites, presented a headline which excerpted from Cardinal Cushing's prayer; under an S-line, "Kennedy Buried in Arlington," the headline read:" 'We Beseech Thee, O Lord, Bring Him To Happiness Without End'." Kennedy, in addressing one group, had quoted from Shakespeare while discussing the problems besetting him as President; The Richmond Times-Dispatch used a part of the quotation as the headline: "They Whirl Asunder...Dismember Me." Even jump heads made

effective use of this device, as in the Milwaukee Sentinel's headline over the continuation of the rites story: "Mr. Kennedy--'Lord Be With You'." This use of quotations extended also to picture captions, as in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer's picture of Jacqueline, Robert and Ted Kennedy marching in the cortege: "Whither Thou Goest..."

Previously mentioned were the many examples of stories giving the continuity in history to the Kennedy events, and headlines often carried this out, too. The Dayton Journal Herald, on a local story, presented a headline which read: "Courthouse Steps Held Lincoln, JFK--1859-1960."

A headline likely to titillate the readers was this one from the Newark Evening News: "Napkin Note Shocks Bar." It referred to the way in which members of the New Jersey Bar Association, meeting in Atlantic City, received the word of Kennedy's death.

The Detroit News, over J. F. Ter Horst's excellent piece on world reaction, put the crux of it into the headline: "U.S. Faces World's Question--Is This Still A Nation Under Law?" And the Philadelphia Bulletin headline on a NANA story about Kennedy's youth at Choate preparatory school virtually told the story: "Mischievious Future President Was Reprimanded as 'Bad Apple'."

Before turning to some critical comment, it should be mentioned that all of the papers were publishing other news--international, national, state, and local--throughout this period, and that, while some of them appeared to have crowded out much news by giving the Kennedy story full coverage, none neglected to keep their readers posted on important developments. When it is noted that the microfilms reproduced only those pages of these newspapers on which appeared material on the Kennedy story, and that other news observed was therefore whatever appeared on those pages, it is safe to assume that readers were not suffering from a lack of news about their world because of the tragedy. Beside the local and state news, stories which were reported in almost all of the papers during this period included the death of Aldous Huxley, the fire in the Norwalk, Ohio, home for the aged in which many died, and the day-to-day reports from Vietnam, to name but a few.

One or two more or less miscellaneous comments should be made before closing this section of the report: the observations on praiseworthy performance. Speed and thoroughness in making over front pages was evident in many papers on November 22, but the Capitol rites and Oswald's slaying were extremely difficult to present before Monday. However, the Houston Chronicle on Sunday, in its extra, had the Capitol rites pictures, two Dallas Morning Newspictures of Oswald's slaying, one via NBC-TV, a story on the slaying by two staffers, and a sidebar on Mrs. Connally, who was at the hospital when Oswald was brought in. Similar enterprise was shown by several papers published during the night of November 22-23.

Some Brickbats

A little past midway in the examination of the text material, an article turned up which was not found again in this study. It reported that a number of legal authorities believed that Jack Ruby's dispatching of Lee Harvey Oswald into oblivion and out of the Kennedy assassination case, insofar as interrogation and trial were concerned, had avoided a nasty legal tangle in the courts and probably a Supreme Court test. The premise for this belief was the convic-

tion of these experts that Oswald's attorney might well have been able to claim flagrant violations of his rights. It would seem, therefore, that the press, at least, should maintain scrupulous observance of traditional and responsible practices by not referring to the accused as though he had been convicted of the assassination—which he never was, even though it is highly likely that he would have been in view of the mountain of evidence against him. Early in the course of the content analysis, a disturbing number of instance of headlines and text references began to accumulate indicating that the civil rights of Oswald were not only being ignored by his captors, but by a number of headline writers, reporters, and editorialists as well. Here are some examples:

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"President's Assassin Shot to Death by Dallas Striptease Club Owner"
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[&]quot;How the Assassin Struck--He is Charged With Murder"

[&]quot;Palm Prints Pin Proof on Oswald"

[&]quot;Red Assassin's Guilt Cinched" and "Kennedy Murderer a Proud Communist" (these two were in the same paper)

[&]quot;Ruby Reveals Assassin Was Shot on Impulse"

[&]quot;Bury Other Victim of Assassin Today" (on the Tippit funeral)

[&]quot;Assassin's Assassin" (an S-line on a headline about Ruby) (an example, by contrast, of a similar but correct headline, was that in which the S-line read: "The Assassin Assassinated?"; the headline cited above could have been made correct simply by adding a question mark, as this headline writer did, in keeping with the lead on the story, which read: "If Lee Harvey Oswald did indeed murder President Kennedy three days ago, he becomes the first assassinated assassin in American history"--but this seems dubious, since the Kansas City Star's article on Union soldier Boston Corbett, who shot and killed John Wilkes Booth, would seem to prove that Booth holds this distinction)

[&]quot;The Murderer Murdered" (a lead editorial on Oswald's slaying)

[&]quot;The Murder of an Assassin" (S-line on an editorial headline; the editorial commented on Ruby's slaying of Oswald, and the main headline read: "A Man Who Played God.")

[&]quot;Portrait of Oswald's Killer--Assassin's Assassin a Loner, Too-- And Tough" (Ruby headlines were not without bad examples, on which more later).

[&]quot;Sniper Wanted To Kill Connally, Too" (this, over story of Oswald's letter to Connally, with speculation that Connally was the target, or also a target, is more subtly "trial by newspaper" than most of the foregoing examples; the story, from AP, raised the possibility that Connally was a target, if the sniper was Oswald.)

[&]quot;Kennedy Assassin Slain" (main headline) and "Kennedy's Killer Slain by Assassin in Dallas" (jump head) (here the main headline was an eight-column banner on Page One, and the jump head was prominently displayed on an inside page, top; thus, conviction of Oswald before trial pursued him from page to page).

[&]quot;Assassin Oswald Slain In Dallas" and, same paper later, "Assassin Buried Quickly, Quietly" (this one pursued him to the grave).

[&]quot;He Fired Rifle, Tests Show" (but story doesn't support the head). A cutline under a picture of Oswald said he was the assassin--in the newspaper's November 26 issue!

[&]quot;As now is clear, the assassination was committed by a Communist fanatic..." (sentence in an article about evidence).

[&]quot;Death came out of a crowd Sunday for the killer of the President, just as it did for Mr. Kennedy 48 hours earlier" (it's a shame to have to cite this sentence, because of one lapse in correct identification, for it is a good lead).

[&]quot;Lee Harvey Oswald shot to death John F. Kennedy."

[&]quot;Lee Harvey Oswald, the arrogant pinko who shocked the world with his ambush of President Kennedy..."

Returning to headlines, some were misleading, not supported by the stories they appeared over, were "loaded" in their wording, or were just rather silly. In the case of some of these, with stories on Ruby, it was interesting to note how often the choice of words in the stories influenced headline writers to use certain words in the heads; this was particularly so of the words "tough" and "loner" used in the AP's initial background story about him, which was widely used--usually under a headline which also used these terms. Here are some examples, ending with the Ruby headlines but including some "loaded" ones with respect to Madame Nhu and her cablegram to Jacqueline Kennedy:

"Assassin Suspect Top Cuba Leader"

"Pall of Grief Shrouds LA Area"
"Southland Kneels in Prayer"

"U.S., Russia Crisis Feared" (nothing in story supported this).

"New Finger on Nuclear Trigger" (over an excellent story explaining that the United States is never without a Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, even when the President dies; the headline is nothing less than a "scare" head, in the worst sensational style).

"Son Guarding President During Dallas Tragedy" (this does not refer to John

Jr. but to the son of a local couple).

"Mrs. Nhu Still Speaks With Sneer in Voice" (better headline: "Mrs. Nhu Wires Mrs. Kennedy Sympathy for 'Act of God!")

Wires Mrs. Kennedy Sympathy for 'Act of God'").

"Mrs. Nhu 'Sympathizes'..etc. ("'Ordeal From God'-Mrs. Nhu's words..")
"Madame Nhu Wires 'Barbed' Sympathy" ("'Ordeal Which God Has Bestowed Upon You,' Mme. Nhu Tells Jackie")

"Loses Weight on Diet of Soup" (headline on an excellent story about Johnson, by an editor who knew him well, and in which this point was, to say the least, a most minor one).

"Red Propaganda Mill Leaps on JFK Death" (can a "mill" do any "leaping"?)
"Six Whites Held in JFK Shooting" (this turns out to be the arrests of six pickets with signs who were awaiting Kennedy's arrival at the Trade Mart in Dallas).

"Oswald's Slayer: A Loner, Tough, After a Buck" (this was an eight-column banner).

"Seamy Jack Ruby: An Unlikely Avenger"

"Ruby Had Ties With Chicago Mobsters" (story says a lawyer alleged this was the case).

(To conclude with a good example, the Dallas Times Herald's headline on a Ruby story read: "Explosive, Enigmatic: That's Jack Ruby"; this story was written by a staffer, and did not use the words "loner" and "tough" as the wire service stories did, the resulting frequent employment of these words in headlines being clearly, therefore, a matter of reliance on the stories for descriptive words to be used in the headlines).

It has been noted earlier here that several papers in this study notified their readers that advertising was being cancelled during part of this period, and responses to the survey questionnaire on this indicate that many did so without making mention of it in notes to the readers. The APME research directors had raised questions about advertising, including one as to whether or not advertising should be withheld during coverage of a major, national tragedy such as this one. It is not the purpose of this report to make recommendations with respect to policies of such a far-reaching character, but some findings may indicate problems arising from continued publishing of advertisements in a period like this--particularly if no effort is made to monitor the advertising as to content and possible impact in the context of news on the same pages. It seemed

to this observer that content and placement of some kinds of advertising in some of the papers studied might have struck thoughtful readers as distinctly insensitive. Likewise, certain other kinds of editorial material in close juxtaposition to material on the Kennedy tragedy seemed in poor taste or, at least, in sharp contrast to the tone and mood of the Kennedy articles.

First, as an example of the latter, there appeared an article and headline in one paper which had the character of both advertising and editorial matter, hardly appropriate in either placement or content. Over a sizable continuation of the Kennedy funeral story on an inside page stretched an eight-column banner headline, with its story reading out of the head and stretching down a center column of the page, this story being flanked by Kennedy stories. The banner head read: "Presley's 'Fun in Acapulco' Due Wednesday at Paramount." A large photo of a scene from the movie appeared with it.

Under the shoulder of an article on the Kennedy rites in another paper a large local advertisement was placed, its headline reading: "Will Your Funeral Cost Too Much?" In another paper, a story about Jacqueline Kennedy, headlined "Widow's Return to the Graveside," would first attract the reader's attention, no doubt, but almost at once attention might have been shifted to the advertisement for a department store just beneath the story, the headline of which read: "How to Beat Your Wife."

Next to a picture of the Kennedy graveside rites at Arlington was a four-column advertisement for panty girdles, complete with appropriate illustrative models.

A picture and story on John Jr. and the flag he asked for at the Capitol, "to take home to my Daddy," was surrounded by advertising which included one headed "Overweight?"--a reducing studio ad with "before" and "after" pictures of women--and an advertisement headed: "Fix Broken Dentures." The other ads announced bargain sales.

In one paper, there appeared on one page a layout of text and pictures on Kennedy's life, and adjoining this an advertisement headlined: "Good Things For Thanksgiving From TheBakers." This was followed by another page on which the Kennedy life story continued, but readers were invited to turn their attention to other matters in the advertisement headline in large type next to it which read: "These Downtown Stores Will Be Open Tonight and Six Nights a Week."

Under pictures on the rites and a Kennedy speech text appeared six ads, including one headed: "What Will Tomorrow's Dollar Buy?"

"TV, Radio Networks Cancel Regular Programs Until After JFK Funeral Monday," announces a headline, yet underneath are three pictures of upcoming programs: one of a leggy, scantily clad girl, and two of girls in costume for parts in these shows. If the paper had caught up with the announcement of cancelled programming, surely it could have pulled these pictures to run them at a later date.

Over a spread of rites pictures and text, appeared a headline reading: "Body of Martyr Is Borne To The Capitol." Nearly as large was the headline on an adjoining advertisement reading: "Thanksgiving Food Sale."

Under a pictue and story on the Kennedys and Connallys and their conversation just before the shots came, appeared an advertisement: "Double-Header Wardrobe Sale." (But there may be some excuse for this, since this appeared November 22, and advertising might have been difficult to pull out on short notice).

A full page of pictures on the Kennedy rites, with cutlines, led the reader's eye down the page to the bottom, across which spread an eight-column advertisement for a bank: "You Save Money Every Time You Write A Check."

Local news and local advertising often appeared, indiscriminately thrown together on a page, as in "Three Faiths in Pray for President Kennedy," with pictures and text, appearing with advertising for a liquor store and for a women's wear emporium.

"Grief Comes Again To Joseph Kennedy"--surrounded by advertising, including a six-column appliance store ad headed: "Free Turkey."

An article on faulty gun-control laws appeared above an advertisement for a store's sale on guns, while a nearby story was headed: "Local Man Shot Twice, Dies." (Was this some printer's bright idea?)

A roundup of excerpts from sermons at local services for Kennedy appeared accompanied by advertising, including a patent medicine ad headed: "Tense Nerves Block Bowels;" on another page in the same paper, a story on local observances continuing in the churches and a picture of three nuns praying were surrounded by advertising, including patent medicine ads headed: "Why Are So Many Women Victims of 'Irregularity'" and "Science Shrinks Piles."

Another gun story was placed next to a four-column, page-deep advertisement for sporting goods, including a number of rifles and shotguns.

A picture of the eternal flame on Kennedy's grave and the sensitive piece by Merriman Smith on Margaret Chase Smith's placing of a rose on Kennedy's former Senate desk had advertising below and at right, including an "Old Dover" whisky ad and an ad for a bargain-basement sale of Christmas gifts, profusely illustrated with girdle pictures.

Next to a three-column, page-deep "Thanksgiving Specials" ad for women's capri pants and nylons, pictures captioned: "Sorrowing Family, World Leaders at Funeral Mass."

A picture of a flag at the cathedral where a Solemn Pontifical High Mass was said rested upon an advertisement for ski equipment and was hemmed in on the right by an illustrated ad for stretch bras.

"Kennedy Opened White House Doors to Arts," announces the headline on an article, while next to it appears two movie-release pictures, one of a leading Hollywood actor struggling with two policemen and the other of a current teenage idol about to sock another character.

Two articles, on the Kennedy rites and on Congress paying its respects to the late President, appeared next to "Don't Neglect Slipping False Teeth" and a hair stylist's ad, while below was spread a seven-column women's underwear ad with profuse illustrations of panties, slips, and nightgowns.

Besides mixtures of Kennedy news with advertising of this character, instances occurred of Kennedy material appearing with other news which seemed better moved to some other page. For example, five stories on local sermons, a story on the mayor's statement of shock and grief, a story on a military mass and special services, and a story on cancelling of public school classes and civic activities were accompanied by a story headed: "I-85 Collision Kills 3, Hurts 1."

Similarly, pictures appeared in inappropriate places, as in the newspaper which placed next to a story on mourning for Kennedy a picture of Debbie Drake, a syndicated columnist on physical fitness, posed fetchingly in a leotard which demonstrated her pronounced and considerable charms.

Placement of Kennedy material on certain pages carrying other matter also seemed sometimes inappropriate, as when three pictures of the Kennedys in their car in the motorcade, a picture of Jacqueline Kennedy and a Secret Service man on the rear trunk of the car just after the shooting, and a picture of the ambulance bearing Kennedy's body appeared on a page offering comics and a listing of TV programs. In another issue, again on the TV and comics page, appeared pictures of Jacqueline with her children, Cardinal Cushing, the Dutch princess arriving for the rites, and Kennedy's Irish relatives praying. Another paper used its eight columns on one page for five columns of text and pictures on the assassination and aftermath, and three columns for comics. Several papers carried such stories in a single column on pages which were otherwise all advertising. Picture pages sometimes included advertising, as in one which presented pictures of Kennedy, his rocking chairs being removed from the White House, and of military tributes at nearby posts, along with a two-column ad for a bank.

News mixtures which might have offended some readers as reflecting crass materialism at such a time were the page on which appeared the story headed, "Reading of Kennedy Thanksgiving Proclamation Urged by Johnson," next to one headed, "Market Makes Sharpest Advance," and a front page on which the three-column, lead story was headed, "President Johnson Begins His Work In White House," and the adjoining five columns on the left were occupied by a three-and-a-half-inch-deep picture captioned: "Montgomery Ward To Build New Store." The rest of the page was devoted to Kennedy stories and a picture of the Kennedy grave.

There is, of course, no question as to the readers' desire for background and interpretation when news of this character breaks; it has already been well established here that the newspapers, by and large, offered their readers material of this sort in great volume and with an enormous range of subjects. But sometimes interpretation shifted into far-fetched speculation and came up with questionable conclusions. Likewise, occasionally news seemed to have been tailored to try to make it relate to the assassination.

Predictions and speculations about the political outlook and effects of the assassination occasionally went to uncalled-for lengths—to a point where the writers could not possibly foresee with any degree of accuracy what the outcome might be. Perhaps the safest approach in these areas was exemplified in the headline: "Assassination Casts Heavy Fog Over Political Outlook."

Conflicting and erroneous reports which could easily have been checked out, even under the pressures which accompanied the breaking news in the early stages of the Kennedy tragedy, might have left readers with an uneasy feeling that perhaps some of the rest of the news they were getting--not only from the news-

papers, but from radio and TV as well--might be unreliable. Where, in a few papers, no sources were given for the news--not even for stories from the wire services--the reader would have wondered about their origin--unless he were naive enough to assume they were all written by these papers' staffs.

Just a few examples, concluding this section of the report, will suffice to indicate the kinds of articles which prompted these comments.

A story that the Vietcong had released a prisoner, an American, supposedly because these Vietnam Communists wanted to demonstrate their sympathy at the death of President Kennedy (although why they should, when Red Chinese school children were reported cheering the news when it reached their classrooms, might have been a thought occurring to many a reader). Subsequently, the American was interviewed and stated that he had gained his release by agreeing to sign statements denouncing the U.S. effort in Vietnam as "imperialist aggression," and also, perhaps, because he told his captors his birthday was coming up--which it wasn't.

Bank robberies were reported from two places--one in Canada--as having been pulled to take advantage of the stunned state of the banks' employees in the aftermath of the assassination. No other bandits of this period were given credit for such sagacity--or insensitivity--and the crime rate in this category did not appear to have diminished substantially because of the shootings in Dallas.

A story on the Korean elections said they were "muted" by the assassination, and many papers incorporated this view in their headlines on the piece. But careful reading failed to turn up evidence supporting what appeared to be nothing but conjecture as to how the Korean people would react, although it may well be that many of them were beset by worries as to whether the death of the President would affect this nation's commitments in their country.

UPI reported that the Mexican border was closed, while AP said it was open. When both stories appeared in the same paper, side by side, readers must have wondered.

An early story on Oswald's capture said Tippit was shot in the theater, while another reported that a Secret Service agent was also killed. Both reports, of course, proved to be false-although they were widely disseminated by radio and TV, too.

AP moved a story to the effect that the riderless horse in the funeral cortege was the mount presented as a gift to Jacqueline Kennedy by Pakistan. The following day, AP reported that this had not been Mrs. Kennedy's gift-horse, but a mount trained and used by the Army for all military funerals at Arlington Cemetery. Early speculation as to where this animal came from might well have led to the inspiration that it would have been another sentimental touch in the proceedings if Mrs. Kennedy had included this horse in the planning, but a single phone call to Ft. Myer, Virginia, could have cleared this up at the outset.

Stories appeared reporting that the Senate, the House, or Congress was putting off all work until after the last rites, yet they appeared in the same editions of many papers with stories that Congress was buckling right down to work and would continue in session and active. The first accounts were based largely on statements of congressmen and others as to what was likely to happen, but

actually it was only a matter of a few hours before the leaders of Congress had reached a decision.

While presented as speculation, a story on the possible political effects—and one which proved to be completely off-base—raises the question whether it is actually necessary for writers for newspapers to make guesses about that which they cannot possibly predict. This story, headlined in one paper, "Goldwater Finished?", said that the Arizona Senator's chances of winning the GOP nomination may have died with the assassin's bullet which struck down Kennedy. It is no doubt a fact that many other persons also thought this at the time, but most of them were not saying so in print.

"Bobby Kennedy Is Key to Democratic Power," another political piece, may have been speculation coming out of appraisal of the political scene by an experienced observer, but it appears to have underestimated the well-known energy and skill of the new President where politics is concerned; Johnson's past record and his all-out bid for the presidential nomination--against Bobby and his brother--in 1960, and the somewhat-less-than-enthusiastic views of each other held by Bobby and the new President at the time could just as well have spelled out the opposite prediction. Jimmy Hoffa's statement that Bobby was now "just another lawyer" didn't prove to be a very sound prophecy, either, but no one expected Jimmy to take any other view, and the Teamster's leader was not making his prediction as a newspaper political writer.

Finally, an example of how the wire services' early, false reports led some papers astray, even to the playing up of such news, is the Page One, eight-column banner headline on November 25: "Slain Oswald Leaves Bullet-Path Map." This story was later denied by the very authorities in Dallas who were supposed to have given it out initially, and the AP subsequently reported that it was not so, but readers might have begun to take a questioning attitude toward a lot of other evidence against the accused assassin after this correction.

Newspaper Survey Findings:

In an attempt to find out whether or not the newspapers in the study had increased the size of the news hole to cover the tragedy and its many ramifications, the editors were asked whether they had increased the news space during the period and, if so, how much. It seemed likely that some of this space would be used for pictures, and that the newspapers would probably present more art during this period. A question as to increased use of pictures and a request for an estimate of the increase in inches, if, indeed, more pictures had been used, was therefore included in the questionnaire.

Earlier in this report, the highlights of the survey findings were cited, showing that 100 respondents reported that their newspapers had increased space, while 102 reported that they had added to the picture space. Of the latter, presumably, as several of them specifically noted, this space devoted to pictures was part of the total news hole. The range in reported total added space and added picture space is a wide one: from less than 20 columns of additional news hole space up to more than 300 columns, and from 30 column inches of additional picture space up to more than 6,000 inches. (See Tables I and II, pages 34 and 35).

It should be noted first that the clusters in these tables (and in Table III, page 37) reflect the greater number of papers in the 100,000 to 300,000 circu-

lation group. Sixty-three papers in this study were in this circulation bracket, with 26 in the 100,000 to 150,000 category, 15 in the 150,000 to 200,000 group, 15 in the 200,000 to 250,000 circulation bracket, and 7 with circulations between 250,000 and 300,000. One significant fact about this, in view of the fact that this study was limited to examination of the newspapers reproduced on microfilm, is that this cluster of papers represents a sizable proportion of the total number of dailies in the United States in this circulation range. According to the latest Editor & Publisher Yearbook, there are 92 daily papers in this circulation group, if combinations of morning and evening papers are counted as one unit in terms of combined circulations within these limits. While the sample used here was not a scientifically drawn cross-section of the daily press, and projections of data for the entire press from these findings could not be made with any degree of expectation of accuracy, it seems safe to assume that there is an indication here that most of the U.S. dailies added news space during this period. Furthermore, this is borne out also by the fact that 100 editors out of the 106 who responded to the questionnaire reported an increase in the news hole in their papers.

Table 1, presenting data on reports with respect to increased news space, shows that 27 of the 28 papers in the 100,000 to 200,000 circulation group reported adding space ranging from 20 columns to nearly 300 columns. More than half of these reported adding between 60 and 140 columns; if their pages are made up in the usual eight-column format, this means an addition of between seven to seventeen pages. Nineteen in the 200,000 to 300,000 group added between 20 and 300 columns. Fifty-one papers reported adding between 20 and 100 columns, and 26 reported adding between 100 and 180 columns, or from 12 to 22 pages. It should be added, however, that there is no way to tell, from the data, whether this space was devoted to material on the Kennedy tragedy alone or to other news as well; the editors were only asked to report on added news space.

Although Table II (see page 35) also presents specific data from 93 papers, these are clearly not all the same papers covered by Table I. It is equally obvious, however, that the two sets of reports come very largely from the same papers, and therefore that the data on increased picture space gives some clues as to how the editors who added to the news hole used some of it for pictures.

Again, the clusters are in the 100,000 to 300,000 circulation range, with a range in added picture space from 90 column inches to 6440 column inches. The significant range, however, is between 100 and 2500 inches, with 45 of these papers represented. From the group as a whole, and cutting across the total range in circulations, 87 papers reported specifically on increased use of pictures by between 100 column inches and 2500 column inches.

Mention should be made here of one further observation drawn from examination of these two tables. This has to do with reports of added news and picture space from smaller papers—those within the 10,000 to 40,000 circulation range. From the profile of the papers in the survey by circulations (page 3), it may be noted that there were 28 papers in this circulation group, only two of which publish Sunday editions. This latter fact would mean that they could have published only four days of the period. Furthermore, none below 20,000 circulation reported specifically on added news space, and are therefore not represented in the table; two out of the eight papers in this group reported specifically on increased use of pictures.

TABLE I Number of Newspapers Reporting Increased News Space Nov. 22-26, by Circulation and Number of Columns

Circulation	- 1			Т	TAMILIDET OT	-				
(in thousands)	Less than 20	20-59	66-09	100-139	140-179	180-219	220-259	260-299	300 or more	Total
20-30		23	2	1						9
30-40	П	2	1				Н			Ŋ
40-50		2								8
20-60		2	П				H			4
02-09	1	Н	Н							23
80-90	1		н		-					23
90-100	П	4								Ŋ
100-200	1	4	11	7	2	-	Н	1		28
200-300		4		2	23	2	-			19
300-400			2		4	-	-			∞
400-500				-						1
200-600			2	1						8
002-009				г						-
700-800		П			н				П	8
800-900					2					7
Total	S	23	28	13	13	4	2			93

TABLE II Number of Newspapers Reporting Increased Use of Pictures, Nov. 22-26, by Circulation and Number of Column Inches

Total	2	D	4	က	က	4	7	4	26	22	9	က	က	Н	က	81	93
3500 or more									1(6440")								1
2500-3500									-						2		က
1500-2500						Н			9	9	က		-				17
mn Inches		7	н		٦	7			9	က		-	Н			8	18
er of Column 600-900 90		-					Н		6	က	2			Н			17
Number 300-600	1			က	-	H		83	-	4	7	7	Н				16
100-300	1	2	2		1	1	7	2	73	c.		1			1		19
Less than 100			1(30")						- 124	1(90")							2
Circulation (in thousands)	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	20-60	02-09	80-90	90-100	100-200	200-300	300-400	400-500	200-600	002-009	700-800	800-900	Total

three replied "yes;" two said "doubled;" two said 10% and 20%, respectively; one said "1/3 more," and one said "news and pictures, 150 column inches.") (Note: Nine respondents who indicated they used more pictures were not specific on added amount;

With these facts in mind, it is notable that more than half of the papers in the 20,000 to 40,000 circulation group (11 out of 21) reported specifically on added news space and that nine reported added picture space in column inches. While one reported less than 20 additional columns of news space and one reported only 30 additional column inches for pictures, eight reported between 20 and 100 columns of added space and one reported added space in the range between 220 and 260 columns; eight reported increased picture space ranging from 100 column inches up to 1500 column inches. This would seem to be a very good showing from a group of papers with presumably much smaller resources than might be expected for the larger group of papers in circulation ranges above this level.

Circulation Gains

Another assumption in this survey was that most newspapers would experience a rise in circulation during this period, or, at least, on certain days, especially Friday, November 22, and Monday, November 25, after the shooting of Oswald. But the fact that most papers have the bulk of their circulation today in home-delivered papers which are not so likely to be subject to such increases led to a request with respect to circulation that the editors break down increases in terms of street sales, counter sales, and newsstand sales. They were also asked to give total circulation gains, with the percentage of increase as the basis of measure in each case.

One hundred and three editors reported circulation gains, although not all reported the breakdowns and some indicated that they either had no way of making these breakdowns or that the increases in these categories had been slight. Table III (page 37) presents these data.

Looking first at total circulation gains, one finds that 98 papers out of the 103 reporting any increases in circulation experienced over-all rises. This would lead to the assumption that the five papers not reporting a total increase, but limiting their reports to gains on certain days of the period or to one or more of the sub-categories--street, counter, or newsstand sales--probably also showed total circulation increases. The alternative would be a decline in over-all circulation, which does not seem at all likely.

Thirty-two of the 41 papers in the 100,000 to 200,000 circulation group reported gains in total circulation, ranging from less than 10% to more than 300%. Twenty of the 41 papers reported gains of from 10% to 50%. In the circulation group between 200,000 and 300,000-the second of the two largest groups of papers--all 22 papers reported total circulation gains, but most of them are under 30%. Also, the smaller papers by circulation again have a substantial representation from their total number among those specifically reporting total circulation gains: 9 out of 22.

Street sales, judging by the number of times the papers reported increases in this category, appear to have been the most productive of the three--street, counter, and newsstand. Street sales are cited as bringing gains 31 times, as against 19 times each for counter sales and newsstand sales. Street sales are also reported more times among percentage increases in the higher ranges, those above 50%. Nine citations out of the 19 above 50% are above 100%.

Counter and newsstand sales, however, clearly helped to boost the totals in the circulation increase range between 10% and 50%, where the numbers of

TABLE III Number of Newspapers Reporting Increases in Circulation, Nov. 22-26, by Circulation and Per Cent of Increase

		Total		ת	20	11	6	55	32	13	16	ณ	167
	300-400 600-70d	CN							- -				H
		N T S			-			Н					
		T S C	,				Н	N	<u>ਜ</u>				7
	200-300	SCN			ਜ								77
ges	100-200	CIN			ਨ ਜ			ਜ ਹ		 			7 7
in Percentages	0-90 10	NE						а -		<u>-</u> д			2 2
		T S C			ਜ	ਜ		N N			 		3 5 2
reases	50-70	N C N				- - - п		ਜ ਜ ਜ			П		7 7 7
on Inc	30-50	E N		ณ	<u></u> 귀	N.	-	м - п	 	ัน	- п		††T <u>L</u>
Circulation Increases	00	L L		(L)	2 5 1	<u></u>	<u>Н</u>	3 1,7 1	9 1	m	2		7 64 7
Cir	10-30	S C N				H		7 7	Н				8
	Less than	10		†	4	CI	· 0	co	6	Ø	CV.		33
	Circulation	(in thousands)		10-30	30-60	08-09	80-100	100-200	200–300	300-500	500-800	800-900	Total

(Note: Symbols above are as follows: S - street sales; C - counter sales; N - newsstand sales; T - total circulation increase. A few papers reported percentages for different days; some are entered in separate columns under reported percentages. Increases of less than 10% are respondents reported circulation increases separately for morning and evening papers. reported in totals only.) citations of total increase are highest. In the 10-30% group and the 30-50% category, newsstand sales, cited 14 times, surpassed street sales (12 citations) in number, and were double the number for both categories of percentage increase recorded for counter sales.

Since counter sale citations in the range above 50% (12) outstrip the number for newsstand sales (5) and come closer to matching street sales than in any other category, it seems likely that counter sales were lower to begin with and that the high percentages there represent relatively fewer papers sold as against percentages for street and newsstand sales. It also appears that buyers of newspaper copies during this period tended to obtain them on the street or from a newsstand, rather than to call at newspaper offices to purchase copies. This, together with the reports from the editors to be cited later, suggests that additional press runs of newspapers would sell better if placed on newsstands and in street vending boxes and the like.

In summation, the data supplied by the vast majority of the editors responding to the survey questionnaire with respect to circulation gains indicates a high level of public interest in the reports these newspapers were providing and, in terms of new readers, a soaring readership of newspapers throughout these five days. While it is true that the citations in Table III are a mixture of reports for the entire period and for certain days in that period (making a total larger than the number of papers reporting), the incidence of reports of gains, both total and in sub-categories, in substantial percentages further bears out this conclusion.

How much effect reader interest in the events of November 22-26, as reflected in circulation gains, would have upon the sales of newspapers after this period also seemed important to determine, if only as one possible measure of the attention which new readers of the papers gave to them subsequently. It was also thought that this might serve as one index of reader response to the performance of the papers, at least insofar as the readers they had gained during this period were concerned. The questionnaire therefore asked editors whether or not circulation had continued higher after November 26 and by how much.

Forty-six editors reported that circulation had continued higher, although several noted that the gains could be considered seasonal or normal for that time of year. Some indicated that the gains had been rather short-lived. Several of the respondents were not specific as to the amount of continued increase, making preparation of a meaningful table difficult. To provide some perspective, the findings are summarized in an informal fashion. Increases are for totals only, unless otherwise specified.

Summary of responses to Question 4, by basic circulation categories:

Circulation (Thousands)	Total Increase	Continued Increase
30-40 50-60	1.2%	200 400
60-70	0.9%	560
100-200	15.4%	2-3%
	15.0%	4000
	16.5%	7%
	3.0%	1400
	36.0%	4%
	7.0%	2%
	3-75%	10%
200-300	33.0%	1000(home del.)3000-7000(street
		sales) 3000 (Sun.)
	38.0%	4513(daily)3676(Sun.)
	22.0%	2000-3000
	20.0%(23rd)	1%
	5.0%	2%
	75.0%(m,e,S)	1%
300-400	10.0%	held one-fourth of surplus
500-600	16.3%	7038(av. per day)
	15.0%	10,000(daily)20,000(Sun.)
600-700	7.5%	1%
maa 0aa	147,200	8000(av. per day)
700-800	4-48%	5%
800-900	10-20%	20,000
	14.0%	1.4%

(Note: The twenty-two editors reporting total increases and continued increases in nonspecific terms break down as follows - 1(20-30), 200-300 continued increase; 1(30-40), c.i.-yes; 1(40-50), c.i.-yes; 2(50-60), c.i.-higher until Xmas and yes; 1(60-70), c.i.-yes; 1(80-90), c.i.-some; 1(90-100), c.i.-yes; 7(100-200), c.i.-3,yes; 1, a little; 1(300-400), c.i.-19,000-61,000 for 1(500-600), c.i.-3 slightly; 1(600-700), c.i.-yes)

Advertising Losses

Among questions APME editors had raised after the assassination was this one: Had the press generally suffered losses in advertising revenue during this period, either as the result of advertisers' cancellations or because the newspapers themselves had chosen to sacrifice advertising revenue in order to provide space for fuller coverage of the news? Behind the interest in this was awareness of the fact that the television networks had not only dropped regular programming, but commercials as well, from November 22 to November 26. The broadcasting industry had subsequently released figures to show the extent of this loss in advertising revenue. Although reports appeared later indicating that revenue from the TV advertising had been in part recouped, there was a general impression that the networks had made considerable sacrifices to bring the day-to-day coverage. Some editors felt that the story of the newspapers' sacrifices had not been nearly as well publicized; others argued that the media

were quite different and that there would be little point in emulating broadcasting in this respect, since interruption of news broadcasts by commercials was not comparable to the presence of advertising on pages carrying news.

Newspaper production costs were also an object of interest. It was noted that, if costs had gone up during this period, the losses in revenue combined with these added costs might well make sizable dollar figures attesting to the sacrifices of the press.

The managing editors in the survey were therefore posed three questions:

"Did you throw out advertising or publish more advertising during this period? Estimate gain or loss."

"If you suffered a loss in advertising revenue during this period, what was the total loss in dollar volume?"

"If your costs were greater during this period, what percentage increase occurred in newsprint expense, personnel expense, other expenses? What was total added cost in dollars?"

Fifty-seven editors reported that their newspapers had suffered advertising losses, and 39 of them reported dollar volume of loss. In addition to those who said they could not give an accurate estimate of the loss in revenue in dollars, several rather tartly replied that they had not considered their losses to be a proper subject for analysis under the circumstances; this was not a time, they said, when the costs of coverage should be weighed.

The responses, ranging from "yes" to an estimate of \$325,000 net loss, do not lend themselves to tabulation because the bases for estimates varied. But they do serve to indicate that more than half of the responding newspapers were able to estimate their losses fairly accurately, and that all of them did suffer some declines in revenue. The following examples of these answers, paraphrased or condensed, should give an adequate impression of those responses which went beyond simply stating that they had experienced a decline in revenue from advertising.

Responses to Questions 6 and 7, by circulation categories:

- 20-30 one-third of scheduled advertising cancelled.
 - 2,500 inches, but some regained; total, 500 inches, \$1,250.
 - slight; total, \$150.
- 30-40 retail down 7% for month and national down; total, \$1,500.
 - 500 inches; total, \$900.
- 50-60 10,000 lines; total, \$4,000.
 - 1,000 inches; total, \$2,000.
- 90-100 10,000 lines of political advertising cancelled, 6,000 lines thrown out; total, \$4,500.
- 100-200 large amounts out in 3 days after 22nd, but 31.3% gain for November and 12.3% gain for this period.
 - retail, \$11,700; general, \$2,800; total, \$14,500.
 - 6,882 inches; total, \$26,150.
 - 360 inches; total, \$2,000.
 - 36%; total, \$45,000-\$50,000.
 - yes; total, \$50,000.

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- 2,600 inches; total,\$10,000.
- yes; total, \$25,000.
- yes, but minor loss; most linage recovered; total, under \$1,000.
 no advertising thrown out, but lost three pages; total, \$2,500.
- yes; total, \$25,000.

- 5,612 inches; total, \$30,770

200-300 - 34,009 lines cancelled; total linage increase over previous year--24,868 lines; total, \$15,955 in cancellations, 73.6% made up.

- 140,000 lines; total, \$70,000.

- did not throw out advertising; some canceled regular advertising; total, \$55,342.73.
- 3,000 inches; total, \$15,000. - 130,000 lines; total, \$55,000.
- no advertising thrown out, but linage dropped; total, \$7,000.
- seven pages; total, \$7,500. - 1,000 inches; total, \$6,000. - 160 columns; total, \$18,000.
- 300-400 275 columns Sunday, 50 columns Monday; \$45,000 Sunday, \$7,500 Mondropped some Friday for editorial coverage; all Page One advertising dropped Sat.-Tues.; Sunday, lost 125,000 lines; \$75,000.

- 10 pages, 23rd; 30 pages, 24th; 12 pages, 25th; total, \$40,000.

400-500 - 125,000 lines; total, \$120,000.

500-600 - net retail loss Saturday of 10,677 lines; total, \$7,686.91.

- 80,000 lines; total, \$65,000.

600-700 - 115,000 lines; total, \$81,000.

700-800 - 2,480 lines, 22nd; 10,000 lines, 24th; total, \$25,000.

- 375,000 lines; recovered 125,000 lines; \$500,000 original loss down to net revenue loss of \$325,000 on 250,000 lines.

800-900 - threw out \$75,000 in ads Monday; lost \$50,000 Tuesday; total, \$125,000.

These are, of course, only part of the response indicating losses in advertising revenue. But a tally of the losses cited here, in dollars, may serve as some indication of the experience, not only of the newspapers in this survey but of the U.S. press in general, with respect to advertising declines during this period. Thirty-seven papers in this listing supplied figures permitting their inclusion in the tally; one, giving a range of loss, was tallied in as an average, and in two giving precise figures down to dollars and cents the figures were rounded off. The resulting total for these 37 papers is \$1,404,211.

Production Costs

Seventy-one papers reported increased production costs, but again, not all provided specific figures, and many did not break these costs down in terms of newsprint, personnel, and other expenses. The range of reported costs in dollars was from \$100 to \$150,000. The following are responses giving specific data:

Responses to Question 8, by circulation categories:

10-20 - total, \$100.

20-30 - newsprint, \$110; personnel, \$200; other, \$100; total, \$410.

- total, \$350-\$400.

30-40 - a few hundred dollars.

- newsprint, 1%; personnel, 0.5%; total, \$400.

- total, \$2,000-\$3,000.

- 40-50 total, \$3,500-\$4,000.
- 50-60 personnel, \$600; total, \$600.

60-70 - total, \$750.

- 90-100 newsprint, 1%; personnel, 1%; total, \$1,200.
- 100-200 newsprint, \$2,000; personnel, \$500; total, \$2,500. - newsprint, \$4,765; other, \$1,000 (editorial), \$850 (mechanical), \$135 (engraving); total, \$6,750.

- total, \$6,500-\$10,000.

- newsprint, \$9,540; personnel, \$3,086 (mechanical), \$2,259 (editorial), \$375 (circulation); total, \$29,760. (Note: other costs were not listed but presumably account for the higher total).
- a few hundred dollars in newsprint; total, a few hundred dollars.
 newsprint, decreased 5.3%; personnel, increased 5%; other, increased

2.5%; total, \$8,200.

- newsprint, 6.1%; personnel, 17.7%; total, \$3,931.14.

- newsprint, half increased costs; total, \$80,000.

- total, \$4,000.

- newsprint, personnel, and other total \$20,000.

- newsprint, \$560; personnel, \$265; other, \$140; total, \$965.

- press run, 62%; composing room, 32%; editorial, 6% (all for 100,000 extras in four-day span); total, \$7,700.25.

- newsprint, up, but figures not available; personnel, \$1,200 (editorial); \$2,300 (circulation); \$1,000 (mechanical); total, \$4,500 plus.

- personnel, \$500; total, \$500 plus.

- newsprint, 70%; other, 3% (engraving, etc.); total, \$2,000-\$3,000.

- newsprint, \$2,590; total, \$2,590.

- personnel, \$563 (for extra on 24th); total, \$563 plus.

- newsprint, \$1,566; personnel, \$758; other (material), \$120; total \$2,444.

- total, \$3,175.

- newsprint, \$5,000; personnel, \$1,000; total, \$6,000.

- estimated additional production costs for 14 pages, not including overtime; total, \$9,325 plus.

200-300 - production costs up 5%; total, \$10,000.

- newsprint, \$6,000; other (engraving) up; total, \$6,000 plus.
- newsprint, \$3,800; personnel, \$1,800; total, \$5,600.

- total (mechanical), \$1,000.

- total, \$8,000-\$10,000.

- newsprint, \$5,000; total, \$10,000.

200-300 - newsprint, 14%; personnel, 5%; other, 2%; total, \$18,500.

- total, \$18,000.

- newsprint, 4-6%; personnel, 8-10%; total, \$20,000.

- total, \$100,000.

- newsprint, most of increase here; total, \$3,500.
- 300-400 newsprint, \$4,200; personnel, \$3,000; total, \$7,200.

- total, \$30,000.

- newsprint, \$6,000-\$7,000; total, \$6,000-\$7,000.

- newsprint, \$12,000; personnel, \$1,200 (editorial); total, \$13,200.
- 500-600 newsprint, \$3,000-\$5,000; personnel, \$5,200; total, \$8,200-\$10,200. - newsprint, \$10,000; personnel, \$5,000; other, \$1,000; total, \$16,000.

- newsprint, \$50,000; personnel, \$1,000; total, \$51,000.

700-800 - newsprint, down \$90,000; production and distribution costs up \$40,000; increased circulation revenue, \$40,000; drop in pages during period entirely in advertising.

- 800-900 newsprint, total chiefly here; personnel, overtime heavy in all departments; total, \$150,000.
 - newsprint, 280.1 extra tons, \$39,074; personnel, \$21,181 (no editorial department costs included); total, \$60, 791.

The 48 papers in the above listing that supplied figures on total increased costs had a combined additional production cost of roughly \$760,479 (where ranges were given, an average was struck, and, where "a few hundred dollars" was the answer, \$200 was added in; the basic figures were used when accompanied by a "plus" in the responses). Another rough figure which might be cited here ("rough" in the sense that it is below the total one would find if complete data were available) is the total obtained by combining the above production cost figure and the figure for advertising revenue loss cited on page 41. This gives a total loss figure of \$2,164,690.

Analysis of the responses from the 57 papers reporting advertising revenue losses revealed that all of these papers had also reported increased production costs. Since circulation increases would add to revenues (even though income from sales of newspaper copies is generally a minor part of newspaper revenues), it seemed worth investigating to see what circulation gains these 57 papers had scored during this period. A better assessment of their total situation in terms of gains or losses for the period could be made, it was felt, from such an analysis. These data follow:

Circulation (Thousands)	Circulation Increases	Advertising Losses	Production Costs
20-30	5%	Yes	15%
	7%	\$1250	\$410
	1%	\$150	\$350-\$400
30-40	100% (22nd)		
	20% (23-26th)	5%	Few \$100
	30%	\$1500	Yes
	12%	\$900	\$400
50-60	10%	\$4000	\$600
	Yes	Yes	Yes
	2.5%	\$2000	Yes
60-70	20%	Yes	Yes
80-90	5%	Much cancelled	Yes
900-100	9.7%	\$4500	\$1200
	Small	Yes	Yes
100-200	11%	Large amounts out	\$6500-
		3 days after 22d	\$10,000
	22,000 (22d)		
	143,914 (25th) 15,000 (23d)	\$14,500	\$29,760
	4,000 (24th)	\$26,150	Few \$100
	5.7%	\$2000	\$8,200
	15%	\$45,000-	, - ,
		\$50,000	\$3,931.14
	21%	Yes	14%
	Yes	\$50,000	\$80,000
	3%	\$10,000	\$4,000
	16.5%	Yes	Considerable

Circulation (Thousands)	Circulation Increases	Advertising Losses	Production Costs
	15% 56% (22a)	\$25,000	\$20,000
	38% (23d) 20,000 (22d)	Yes	Yes
	10,000 (23d) 4,000 (24th) 10% 300% 15% 3.7%	Less than \$1000 \$2500 Yes \$25,000 \$3000	5% \$2500 plus \$563 plus High \$2444
200-300	2% 15% 33%	Yes \$30,770 \$15,955 (73.6%	\$3175 \$6000
	30,000 20% (23d) 7.6% 17% 38%	was recovered \$70,000 \$55,342.73 \$15,000 \$55,000 Yes	\$6750 Yes Yes \$1000 Yes \$10,000
300-400	40% (23d) 5-8% (after) 5% 14.2% Yes 10,000 4% 19,000- 61,000	Yes \$7,500 Yes \$6000 Yes \$18,000 \$45,000 (24th) \$7,500 (25th)	Yes Yes \$18,500 \$18,000 \$100,000 \$3,500
	40% (m) 20% (e) 2,000 (per day)	\$75,000 Yes	\$30,000 \$6,000- \$7,000
400-500 500-600	17,000 (per day) Yes 75-80% (per day) 16.33%	Yes \$40,000 \$120,000 \$7,786.91 (23d)	Yes \$13,200 plus Yes \$8,200- \$10,200
600-700 700-800	15% 7.5% 30% 147,200 48% (23d)	\$65,000 \$81,000 Yes \$25,000	\$16,000 Heavy Yes Yes
800-900	4% (24th) 25% (25th) 41% (26th) 10-20% (per day)	\$325,000 Yes	(net rev. loss) \$500,000 \$150,000

Special Roundup Editions

Early investigations in preparation for this study had included perusal of the AP and UPI booklets presenting a roundup of the highlights of the November 22-26 tragedy and aftermath in pictures and articles, as well as examination of several special editions and bound reproductions of newspapers published in the months after the assassination. How many such special editions had followed the Kennedy coverage and how well they had been received by the public seemed worth checking, inasmuch as the permanency of record in print media constitutes one of the advantages these media have. It was also felt that sales of such roundup editions might provide a gauge not only of readers' continued interest in the events of that period but also of their interest in the performance of the newspaper during that period. The editors were therefore asked: "If you put out roundup editions for sale later, how many were sold?"

Only eighteen respondents reported that their newspapers had published such editions, but several others noted that they had prepared special sections to be saved by readers and several reported on sales of the AP or UPI booklets. Here are the responses, together with the figures reported on sales; the newspaper's circulation category is given in parentheses:

- Compiled four-page pullout with biographical picture and text report on President Kennedy, on Nov. 23; Nov. 25, again created four-page pullout entitled, "Four Days of History," wrapping up the Kennedy funeral and the Oswald killing; Nov. 23, increase in street sales, 25%; Nov. 25, increase of 15% (100-200).
- Overran 1,000 or so daily and sold out all as back copies; circulation increase, 11% (100-200).
- Yes-special magazine supplement review of four days; circulation about 20,000 over normal (300-400).
- Sold few thousand extra copies of photo section roto (200-300).
- Yes-supplement without advertising; circulation, 100,000 plus (not counted in newspaper's circulation (400-500).
- Sold about 8,000 copies of UPI booklet (100-200).
- Approximately 10,000 front page reproductions were sold with AP booklet, "The Torch Is Passed" (200-300).
- Yes-roundup edition sold 4,438 copies; sold 6,500 UPI-American Heritage "Four Days" booklets (500-600).
- Yes-memorial section published Dec. 28 had circulation 60,000 higher than normal (500-600).
- Yes-souvenir editions sold 145,000 copies (800-900).
- Sold out all the issues offered that were dated in that period (80-90).
- Yes-sold 31,000 copies of a booklet which included the major front pages of the entire week of the assassination (100-200).
- Yes-special edition sold 50,000 plus (200-300).
- Sold reprints of Page One cartoon on Kennedy's death to 13,000 individuals (200-300).
- Sold 125 copies from returns (100-200).
- Sales of UPI booklet, 'Four Days," amounted to 12,500 copies (80-90).
- Yes-special edition on Sunday, Dec. 8; circulation, 622,690 (300-400).
- Yes-Dec. 5, a memorial tabloid was distributed as part of that day's paper; 915,000 papers were sold that day (700-800).
- Sold 98,332 copies of AP booklet, "The Torch Is Passed" (300-400).
- Ran extra papers in regular editions, sold out all; Sunday extra on killing of Oswald sold out and reruns sold out--16,000 sold (200-300).
- Sold 140,000 UPI-American Heritage booklets at \$2 each (200-300).
- Yes-sold 125,000 copies of our special memorial edition (60-70).
- Distributed reprints of the assassination coverage to school accounts (700-800).

- Yes-a 50-cent package of Saturday, Sunday, and Monday editions sold about 4,000 next week or 10 days (100-200).
- Sold more than 9,000 copies of "The Torch Is Passed" (30-40).
- Put on sale AP booklet and sold more of these than any other newspaper in the country; total sales amounted to 130,000 (300-400).
- Roto coverage was included in Sunday package three weeks later; sales were up (100-200).
- Yes- a special edition was issued on the day of the assassination; much of the material was later used in a supplement of the following a.m. edition; estimated circulation, 15,000 (60-70).
- Yes-special edition sold 12,000 11/23 through 11/26 (200-300).
- Yes-special edition sold 4,505 (100-200).
- Yes-pulled together a tabloid, book-type roundup coverage of this period and sold 42,045 at \$1 each; still selling (100-200).
- Yes- special edition sold 20,000 (100-200).
- Yes-6,441 copies of special edition have been sold (100-200).
- Yes-roundup book containing reproductions of pages sold 66,000 at \$1 each (300-400).

Appraisals of Reader Response

While only two editors indicated that their newspapers had conducted readership studies covering the period immediately following the assassination, 17 others commented upon reader responses to the newspapers' performances. Both of the editors reporting studies indicated that their findings reflected unusually high reader interest, and this was the impression left with the other editors who commented.

"Our studies," wrote one of the two editors, "indicate that we couldn't give the readers enough, even with saturation by the television networks."

"They read everything printed on the assassination," the other editor reported, "with normal readership of the other parts of the paper."

Here are the comments of the other 17 editors:

"No study, but spot checks indicated intensified reading."

"I would estimate our complete coverage on the assassination, reaction stories, personal recollections of JFK, the situation Johnson inherited, the state of politics, etc., commanded readers' time, so they must have read more."

"Increased circulation and continuing gains since indicate readers depended in large measure on the newspaper for the conclusive story."

"More than usual attention was given to story details--they would read long stories."

"We have no figures, but our Saturday P.M. paper--double the usual size--won the (state) APME first prize on spot news coverage of the assassination. I believe we had saturated coverage, with corresponding readership during the period."

"The assassination dominated readership. We ran little other news during the period, by comparison."

"No studies, but reader acceptance and informal comment indicated increased reading time."

"All our information indicates readers were avid for every word of it."
"Increased sales were a pretty good gauge of the increased interest of readers."

"The most enlightening thing that came out of this entire night-mare and tragedy was on Sunday evening following the shooting of Oswald...Going ahead with the idea (of putting out a special edition), we were confident that we could sell newspapers, and not only did we sell more than we expected but it was quite evident, even with all of the television coverage, that people could not get the complete, up-to-date news that we presented in that special edition Sunday evening. We actually moved into areas and 'hawked' newspapers down residential streets, and people came out and bought these papers...It was very gratifying to talk to many of these people who wanted the intimate details, wanted to read them over, rehash them--and the only way they could get this complete information, art, etc., was by buying this special edition."

"Many people bought papers as souvenirs, especially on the first day. We

were impressed with the comment on the art."

"Our intuition tells us that newspapers were read line by line everywhere." "Spot-checks indicate readership time increased. More attention to the Kennedy news stimulated general news interest."

"There were substantial requests for the first-day assassination story, as

historical collections."

"I am convinced most people read 'nearly every line' in the paper during these days."

"Informal checks indicate people read some and saved much as a record they couldn't save from TV and radio."

"Our informal studies showed everything on the subject was read every day."

One reflection that comes from examination of the responses to the survey question relating to studies of readership is the wish that more of the newspapers had undertaken such studies after this very important period testing their ability to serve their publics. The knowledge to be gained of reader responses, impressions, etc., would have been a most valuable contribution. While most of the impressions about readership expressed by the 17 editors are probably correct, the fact remains that only two editors in the survey could report on this aspect with any degree of support from studies they had made.

Editors' Comments and Suggestions

So much had been made of television's all-out effort to bring every development almost directly to the nation, from the moment the shots rang out in Dallas to the last glimpse of the sun setting over Arlington, that many persons voiced the view that the press had been badly "licked." Questions raised within APME and elsewhere among the newspaper fraternity seemed to reflect a certain amount of agreement with this view, despite evidence in soaring circulations during the period that newspapers had scarcely lain neglected on the floor beside the television set. Some of the managing editors perceived in these events a golden opportunity to evaluate their performance vis a vis the newer electronic medianot necessarily because they had concluded that they had been "beaten," but because they wanted to learn all they could.

The final question in the survey of the managing editors was aimed at collecting the reflections of these news executives about the challenges of that five-day period last November and their suggestions about future efforts at covering major stories. They were asked: "In light of your experience during this period, what do you think newspapers should be doing to meet radio-TV competition in news? For example, how much should be added to press runs in covering a major story such as this?"

Eighty-one editors responded to this question, some limiting their remarks to a single point and others dealing with several facets of the question. wrote extensive comments, particularly with respect to suggestions or advice, although some responded simply to the main line of the question, either arguing against or supporting the implication that radio and television constitute competitors of newspapers in the news field. Among those who took up this aspect, 29 expressed the view that television is not a competitor and that the electronic media do, in fact, help promote sales of newspapers, while 12 argued that television is a competitor of newspapers but that the press can effectively meet the competition. Combining these two groups, one is led to conclude that at least 41 of the 50 editors who wrote on this subject do not fear television as a competitor. The other nine, whose responses may be classified as expressing the view that television has some advantages in competing with newspapers, may also be said to have added that newspapers would simply have to make the best of the situation and perform outstandingly at what newspapers still do best. None of the 50 editors, in other words, is prepared to give up the ghost and leave the communication of breaking news to the newer media.

Fifty-eight editors offered suggestions or advice, 40 of them going into some detail. Fifteen respondents cited specific experiences of their newspapers in outlining either what they thought newspapers should do or in making the point that, under similar circumstances again, they would do it differently. Thirty-one editors responded specifically to the example raised in the question with respect to added press runs, although by no means all of them felt that this was necessary or that it could be gauged in advance.

This simple summary of the responses to Question 10 is based upon analysis of each answer to determine whether it touched upon one or more of the above subjects. But, in fairness to the editors who wrote these comments, it seems best to reproduce their answers in the form in which each editor wrote them, rather than to separate their responses under separate subject headings. The answers are slightly paraphrased in most instances, however, and therefore are not enclosed in quotation marks. They are presented in no prearranged order, but simply in the order in which they were received.

Responses to Question 10 by 81 editors:

- Newspapers should continue to cover news in detail.
- Press runs will respond to demand. It would depend on circulation, per cent of readers to population, and locality. It is important to increase news space, if needed, and to provide more abundant, meaningful, explanatory and interpretative articles. TV and radio stimulate newspaper sales.
- You can't forecast sales on anticipated events. The unusual and unexpected produce heavy demand.
- TV coverage whetted readers' appetites for newspaper accounts. Our job is to answer questions raised by TV coverage.
- Newspapers were depended on for complete and comprehensive coverage. Usually, news space increases for major stories are not necessary because other news declines in volume, leaving space for wrap-up coverage of the main events.
- Radio and TV are not competitors: they whet the appetite for more detail and pictures that can be referred to again--as against the fleeting moment on TV. Newspapers should do a total job regardless of TV and radio. Press runs should be realistic on the time of day, other newspapers. A hot state story may outsell a top national or international story. But the assassination was in a class by itself. No one could set a programmed circulation boost on such an expectancy, or should.

- Print the news as fully as possible.
- We won't have this big a story again soon. For the ordinary big story we up the press run 2% to 10%.
- Radio-TV coverage only enhanced reader interest in newspaper accounts--to be read and saved. Do a better job of telling and displaying the story--that's our continuing job.
- We have to prepare our own coverage. After a Friday extra on the assassination, local reaction, assassinations of other presidents, President Johnson's taking over and a profile on Johnson, our editors laid down the Saturday-Sunday coverage (17 examples of "in-house" articles are listed). We found several local residents with Kennedy connections and a local person who recalled the last assassination of a president. We didn't take a back seat to TV and radio--we enterprised.
- It is difficult to guess (on press runs). Newspapers with several editions can estimate the "market" run by run.
- Newspapers automatically add to press runs--what else can we do to meet radio-TV competition? Thorough and complete coverage, with all questions answered as best as possible with interpretation and background material buttressing running stories--plus, of course, pictures.
- Make every effort to explain why and answer the question: "What does this mean?" Add sufficient news space to fully cover, both text and pictures.
- Additions (to press runs) should be determined by the circulation director, based on anticipated demand.
- How is radio and television competitive? People still want to read about what they have seen. TV whets the appetite of the curious; radio does not satiate it.
- On this kind of story, we can't compete with radio and TV. Nothing can give the immediacy they offer. But radio and TV can't compete with newspapers at what we do well, either. Lay out the whole story so the reader can choose, consume, and digest at his own pace. Offer a permanent record of instant history. Answer questions raised by radio and TV. Print as many papers as there are potential readers.
- Sell all you can by thorough news coverage.
- Continue to cover news in a factual manner, interpreting the significant news. Step up picture coverage. The TV-sated public still wants the printed story.
- The most evident weakness was in the fact that newspapers dependent on the wire services had little or nothing new to offer if readers sat before TV most of the day. If the wire services had a new angle, TV clients had it to the reader before newspapers could set type. Remedy: more attention to "in depth" reporting, plus efforts by newspapers over and above what is supplied by the wire services.
- Coverage of the assassination was mutually complementary. Public desire and need for information from all sources was virtually insatiable, and coverage in one medium reinforced interest in another. Because of the unique nature of the event, it doesn't afford a good context in which to study normal competition.
- Radio and television can do a job in a news situation like this that newspapers can't touch--particularly TV. But newspapers have an important role: to record all these events in detail for history. Demand for papers in this period bears this out. We took about the right amount of editorial space, but hind-sight indicates we should have increased press runs more for papers covering the assassination and the funeral--both were sold out. The night of the assasination, we put out an extra several hours earlier than normal, but the sale was disappointing. We would not repeat this under similar circumstances.
- Importance of the story would determine the amount of space added.

- We should work to the capacity of production facilities--and we did the first two days. If a bet was missed, it was in failing to put out a special section the third day. Without massive technological breakthroughs in production and communications equipment, TV is going to continue to bash newspapers badly during such continuing high-interest stories. Newspapers are just too ponderous mechanically. Adding four pages two days in succession just about wiped us out.
- More intensive and independent coverage of local and area news--with an eye to what TV can't (or doesn't) cover. This doesn't mean downplay of Washington, domestic and foreign news. Our press runs are increased upwards of 3,000-5,000 minimum on a major story, and, depending on the kind of story and the indicated degree of interest, upward from that.
- Additional press runs should be as heavy as equipment will carry within reasonable sale periods.
- Remember that readers are interested in "other" happenings. TV's going overboard on JFK made rounded news coverage more desirable.
- As much as needed to carry the story, just as though radio and TV didn't exist.
- Newspapers should go behind the big story and give blanket coverage -- as we did.
- Add the space necessary to tell the story in full detail.
- Radio and TV give instant coverage, but do little more than whet appetites for the printed word and pictures. A major story should get top coverage, but I don't fear loss of prestige or circulation from competition.
- The newspaper's job in such an instance: to enlarge on a big story as is normally done for any big break in news, but also do the regular job of reporting all the rest of the world, national and local news even more thoroughly than usual if it wants to take advantage of the competitive situation. TV coverage is virtually trapped by its own limitations into telling the one big story, with the result that newspapers, with no volume limitations, can do all the necessary little chores such as cancellations of specific local events and other announcements that are not big news but that are critical in the lives of thousands of people. The assassination actually strengthened the positions of well-edited and managed newspapers by emphasizing the things newspapers can do that TV can't.
- Add 5% to press runs.
- We should have added 40,000 to the press run instead of the approximately 28,000 we used.
- Good coverage of a big story will sell newspapers and local angles on major coverage will increase interest and circulation. We automatically go up two pages for major stories. For a big event, such as the assassination, we would go up four pages or whatever was necessary to adequately cover the event. Four pages is probably the maximum because other news dwindles rapidly in reader interest.
- Coverage should be as complete as possible. We increased press runs about 30% -- to compete, explain the news and present it in an orderly fashion.
- Radio and TV news coverage stimulates interest in news happenings. This in turn helps newspaper readership.
- We sold out. We were hampered slightly by <u>This Week</u> and comic preprint orders limiting full-paper sale, but this is unavoidable. Our depth stories, side angles, pictures--while repeating much of what was on TV--gave us avid readers. It was on the record.
- More indepth followup, explaining the "how" and "why" that radio and TV can't provide. Increase press runs 20-30% on similar major news.
- Nothing more than was done. We increased news and picture content by as much as 16 pages. Press runs were increased enormously.
- Newspapers should do what we did: cover the story as thoroughly as possible. We had five men in Dallas, reinforced the Washington staff, men in Boston and

- Hyannisport, men on the street locally for reactions, etc. Press runs were boosted to make sure everyone who wanted a paper could get one.
- TV news is not a substitute for newspaper news. We sold all we produced and could have sold many more.
- Newspapers should get as much information as possible into print. Press run increases depend on the capacity of the individual newspaper. We cannot compete with radio and TV on spot news in such a situation. But we found a great number of persons treasure the newspaper produced at such a time because it is a valid record and keepsake. A telecast or broadcast is not something tangible the individual can keep.
- News space should be increased 10-20% and press runs 1-2%.
- We beefed up picture coverage and gave readers background and historical material TV could supply only to casual viewers. The newspaper's task is to give a press record which can be preserved.
- Watch TV coverage very closely and run stories explaining some of the incidents seen.
- A postmortem convinces us that pictures above almost everything else are a vital element in a news event of this magnitude or less. We are convinced pictures in newspapers not only catch the reader's eye but stay with him longer. Good writing, of course, is supreme -- tight writing but complete of detail. Combining pictures and writing into a news-picture package, then, is our idea of producing better newspaper appeal. We are convinced headlines alone will not sell papers. They help, but pictures were a bigger lure. In this connection, we think AP should be considering speeding up wirephoto transmission time. Speeds on news wires are being stepped up. Why not transmission of pictures? We could have used more pictures on Friday. Newspapers also should consider engraving speedups. A big time step forward in reproduction of graphic portrayal is becoming more and more important. Newspapers can probably whip radio-TV competition with quicker and better tiein of local angles with big national or world events. Merriman Smith's and Jack Bell's eyewitness accounts are two stories on the assassination that will go down as great. Good eyewitness accounts should move on the wires quicker; good word pictures can do just as much to take the reader to the scene as can the TV camera. Finally, perhaps a speedy interpretative on what the event means, written concisely for boxed portrayal, would help.
- Such events are too rare to supply a battle plan for inter-media conflict. Since most of our papers are home delivered, we weren't trying to compete with anyone on handling of the assassination news. The best chance of holding the patronage of the reader of the home-delivered paper lies in the service given, day in and day out, which radio and TV cannot supply--or supply in less satisfactory form than we. We could not have shirked our obligation to supply extraordinary service on this occasion, regardless of other media.
- We should use our best judgment on what to do under varying circumstances. Increase in space is not necessarily called for. Quality of content should be improved constantly, of course. This may require elimination of more and more dull, routine stories. One thing to do is to give readers plenty of news about TV--especially advance news of programs.
- Tell the whole story, clearly and in detail--and illustrate it. People will want to refresh their memories of many details in happenings like this--and the printed word alone makes this possible.
- The newspaper which customarily does a thorough job of covering major news events has little to fear from radio-TV competition in news. In many instances, TV and radio serve as promotion mediums for newspaper accounts. Any newspaper that offers mediocre or poor coverage is running the risk of damage by TV competition. TV brings major events into the living room. Significant

events thus are made more interesting to viewer-readers. The far-away event, in considerable degree, becomes the home-town event. It behooves newspapers to keep this TV factor in mind, to judge the news-worth of events accordingly and to provide coverage suitable to heightened interest of viewer-readers.

- Monitor TV on major stories and give more detailed newspaper coverage on

important developments.

- Newspapers should have a good follow-through with well-written stories, plenty of pictures, etc. Most all the extra papers that were sold were papers that people were going to save for years to come. Our circulation department sold

many complete packages of the four days papers.

The answer to the question (of press runs) depends upon the size of the newspaper, the amount of extra boys and people you have out covering your territory. The circulation manager would have to judge this to the best of his ability. Also, the pressroom should be ready to print more if needed. Each newsdealer should be sent a certain amount of additional papers along with a bulletin that the circulation department would be open to take calls for additional papers whenever needed.

It's almost impossible for newspapers to compete with the kind of coverage radio and TV gave this event, especially from the standpoint of flash news and continuous exposure to news of events as they happened. More newspapers should have put out an extra for an event of this magnitude. An extra filled with complete stories and details would have perhaps shown just how shallow some of the TV news really was. More newspapers could have given more space to the event than they did, especially to some of the background stories. Perhaps our wire services could have quickly gotten together full pages of pictures and stories for use the second day. If these could have been furnished in mat form they perhaps could have been utilized quicker and easier in most newspapers.

- Cover the event as thoroughly as possible. Radio and TV coverage generally increases reader interest. It is our experience that increased sales come only when the event is unexpected spot news.

- We sold out Friday p.m. and Saturday and Sunday a.m. Beginning Monday, we

increased press runs about 5% for the week.

- When a big story breaks, we throw the book at it. What you add depends on the size of the paper. For example, we have to jump four pages after 64.

- Newspapers are in a position to give background coverage and accurate, detailed information that radio and TV cannot equal. Added press runs to cover a major story must be based on the size of the market and its estimated consumption potential.

- We found that, by providing sidebar material plus good writing, we were able

to compete to a great degree with radio and TV.

- On a story of this kind, of course you add to press runs as many as you think you can adequately distribute. Newspapers complement radio and TV in a national crisis, especially in bringing printed detail to the visual image left by TV. The big lesson in such a situation is to watch TV coverage carefully to flesh out in print gaps and situations where only print detail can satisfy.
- To speak of competition between newspapers and TV on a story like the Kennedy assassination is unrealistic. Nothing printed on pulp can equal the impact of the day-to-day, hour-by-hour events TV showed. The coverage of the funeral was unequalled. On the other hand, newspapers put all this in perspective and made it a matter of permanent record. Newspapers have always expanded their news space and press runs to cover great stories and will continue to do so.
- TV did a good job. However, papers were able to package important details and go places cameras did not go. TV whets the appetite for newspapers.

- In any period of transcendent news interest, the first step for newspapers to take is to enlarge the editorial hole to give the story saturation coverage. The question of what should be added to press runs is something to be governed by specific marketing problems in the specific area.
- If we have another such major story as the Kennedy assassination, we will go up whatever space is needed to cover the story nationally and locally, and will increase our picture coverage as we did in November 1963. Most papers should be in a better position to expand on color photo coverage.
- Continue to cover the news in depth, in word and picture, displayed attractively and reported accurately. Events were so fast-moving during this period that-as always-TV viewers and radio listeners went to their newspapers for the facts. On a fast-breaking major news story such as this one there is no way a newspaper can compete with the electronic media. But this did not diminish our readership; rather, it increased it. It is dubious that a rule of thumb can be offered on how much to increase the press run. Each story will be different; it will vary from newspaper to newspaper. The experienced editor will handle and play each such major news break "by ear."
- Newspapers should maintain enough flexibility to adjust rapidly to such a news situation, adding space as the situation demands, reassigning staff and making adjustments to meet changing advertising and circulation demands.
- This question implies electronic media, particularly TV, did a better job in covering this tragic event than print media, and I disagree completely with this concept. TV coverage of this event actually stimulated newspaper reading. People who watched the sequence of events on television were anxious to read newspapers for explanation of events pictured--which the pictures could not give. Newspapers covered this story in a manner and depth which television could not cover. Newspapers were able to get private reactions from the bereaved as well as to interpret and explain the events which the public had seen pictures of. These explanations and interpretations were far more impressive than the pictures, alone. These pictures, in and of themselves, have a very incomplete meaning--so much so that they do not satisfy the viewer's curiosity as to what is going on in the minds of those pictured. This can only be done with print media.
 - So long as newspapers continue to cover such events in depth with compassion and understanding, TV will be contained in the area to which it belongs--simply covering the pictures of events.
 - It is significant to note that during this period about 80% more people wanted to read about the events--which they undoubtedly saw pictured--80% more than usually read newspapers, and, to me, it means that they were not satisfied with simply the pictures but were interested in the interpretation.
 - This (press runs) is not an editorial department responsibility. Determination should be made by the circulation department which should be competent to evaluate the sales potential and determine number of copies needed to meet this demand. A figure could not be predetermined at this time on a hypothetical event which might happen in the future.
- A "major story such as this" is not likely to happen again in our lifetime. It would be impossible, therefore, to set exact figures on how the press run should be increased. This must be played by ear according to the importance of the story. As for competing with radio and TV, we feel the newspapers have emphasized variety and depth in their coverage, with particular emphasis on the side of the news which this competition cannot cover because of their obvious limitations. It is our observation that the TV coverage whetted the interest of people and caused them to buy newspapers to read the details.

- Our experience of this period does not indicate any necessary measures to meet TV-radio competition. We find that the other media stimulated the demand for the kind of coverage we supplied.
- Increasing the news hole by 8 or 9 columns can work wonders and made a very good competitive showing against TV and radio competition. With the help of wirephoto and news service material and a bit of local-angle digging, the extra cost is small indeed, compared to the benefits.
- We found that despite blanket coverage by TV there was an increased demand for complete newspaper coverage. We think hard news coverage in detail is the only way to combat TV. In our areas--where street sales are not much of a factor,-we think press runs should be increased 10% or so.
- I do not think on a major story of this nature radio and TV compete with news-papers; I believe the various media complement eachother. Obviously, the print media will be behind and must summarize and furnish analysis, background for interpretation, expert opinion, etc. Pictorial coverage becomes increasingly important.
- No simple answer is possible. Obviously, when a major story such as this breaks, we do--and should--add manpower and space.
- Newspapers must do many things to meet radio-TV competition and most of them are things they must do every day--good, solid, depth coverage. And this means detailed coverage in their own communities (councils, courts, school committees, police) as well as wire reports. On the big stories such as the assassination, they must give their readers comprehensive coverage, although they should be certain that in increasing quantity they do not decrease quality. Merely dumping great volumes of type and pictures onto the reader is not necessarily a competitive job. There is no paper, regardless of its local limitations, which cannot give its readers an exclusive package every night if it properly directs its resources.
- (1) Careful selection of pictures which capture the moment which on TV is transient.
 - (2) Awareness and proper play to other news of the day.
 - (3) Quick and broad development of local reaction and angles.
 - There is no pat answer to part 2 (press runs). It would depend on the scope of the story--what the circulation department estimates it could handle.
- Continue to cover prime news interestingly and well; use pictures and layout art. Hit the day's stories with sidebars and background material that is fresh, current and not too long. On major, once-in-a lifetime stories such as the assassination, cover it exhaustively. Press runs should be increased as indicated by the interest in the story, but care should be taken not to overdo it.
- The story was a "natural" for TV. But intensive reporting, particularly with emphasis on interest and writing, is the best way to meet competition--for a story of this magnitude, or of any other sort.
- Increased press runs are a matter for each newspaper; for instance, we normally have a very small street sale so that any increase is a big one. The answer is not trying to sell more newspapers, but trying to give more facts, answer more questions, and do more competent analysis than TV.
- We think full coverage was justified as a record for readers and for deferred reading--even if some felt surfeited at the time. Stress should be on parts of the record (narrative description of events) and separate interpretives pointing up significance. Addition to press runs is guesswork; it depends on the story. You don't figure on many major stories "such as this."
- First, cover the event as thoroughly as possible. Radio and TV coverage generally increases reader interest. Our experience is that increased sales come only when the event is unexpected spot news.

- (1) Forget about competition. They beat us hollow. Join them by telling when various aspects will be televised. Don't be too sensitive. The world is changing.
 - (2) Develop local angles (e.g., reader reaction, interview persons who had met Kennedy, photos of Kennedy in (city) when he ran in the primary, local memorial services).
 - (3) Depth background, historical perspective.
- (4) Permanent value of the newspaper record.
- Newspapers should act speedily to capitalize on the interest that TV creates in major news breaks.
- The amount added to press runs depends on time of the news break, day of the week, many other factors. Radio-TV exposure is not so much "competition" as it is a stimulus creating a desire in the reader to read the full details and see the pictures which he may only have glimpsed in TV coverage.

Conclusion:

The questions posed by editors after the Kennedy tragedy have not all been answered by this study, obviously, and particularly those with respect to readership. Without an exhaustive and scientific survey of a cross-section of the reading public, it is impossible to say exactly what reactions readers had to the newspaper coverage. But it seems evident that newspapers were in great demand and that readers must have found them extremely useful during this period, even with the electronic media providing such intensive and immediate coverage.

Questions to which answers do seem to have been found are those relating to the effects upon newspapers, their policies and practices in meeting this challenge, and the lessons to be learned. It seems safe to conclude that newspapers did not suffer in this period; for the most part, they met the demands made upon them and they came through the ordeal with solid evidence in circulation figures to show that their efforts had been worth it.

APPENDIX

(Articles and Pictures)

ARTICLES; EDITORIALS, AND INTERPRETATIVE COLUMNS IN 143 NEWSPAPERS

Assassination Attempts:

- 1. Threats against President John F. Kennedy.
- 2. Past assassinations and attempts brought demands for congressional action.
- 3. Roundup of psychologists' analyses of assassins.
- 4. Hagerty reveals threats against Eisenhower.
- 5. Local youth with rifle seized when Kennedy was in town (Springfield, Ill.).
- 6. Attempt against FDR, Mayor Cermak's death recalled.
- 7. Seven attempts at presidential assassination.
- 8. Houston police chief reports four threat calls during Kennedy visit.
- 9. Zangara's captor died recently--policeman in FDR attempt case.
- 10. The Presidential Complex -- phenomena of mentally ill who feel the President can help them, or is their persecutor.
- 11. Red Smith column: how drunk broke through lines of cadets, middles, and approached Kennedy as President crossed field during Army-Navy game.
- 12. Kennedy's life threatened during San Antonio visit.
- 13. Everett, Wash., man among those who made threats against Kennedy.
- 14. Shooting of Theodore Roosevelt in Milwaukee in 1912 recalled.

Assassinations of Other Presidents:

- 1. Resumes of previous presidential assassinations.
- 2. Kennedy is fourth U.S. president slain in office.
- 3. Local residents have old newspapers on Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley assassinations.
- 4. Three previous assassinations and seven attempts at assassination.
- 5. Two presidential assassins killed before trial.
- 6. Reproductions of newspapers' stories on Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley assassinations.
- 7. Local residents recall Garfield and McKinley assassinations.
- 8. Local resident was in McKinley honor guard--recalls events.
- 9. Jacqueline Kennedy is fourth first lady widowed by assassination.
- 10. Parallels between Kennedy and Lincoln assassinations.
- 11. Text of sermon by Rev. Phillips Brooks after Lincoln assassination.
- 12. Assassinations of presidents and heads of state in this century.
- 13. Professor at University of Houston, 89, eulogized McKinley, will also deliver eulogy of Kennedy at local services.
- 14. Local resident has Garfield memorial service program of Sept. 26, 1881.
- 15. Biography of Boston Corbett, Union soldier who killed John Wilkes Booth.
- 16. Comparison of Kennedy assassination and assassination of Archduke Ferdinand which led to World War I.
- 17. How previous presidential assassinations were covered.
- 18. Assassins in U.S. have struck alone, in contrast to those overseas.
- 19. Review of Lincoln funeral rites after his assassination.
- 20. Four U.S. presidents murdered in lifetime of area man, 99.

Assassination Probes:

- 1. Texas to hold own investigation of Kennedy assassination.
- 2. Full Federal investigation proposed.
- 3. President Johnson orders full investigation.
- 4. No nation suspected in assassination, State Department says.

- 5. FBI to report on findings in its investigation.
- 6. Three investigations of assassination now in progress.
- 7. All evidence indicates assassin apparently planned well.
- 8. U.S. clears Russia and Cuba of complicity in assassination.
- 9. Link with Cuba sought by assassination probers.
- 10. Dallas police say Oswald's slaying closed probe; FBI says it doesn't.
- 11. President Johnson orders inclusion of Oswald slaying in investigation.
- 12. Second man questioned in assassination probe--names man.
- 13. No local links with assassination, FBI says.
- 14. Federal government to give the public the facts on investigation.
- 15. Dallas police and authorities keeping facts on Oswald secret.
- 16. Congress may conduct own investigation of assassination.
- 17. FBI continues probe of Oswald-Ruby case.
- 18. Texas Atty. Gen. Carr plans inquiry into assassination, Connally shooting, and Oswald's slaying.

Business Outlook, Reactions:

- 1. Banks close for day of mourning.
- 2. Stock market closes early.
- 3. New York business halts.
- 4. Outlook for business as result of assassination -- Sam Dawson, AP.
- 5. Financial world shocked.
- 6. Market closing rare; review of previous early closings.
- 7. Economic outlook is basically sound.
- 8. Brokers reassure investors.
- 9. Brokers warn against panic.
- 10. Stocks plunge at assassination news.
- 11. Stock market stages comeback.
- 12. Basic economy is stable--J.A. Livingstone column.
- 13. Federal Reserve assures public there is "no need" to act.
- 14. Hectic trading results in \$11 billion loss.
- 15. Past tragedies affecting Wall Street.
- 16. Assassination has no effect on New York foreign exchange market.
- 17. Trading in U.S. bonds halted at Federal Reserve request.
- 18. Grain futures selling drops grain prices.
- 19. Business, financial officials move to ease impact of assassination.
- 20. Assassination seen having decisive influence on business outlook, confidence, activity.
- 21. Assassination casts shadow over financial markets.
- 22. Over-the-counter trading firms halt activities.
- 23. No major economic lag is seen, especially in automotive field.
- 24. Assassination causes stocks to fall in London and Tokyo.

Governor Connally:

- 1. Reports on his condition in hospital.
- 2. Statement on Kennedy: "died at his finest hour."
- 3. Governor and Mrs. Connally view rites on television.
- 4. Reports that Governor Connally will recover from his wounds.
- 5. He is guarded in hospital in Dallas.
- 6. He is told of Oswald's slaying; his reactions.
- 7. Mrs. Connally tells her story of the assassination.
- 8 Connally served both Kennedy and Johnson.

- 9. Connally opposed Kennedy visit to Dallas; tried to dissuade Kennedy.
- 10. Story of his life, stressing he is a self-made man.
- 11. Will direct state affairs from the hospital.
- 12. Son to represent Connally at Kennedy rites in Washington.
- 13. His move in car to check on Kennedy may have saved his life.
- 14. Assassination try was first against a governor of Texas.
- 15. Mrs. Connally thanks Dallasites for sympathy.
- 16. Aide says Connally, from operating table, requested his staff to report to his Austin office immediately, asked "take care of Nellie."

Dallas:

- 1. Mixed reactions to Oswald's slaying -- more shame, some rejoicing.
- 2. Stories about "Dallas, city of shame."
- 3. Description of reaction to assassination by local resident of newspapers' community after return from Dallas.
- 4. Former local resident, now living in Dallas, describes reactions.
- 5. Newspapers in Dallas urge calm (reports carried by other papers).
- 6. Gun law in Dallas had been ruled unconstitutional.
- 7. Judge who administered oath to Johnson receives local threats.
- 8. Assassination gets routine homicide report by Dallas police.
- 9. Reports from Dallas police, hospital (papers called Dallas).
- 10. Reports on Dallas extremists.
- 11. Kennedy sought to heal Democratic split of liberals-conservatives; back-ground of violence, hate, attack on Adlai Stevenson.
- 12. Killer's job was simplified when the sun came out.
- 13. Police detective grilling Oswald is a "living legend."
- 14. Johnson and Mrs. Johnson were jeered, shoved, spat upon in Dallas on Nov. 4, 1960; political observers connect incidents with swing from Nixon to Kennedy-Johnson ticket.
- 15. Colored movie of assassination by Dallas resident revealed.
- 16. The conscience of Dallas is troubled (spec. to Washington Post by a Texas editor).
- 17. Dallas has put U.S. justice in ill repute.
- 18. Dallas' mayor urges public to avoid hysteria.
- 19. Dallas Times Herald to omit comics until after Kennedy rites (reports in other papers).
- 20. Interviews on streets of Dallas: "Would you send Ruby to his death?"
- 21. Attacks on Stevenson recalled.
- 22. Dallas' mayor acknowledges city's shame.
- 23. Roundup of events in Dallas.
- 24. Dallas is the home of radicals.
- 25. Former staffer, now on Dallas paper, reports reactions there.
- 26. Many "ifs" arise about events in Dallas.
- 27. Wreaths being left at the assassination site.
- 28. Dallas has no laws on rifles, doesn't enforce state gun law.
- 29. Local resident, now in Dallas, tells of conservative control.
- 30. Assassination is third case of violence there against U.S. officials.
- 31. Dallas displays signs of deep mourning.
- 32. Resentment rising against Dallas police department for "series of blunders."
- 33. Death room at Parkland Hospital is sealed off during Kennedy rites.
- 34, Tough Dallas police officer cracked Oswald case.
- 35. Bomb calls to Dallas airport halt planes.
- 36. Police chief tells of swift Oswald capture--500 policemen along Kennedy route could be mobilized.

- 37. Right-wing group in Dallas (American Fact-Finding Committee) had just made debut; placed anti-Kennedy advertisement in Dallas Morning News.
- 38. Dallas is groping for the reason why.
- 39. Reproduction of Dallas Times Herald editorial calling for prayer to end "bitterness and hate."
- 40. Dallas officials willing to bare Oswald evidence, but U.S. says no.
- 41. St. Joseph (Missouri) paper says editorially that "Dallas is Okay" (reported in other papers).
- 42. Anger, frustration replace shock of assassination.
- 43. A few brought disgrace on Dallas.
- 44. Dallas' frame of mind has led to outbreaks of violence before.
- 45. Dallas divides on blame for Kennedy's death: some hold the community responsible, others reject blame.
- 46. Handbills distributed in Dallas read Kennedy "wanted for treason."
- 47. Dallas' district attorney is indifferent to Oswald evidence hearing.
- 48. Tone in Dallas politics is violent.

Editorials: (typical subjects; not an exhaustive record).

- 1. We must carry on.
- 2. On Kennedy as man and President.
- 3. On Kennedy's murder.
- 4. President Johnson needs public support.
- 5. Future of the United States.
- 6. On presidential succession.
- 7. On the burdens and dangers of the presidency.
- 8. Kennedy was on a mission of unity when killed.
- 9. On Johnson as President.
- 10. "A Hopeful Look" -- on Johnson's qualifications.
- 11. President Kennedy's legacy.
- 12. "A Mother's Tribute" -- a woman's praise for Kennedy.
- 13. Against hatred.
- 14. The nuclear test ban is a memorial to Kennedy.
- 15. "An American Tragedy."
- 16. Deploring Oswald's slaying.
- 17. A tribute to President Kennedy.
- 18. On Kennedy's influence.
- 19. Assessment of Johnson.
- 20. On nation's sorrow, pity for Kennedy's children.
- 21. On the dignity, impressiveness of the Kennedy rites.
- 22. An analysis of Oswald.
- 23. On Kennedy's principles.
- 24. On faith in the human spirit.
- 25. Attacking a local preacher's sermon against integration; scoring hate.
- 26. The whole nation mourns, both Kennedy's friends and foes.
- 27. On Kennedy as a martyr.
- 28. On Jacqueline Kennedy's courage.
- 29. Assessment of Kennedy's Vietnam policies.
- 30. On the right to bear arms.
- 31. On the need for a "self-search" in the United States.
- 32. On President Kennedy's heritage.
- 33. Calling for a full inquiry.
- 34. Urging Congress to honor Jacqueline Kennedy.
- 35. "Let Us Mourn Together."

- 36. Calling for rededication to Kennedy's ideals of national purpose.
- 37. Sermon by local minister (Rev. H. Griffiths, Pueblo, Colo.) at Kennedy memorial service: "In the Murder of Our President, Hatred Was Given A Weapon."
- 38. On Oswald's slaying: "The Murderer Murdered."
- 39. "TV At Its Best" -- in praise of television's coverage.
- 40. On mourning for Kennedy, his family--in blank verse.
- 41. Seven children have been made fatherless; two have millions, five have nothing.
- 42. Demanding investigation of the Secret Service (William Loeb, publisher, The Manchester, N.H., Union-Leader).
- 43. On the tasks facing Congress.
- 44. "Which Way the World" -- assassination poses serious problems.
- 45. "This Old But Youthful Union" -- ability of U.S. to recover from blows.
- 46. Plea for scrupulous observance of Oswald's civil rights.
- 47. Urging correction of presidential succession defects in the Constitution.
- 48. On Oswald's slaying--"The Murder of an Assassin-The Man Who Played God."
- 49. "In Thirty-Eight Days" -- Atlantic Alliance leadership has changed.
- 50. (Lead editorial in Dallas Morning News on November 22) Welcomes Kennedy and says Dallas has shed the "sharp cleavages of partisanship."
- 51. "Dallas"--Times Herald editorial calling for "calm and balance."
- 52. "Let Us Search Our Hearts."
- 53. "A Kinship and an Understanding"--urges understanding, prayers, good will for President Johnson.
- 54. "A Non-Partisan Welcome Awaited" -- review of plans made for Kennedy's reception, stressing how it was to have been shared by foes.
- 55. "Night of the Soul" -- on Dallas' self-examination.
- 56. "Death's Sad Intimacy"--how Dallas has found new love, respect for Kennedy in his death.
- 57. "Fallen Defender" -- tribute to Tippit.
- 58. "Elements of Blame"--Dallas Times Herald editorial says press and police must share blame for Oswald's slaying.
- 59. "Texans Must Share Special Grief for Tragic Slaying of President"--lead editorial in San Antonio Express & News.

Effects:

- 1. On future government policies.
- 2. New foreign policy seen.
- 3. On U.S. economic future.
- 4. On Korean elections.
- 5. On actions of Congress.
- 6. On defense policies.
- 7. Tax cut, civil rights plans likely to be sidetracked now.
- 8. Sen. Dodd (Conn.) is closer to Johnson, and will wield more power; Sen. Ribicoff (Conn.) was closer to Kennedy, and likely to lose power.
- 9. No change seen in Alliance for Progress program.
- 10. Chicagoans in government who face Johnson's ax.
- 11. Reds expected to test President Johnson.
- 12. More power seen for State Department under President Johnson.
- 13. More conservative foreign policy dealings seen under President Johnson.
- 14. Foreign policy expected to continue unchanged (both 13&14 from AP).
- 15. Robert Kennedy expected to remain in Cabinet (New York Times).
- 16. Robert Kennedy expected to resign from Cabinet (Des Moines Register).

- 17. Kennedy's proposals may be sidetracked.
- 18. Kennedys likely to continue to exert influence in government.
- 19. Johnson may have more success with economic policies than Kennedy did.
- 20. Period of uncertainty in foreign policy predicted.
- 21. On U.S. relations with NATO, USSR.
- 22. White House corps from Nebraska likely to be cut under President Johnson.
- 23. Western world thrown into speculation on new U.S. policies.
- 24. On Alabama.
- 25. Assassination's effect on radio-TV programming expected to continue for several days.
- 26. On Cabinet, other executive branch groups.
- 27. Setbacks to European unity feared.
- 28. Kennedy's death won't alter foreign policy.

Eyewitness Accounts:

- 1. Of assassination, by Jack Bell, AP.
- 2. Of Oswald's capture, by Dallas policeman (UPI).
- 3. Of Oswald's slaying, by Dallas detective (UPI).
- 4. Of assassination, by Merriman Smith, UPI.
- 5. Of Oswald's slaying, by T. McGarry, UPI.
- 6. Of assassination, by Los Angeles Times reporters Thompson, Blake.
- 7. Of events immediately after assassination, by Dallas ambulance driver (UPI).
- 8. Of assassination, by San Diego Union reporter on military leave in Dallas.
- 9. Of assassination, by James Altgens, AP photographer.
- 10. Of Oswald's slaying; interview with Dallas policeman.
- 11. Of Oswald's slaying, by Scripps-Howard writer Seth Kantor.
- 12. Of assassination, by Ann Donaldson, Dallas Morning News society editor, as seen while on Dallas motorcade route. (Spec. to Washington Star, Staff).
- 13. Of Oswald's slaying, by J. O'Leary Jr. (Washington Star, Staff).
- 14. Of assassination, by R. Dugger, Texas editor, (Spec. to Washington Post).
- 15. Of assassination, by P. Lisagor. (Chicago Daily News, Staff).
- 16. Recollections of aftermath in Dallas, by Lisagor.
- 17. Of Oswald's slaying, by M.W. Newman. (Chicago Daily News, Staff).
- 18. Doctor from Harrison, Ark., tells of last hours of both Kennedy and Oswald in Parkland Hospital, Dallas (AP).
- 19. Of Oswald's slaying, J. Beers. (Dallas Morning News, AP).
- 20. Of assassination, by John Tackett of Scripps-Howard.
- 21. Of Oswald's slaying, by G. Blake. (Los Angeles Times, Staff).
- 22. Of assassination, by J. Williams. (Kansas City Star, Staff).
- 23. Of assassination, by R. Clark of ABC network, as told in interview.
- 24. Of assassination, as told to Chicago Tribune reporter by Dallas boy.
- 25. Of assassination, by H. Aynesworth, space and science editor, Dallas Morning News. (Spec. to Boston Globe, Staff).
- 26. Of Oswald's slaying, by Bob Jackson, Dallas Times Herald photographer (AP).
- 27. Of Johnson's oathtaking, by Sarah T. Hughes, U.S. District Judge for N. Texas, who administered the oath on presidential jet. (Spec. to Washington Post).
- 28. Of Oswald's slaying, by M. Sosin. (Miami News, Staff).
- 29. Of assassination, by local resident who visited Dallas, as told to staff writer for Shreveport, La., Times.
- 30. Of Oswald's slaying, by Anthony Ripley. (Detroit News, Staff).
- 31. Of assassination, by Alvin Silverman. (Cleveland Plain Dealer, Staff).
- 32. Of assassination, by James Mathis, Advance News Service.

- 33. Of Oswald's slaying, by John McCullough. (Philadelphia Bulletin, Staff).
- 34. Austin girl describes visit to Dallas on November 22 and reactions in public places to assassination news.
- 35. Dallas motorcycle cop assigned to ride beside Kennedy in motorcade describes assassination.
- 36. Dallas woman in crowd along motorcade route describes assassination.
- 37. Dallas Times Herald editorial page editor, among crowd at Trade Mart, describes how news of assassination came.
- 38. Account of trip with Kennedy from Washington to Dallas and of assassination, by Bob Hollingsworth, Washington correspondent, Dallas Times Herald.
- 39. "Hospital Staff Goes All-Out--Again--for Oswald": by Bob Burrus, Dallas Times Herald, only newsman in immediate emergency room area.
- 40. Of Oswald's slaying, by Bob Fenley. (Dallas Times Herald, Staff).
- 41. Of assassination, by Ed Johnson. (Ft. Worth Star-Telegram, Staff).
- 42. Thayer Waldo, Ft. Worth Star-Telegram, writes he was the last to shake Kennedy's hand before Kennedys entered car at Dallas airport: later, at Trade Mart, saw car sweep past enroute to hospital, with Kennedy's bloodstained head resting in Jacqueline Kennedy's lap.
- 43. Of Oswald's slaying, by Waldo.
- 44. Of assassination, by Bo Byers. (Houston Chronicle, Staff).
- 45. Dallas man in crowd along route tells of look on Kennedy's face as bullet hit; interview by Houston Post.
- 46. Dallas officer, one of two who captured Oswald in theater, describes what happened: he and partner agree Oswald did not shout, as reported, "I have killed me a President and a cop;" Houston Post interview.
- 47. Houston Post interviews with sheriff riding in lead car of motorcade, deputy sheriff who heard shots from street outside jail.

Fidel:

- 1. Castro denies link with Oswald, assassination.
- 2. Guevara sees danger of attack by U.S.
- 3. Violence not new to pro-Castroites.
- 4. Castro statement of regret at assassination, attack on Kennedy, Johnson.
- 5. Castro's previous warning, that U.S. leaders might be killed, cited.
- 6. Observers see Castro attempt to split U.S.
- 7. Cuban refugees say Castro threatened U.S. leaders.

Gun:

- 1. Mail order rifle ordered by Oswald.
- 2. Sale to Oswald confirmed by Chicago firm.
- 3. There are few curbs on mail order rifles.
- 4. Dangers of the mail-order gun market.
- 5. Dallas arms dealer says Oswald rifle was a big seller two years ago.
- 6. Roundup of opinions on state-federal gun laws.
- 7. It is easy to buy a rifle.
- 8. Reputable firm sold Oswald the rifle.
- 9. More than 5,000 guns shipped to Miami monthly.
- 10. Gun sales irk states attorney.
- 11. If you need a gun, just bring cash.
- 12. Illinois state gun laws studied.
- 13. Why are firearms so easy to get?
- 14. Dallas sheriff says killing of Kennedy with this rifle was possible, denies European reports that it was not.

- 15. Dealer in Chicago declines to comment on Oswald gun sale report.
- 16. Chicago police superintendent urges tighter gun laws.
- 17. "Want a Murder? Buy Gun by Mail" -- Jim Crellin, Detroit News.
- 18. Local rifle and marksmanship experts agree that the assassin was intimate with his weapon; the gun was mediocre, but used with great skill.
- 19. Oswald's rifle was stored at friend's home in Dallas suburb.

Interpretative Columns: (not an exhaustive record).

- 1. Jim Bishop recollections of Kennedy.
- 2. W.S. White tribute to Johnson.
- 3. Drew Pearson "Tragic Day;" those who will miss Kennedy; letter about Johnson to grandson named Lyndon.
- 4. John Chamberlain "It Couldn't Happen Here."
- 5. James Marlow "Dream Killed;" Kennedy's prophecy; U.S. violence; Kennedy's presidency.
- 6. Art Buchwald "A Nation Weeps."7. Bruce Biossat "Protecting Presidents."
- 8. Joseph Alsop "Go, Stranger."
- 9. T.A. Cullen "Europe Concerned."
- 10. James Reston on the political outlook; "the worst has prevailed over the best;" Dallas and Washington--contrast in violence and sorrow.
- 11. Jack Bell political outlook for Johnson; Nixon's chances bettered.
- 12. C. Sulzberger the reaction in Washington; DeGaulle and Krushchev troubled Kennedy; friend and foe respected Kennedy.
- 13. W.R. Hearst Jr. "An American Tragedy."
- 14. Barry Goldwater U.S. must unite.
- 15. Bill Henry "JFK-Man To Remember."
- 16. Al Friendly "The People's Tearful Farewell."
- 17. Walter Lippmann against extremism; need to resolve crisis of U.S. spirit.
- 18. Donald White business was wrong about Kennedy.
- 19. Barnet Nover Kennedy's death has unifying effect as free world nations close ranks.
- 20. Roscoe Drummond stature of Johnson.
- 21. Drew Middleton lawless U.S. image perturbs Europe.
- 22. Sydney Gruson British angered, disgusted at Oswald slaying.
- 23. Ann Ewing on wiolence in the United States.
- 24. Marquis Childs a last visit with Kennedy.
- 25. Ralph McGill "Hate Kills."
- 26. Russell Baker Johnson accepted second place in *60.
- 27. Raymond Lahr "The Aftermath: LBJ to the Fore."
- 28. Bill Frank "Continuity: Our Greatest Tribute;" on Oswald's slaying--"Could It Have Happened Here?"
- 29. Crosby S. Noyes Europe's reaction to the assassination; world needs facts on Kennedy, Oswald slayings.
- 30. Gould Lincoln "A Brave Man Gave His Life;" "The Outlook."
- 31. Max Freedman Johnson well trained for his role as President; recollections of Kennedy; on the Kennedy family.
- 32. Eric Sevareid the mind of John Fitzgerald Kennedy; Kennedy in history.
- 33. Doris Fleeson those who failed the President.
- 34. George Kennedy Kennedy's wit.
- 35. John Cramer Kennedy's contributions to government service.
- 36. Ray Cromley President Johnson and Khrushchev.
- 37. Warren Unna Kennedy was more than a politician.

- 38. John Kenneth Galbraith recollections of Kennedy.
- 39. Henry J. Taylor "Endure."
- 40. Inez Robb our society breeds assassins.
- 41. Larry Thompson "Four Days That Shook the World."
- 42. William F. Buckley Jr. "Everyone Ends Up Saying the Same Thing..."
- 43. Jack Kofoed "Even the Lincoln Killing Couldn't Match Events."
- 44. Robert Gruenberg probable effects on the Cabinet.
- 45. Maggis Daley on Oswald, the assassination probe, and gun laws.
- 46. Tony Weitzel open letter to John Kennedy Jr.
- 47. TV column by Malloy, in Chicago Sun-Times--"The Sponsor Was Death."
- 48. Victor Riesel unions are ready to back Johnson.
- 49. Richard Wilson "The Thousand Days of Kennedy's Hopes."
- 50. Dr. Joyce Brothers Kennedy as a "father image."
- 51. Louella Parsons how Hollywood reacted to the assassination.
- 52. Clark Mollenhoff Johnson and Robert Kennedy may not agree.
- 53. Roy Roberts contrasts between Kennedy and Johnson.
- 54. William O. Dahler "Why The World Mourns."
- 55. Walter Trohan on the presidential jinx, assassination probe, Johnson.
- 56. Max Frankel Kennedy's foreign policy role.
- 57. Jack Gould "TV Personalizes Grief; millions witness history unfolding;"
 "TV: A Chapter of Honor."
- 58. David Lawrence laxity of gun laws.
- 59. Jimmy Cannon sports column criticizing NFL play on November 23.
- 60. Mike Rayls "Why Are Firearms So Easy To Get?"

(Also columns by: Tully, Bell-McClure; Arthur Hoppe, Herb Caen, San Francisco Chronicle; Charles Hills, Tom Ethridge, Jackson, Miss., Clarion-Ledger; Paul Costello, George Minot, Boston Herald; James Haswell, Mark Beltaire, Detroit Free Press; J.F. Ter Horst, Detroit News; Richard Starnes, Indianapolis Times; Charles Cleveland, New Orleans Times-Picayune; Dick O'Neill, Illinois State Register; May Craig; Len Cohen, Portland, Maine, Express, Press-Herald; Adras LaBorde, Alexandria, La., Town Talk.)

John Fitzgerald Kennedy:

- 1. Review of term in office.
- 2. Undelivered speech prepared for meeting in Dallas.
- 3. Local residents recall him, his visits, etc.
- 4. Recollections by his friends and acquaintances.
- 5. His family will face a bleak Thanksgiving.
- 6. His life, political career, and term in office.
- 7. His grandmother not told of assassination.
- 8. His father not told at first, later told.
- 9. Reactions of members of his family.
- 10. How he will be missed.
- ll. On his religion.
- 12. He was liked by Negroes; they felt he was their friend.
- 13. Doctors' statements on nature of his wounds.
- 14. His father mourns alone.
- 15. Eulogies to him, both articles and texts.
- 16. Chronology of his last day.
- 17. Problems he faced as President.
- 18. His last hours.
- 19. Legislative highlights of his career.
- 20. He was a hard campaigner.

- 21. His family ask that no flowers be sent to rites.
- 22. His kin, including Irish cousin, come to Washington for rites.
- 23. His father remains in seclusion.
- 24. A 50-cent coin, bearing his profile, is proposed.
- 25. His father's life and career.
- 26. Priest tells of giving him last rites in hospital.
- 27. Parallels between Kennedy's presidency, death, and Lincoln's.
- 28. Kennedy's bid for vice-presidency in '52 recalled.
- 29. Review of his foreign policy.
- 30. Speculation about nature of his wounds by Washington doctors.
- 31. His public support recently was high.
- 32. Backgrounds of his mother and father.
- 33. His relations with Khrushchev and DeGaulle.
- 34. Tragedies in the Kennedy family.
- 35. His mother comes to Washington for rites.
- 36. Rumors of his father's death are false.
- 37. He coined the term, "New Frontier."
- 38. His sister is told of his assassination by her husband, Peter Lawford.
- 39. He had recently sent a message of greeting to the Japanese people.
- 40. His local popularity.
- 41. Two local residents recall him as their PT skipper.
- 42. His father will not attend rites.
- 43. Medical report states he was hit by two bullets.
- 44. Parallels between his assassination and Oswald's slaying.
- 45. He was at Arlington on Veterans Day two weeks ago.
- 46. His undelivered Thanksgiving Day proclamation.
- 47. Priest and doctors were last persons with him as death came.
- 48. "Living Words of John F. Kennedy."
- 49. He is the seventh President buried in Virginia.
- 50. His Senate policy.
- 51. His wartime escape from death.
- 52. Recollections of his speech, the occasion, when University of California conferred degree upon him.
- 53. Sports world lost a friend in him.
- 54. A roundup of his speeches and writings.
- 55. When he registered for the draft at Stanford.
- 56. The future for the Kennedys.
- 57. He had wanted to visit San Francisco.
- 58. His first Colorado visit.
- 59. Denver Post staff writer tells what Kennedy and Johnson are like from personal experience and conversations with both.
- 60. His speeches in Colorado convinced people he believed in West, valued its resources.
- 61. His ties with Colorado, particularly with Byron White.
- 62. Reprint of his article, "Invention of the Pioneer Spirit," published in 1962 in Scripps-Howard newspapers (Rocky Mountain News).
- 63. Interview with his cousin, a teacher at Colorado Academy.
- 64. He may have sung hymn played in cortege.
- 65. Distant Irish cousin flown 3,000 miles to attend rites.
- 66. He is the sixth President to lie in state in the Capitol Rotunda.
- 67. His family's pew in Hyannis Port church is empty on Sunday (Nov. 24).
- 68. New Bedford, Mass., editor Charles Lewin recalls conversation with his father before Kennedy's election.
- 69. "He is not out of our hearts" -- many felt unusually close to him.

- 70. His father launched him into politics.
- 71. His rivalry with his late brother, Joe.
- 72. He had never used the "hot line" to Moscow.
- 73. His birthplace in Brookline, Mass., is proposed as a shrine.
- 74. How Robert Kennedy paced his Virginia estate in first paroxysm of grief.
- 75. "His Last Airport Arrival" -- Mary McGrory.
- 76. The last sermon he heard, in Virginia, was on death.
- 77. Recollections of him, by Mary McGrory.
- 78. His support of civil service.
- 79. He had called the office of President, "lonely," "high."
- 80. Quotations from him.
- 81. Rise of Kennedy and of Johnson in government.
- 82. He was aware of the dangers he faced as President, by Charles Bartlett, Washington Star, a personal friend.
- 83. His famous desk is removed from the White House.
- 84. He would have liked his funeral, by Mary McGrory.
- 85. Priest tells how his father and mother grieve quietly.
- 86. Printing of Lasky book about him is stopped.
- 87. He held promise of power wisely used, by Karl E. Meyer, Washington Post.
- 88. He was a master of the television age, by Laurence Laurent, Washington Post.
- 89. His visits to Miami and a recollection of his Florida visits.
- 90. His family is at the crossroads.
- 91. His lonely campaign battle in Wisconsin recalled, by Ernest Tucker, managing editor, the Chicago American.
- 92. He never had a chance to survive wounds, specialist says in telephone interview with John Osmundsen, New York Times science writer.
- 93. He heard Taps played by bugler, on November 11 at Arlington, who played Taps at his own rites.
- 94. He would have found ironies, coincidences in his rites.
- 95. Modern surgery was not enough to cope with his fatal wounds, by Arthur J. Snider, Chicago Daily News science writer.
- 96. The Kennedy family had plenty of everything, by Lois Wille, Chicago Daily
- 97. Ballplayer Jim Piersall, his neighbor on Cape Cod, recalls a conversation with him.
- 98. John Steinbeck tells how Kennedy sent him on a mission abroad.
- 99. His aspirations, as recalled by Charles Bartlett, in Chicago Sun-Times.
- 100. Bartlett writes his epitaph.
- 101. Project Apollo is his legacy.
- 102. Kennedy as a sportsman, by Sandy Grady, the Philadelphia Bulletin.
- 103. Account of how a tracheotomy was performed in Dallas hospital.
- 104. How he once joshed about assassination, by Ed Lahey, Chicago Daily News.
- 105. He had earned Khrushchev's respect.
- 106. His mentally retarded sister, Rose, in Wisconsin home, knows of his death through watching television.
- 107. The rocker had made a comeback because of him.
- 108. He was the sixth President to be born in New England.
- 109. How he wrote to a Boston policeman's widow, sent a check, as his own baby son was dying.
- 110. He died a wealthy man.
- 111. He was subject to moods, Theodore Sorenson says.
- 112. Some of his pungent utterances.
- 113. His legend will live on, by Roy Roberts, the Kansas City Star.
- 114. Recollections of him, as President and friend, by John Cauley, the Kansas City Star's Washington bureau.

- 115. Navy's Bellino recalls how Kennedy's grid savvy surprised him.
- 116. New England was always home to him.
- 117. Description of and background on his Brookline birthplace.
- 118. Anecdotes about him reveal his warmth.
- 119. Golf caddies recall him as a warm person.
- 120. Texts of his favorite Bible passages, his speeches, his creed.
- 121. He encouraged the arts.
- 122. Coconut shell on his desk was a reminder of his World War II rescue.
- 123. His brother's death thrust him into politics.
- 124. A family friend's humorous booklet, "Rules for Visiting the Kennedys," showed much about the family group.
- 125. His book, "Profiles in Courage," and his '56 convention role led him to the White House.
- 126. The Boston Irish wards forged his political weapons.
- 127. His death came as he sought a new foreign policy geared to changes in the world outlook.
- 128. Reporters had a personal bond with him.
- 129. Comparison of Kennedy to Johnson.
- 130. Relationship of Kennedy and Udall.
- 131. He had urged exercise, physical fitness.
- 132. Silver dollar with his profile urged by Californians.
- 133. Stories about his family, in Boston Globe extra of November 22.
- 134. He could count many friends in the South.
- 135. He radiated a warm personality.
- 136. He is ranked next to Lincoln, called "second Emancipator," by A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.
- 137. Local resident, a fellow PT skipper and long-time friend, recalls his fearlessness.
- 138. "Kennedy During A Crisis," by Robin Douglas-Home, nephew of the British Prime Minister and guest of the Kennedys at the White House during the Cuban crisis--written before the assassination (NANA).
- 139. He may have made his last telephone call to woman art patron in Ft. Worth to thank her for decorating his hotel suite there with original paintings.
- 140. Local woman, his nurse when he was 12, recalls him as a youngster.
- 141. Officials are silent on the question of an autopsy.
- 142. "Mischievous Future President Was Reprimanded as 'Bad Apple' -- at Choate prep school (NANA).
- 143. Reporter recalls his Kennedy "exclusive" -- when President went to a movie from the White House.
- 144. Kennedy sailed last on local yacht.
- 145. Text of citation with honorary degree he received at University of South Carolina.
- 146. Text of his speech, prepared for delivery at dinner in Austin.
- 147. Interview with doctor at Parkland Hospital.
- 148. Ft. Worth man, president of retail coin dealers association, suggests to President Johnson that new Kennedy coin be issued.
- 149. Text of speech prepared for delivery at Dallas' Trade Mart: "We Are Freedom's Watchmen."
- 150. AMA Journal representative confers with Parkland Hospital doctors on Kennedy's wounds; AMA Journal will publish a record for posterity.
- 151. "Kennedy Nobel Prize Doubted"--Nobel Institute director in Oslo says he was not nominated before death.
- 152. How Virginia delegates supported him at conventions in '56 and '60.
- 153. In a speech to national civil rights organizations in June '63, he spoke

- of problems besetting him, and quoted a speech from Shakespeare.
- 154. Virginia priest says he felt Kennedy believed he wouldn't live long, had a sense of urgency about him.
- 155. How he "brushed death" on visit to W. Virginia: nearly came in contact with overhead high-voltage trolley line while up on mine car shaking hands with miners just up from pits.

Jacqueline Kennedy:

- 1. On her dignity and self-control.
- 2. She is comforted by Cardinal Cushing at rites in Washington cathedral.
- 3. Her part in planning rites.
- 4. Her return to Arlington grave on night after funeral.
- 5. She greets leaders of U.S., world at White House after rites.
- 6. Description of her, at Dallas hospital, after assassination.
- 7. Description of her at rites in Capitol Rotunda.
- 8. Madame Nhu sends her message of condolence.
- 9. She sends a message of condolence to Mrs. Tippit.
- 10, Her background and past life.
- 11. Description of her bearing, dignity at graveside rites.
- 12. Letter sent to her by Sen. Long recalls death of his father, Huey Long.
- 13. Roundup of London press tributes to her.
- 14. Account of her vigil with Kennedy's body.
- 15. Description of her farewell kiss, placing of ring on Kennedy's finger, at Dallas hospital.
- 16. She is to receive pictures of all rites for Kennedy.
- 17. Account of her return to Capitol Rotunda in evening after rites there.
- 18. She is reported under doctors' care after return to Washington.
- 19. Description of her, on return to Washington from Dallas.
- 20. "This Was Jacqueline Kennedy's Era."
- 21. She will have to tell Caroline and John Jr.
- 22. Her visit to Italy recalled.
- 23. How, just before shots, she remarked to Kennedy that Dallas was friendly.
- 24. Description of her night at the hospital in Washington after return.
- 25. She lives the ideals of her husband, by Daisy Cleland, Washington Star.
- 26. She may live in the Washington area.
- 27. She starts to move out of the White House.
- 28. Widow of slain Japanese leader sends her condolences.
- 29. The French mourn for her.
- 30. She will get pension of \$10,000 a year.
- 31. Assassination caps a life of tragedy for her, by Jean Noe, Chicago American.
- 32. She asked Sargent Shriver to direct the Kennedy rites.
- 33. "The Magic Majesty of Jackie Kennedy"--reprint of London Evening Standard front-page tribute, by Jean Campbell, Washington bureau--with reproduction of Daily Standard front page and five pictures of Jackie around it.

John Jr. and Caroline:

- 1. Account of John Jr. at the church, and of his salute to father.
- 2. John Jr. is lonely on his third birthday.
- 3. John Jr. asks for, receives a flag at Capitol--says it's "for my daddy."
- 4. John Jr. and Caroline have not yet been told.
- 5. Children are finally told, but no one seems to know by whom.
- 6. Caroline goes back to school.

- 7. "Kennedy Tots Awaken to Face Bad Drean" -- Richard Starnes, Scripps-Howard.
- 8. To them, Kennedy was just "daddy"--Anne Rowe, St. Petersburg, Fla., Times.
- 9. John Jr. wonders why everyone is looking at him at rites--Jack Wilson, Des Moines Register.
- 10. John Jr. looks for Dad in the White House.
- 11. Open letter to Kennedy children from Dallas resident--Dallas Times Herald.

Ladybird Johnson:

- 1. Previous connections with, interest in, or visit to states.
- 2. Her life ahead as First Lady.
- 3. The move to the White House is her biggest immediate task ahead.
- 4. She says Jackie should take her time about moving.
- 5. She seeks strength for the role ahead.
- 6. Her background, life and career, personality--Marjorie Hunter, the New York Times Washington bureau.
- 7. Her political zest and business acumen.
- 8. Mrs. Kennedy's secretary praises new First Lady; interview on bus in Dallas before assassination.
- 9. New First Lady fits her new role.
- 10. She is called "a folksy bundle--with brains."
- 11. New First Lady is well-fitted for role because she's a "Southern gentle-woman."

Lyndon Baines Johnson:

- 1. Description of oathtaking on presidential jet.
- 2. Proclaims day of mourning; stories and text.
- 3. Qualifications for presidency.
- 4. Previous stands and probable policies.
- 5. Meeting with Khrushchev urged.
- 6. Takes over duties as President.
- 7. Sends message to Khrushchev.
- 8. Negroes pledge him their support.
- 9. His background, life, political career.
- 10. Tasks facing him in presidency.
- 11. Previous views and probable policies on space.
- 12. First speech as President.
- 13. His policies on Vietnam.
- 14. Goes to church in Washington with his family.
- 15. Kennedy's staff expected to stay.
- 16. He greets visiting dignitaries after Kennedy rites.
- 17. He is the first Southern president since 1865.
- 18. His policies on defense.
- 19. Crowds gathered at his Washington home described.
- 20. His expected foreign policies.
- 21. He becomes eighth U.S. President through death.
- 22. Doctors give good report on his health.
- 23. He appeals to governors for support.
- 24. He confers with DeGaulle after Kennedy rites.
- 25. The political issues facing him.
- 26. Johnson and Eisenhower pay respects in East Room of the White House.
- 27. He meets with Mikoyan after Kennedy rites.
- 28. He makes a policy statement.

- 29. He meets with U.S. leaders after Kennedy rites.
- 30. He is the third replacement of a Big Four leader in recent times.
- 31. He is the second President from his religious denomination.
- 32. The Johnson family is in attendance at Kennedy rites.
- 33. He consulted Robert Kennedy as Attorney General, got approval, before taking oath in Dallas.
- 34. He gets a rocker for his White House office.
- 35. A profile of Johnson.
- 36. Thirty-five governors pledge him their support.
- 37. He faces his first test with Congress.
- 38. An assessment of Johnson.
- 39. He asks for a report on Oswald's slaying.
- 40. A description of his home in Texas.
- 41. Rumor that he suffered a heart attack is denied.
- 42. His daughter, Lynda Bird, is guarded by the Secret Service.
- 43. He is the second Johnson to succeed a U.S. President.
- 44. He asks U.S. envoys abroad to stay in their posts.
- 45. An assessment of his state of health.
- 46. He asks Kennedy's aides to stay.
- 47. He gives pledge of support to Berlin.
- 48. He writes letter to John Jr. and Caroline soon after reaching Washington.
- 49. Texas newsman gives an account of Johnson's life.
- 50. Johnson almost became a Californian in his youth.
- 51. He asks that Kennedy's Thanksgiving proclamation be read.
- 52. He won't favor a meeting with Khrushchev.
- 53. On his good relations with Adlai Stevenson.
- 54. He plunges into work, and consults with ex-presidents.
- 55. A roundup of his activities in getting the government back in motion.
- 56. Local poll finds support for Johnson.
- 57. His staff is devoted to him; who will serve in White House.
- 58. He may increase military role in space effort.
- 59. He lost weight on a diet of soup.
- 60, Report on his cardiogram and health records.
- 61. Far-reaching changes under Johnson are certain.
- 62. McNamara will be a close aide to Johnson.
- 63. He tells governors he'll push Kennedy's tax-cut, civil-rights bills.
- 64. Once foe of Kennedy, he came to support him; he favors an active party.
- 65. Summary of his actions and statements since Friday November 22.
- 66. He will hold to Kennedy's course, military told.
- 67. His grandfather predicted his rise in life.
- 68. He seeks northeast support with liberalism.
- 69. He is well-versed on space plans.
- 70. He is competent, perhaps great, says writer from Washington.
- 71. Local man is a Johnson aide.
- 72. Johnson family is together for first time since he became President.
- 73. Review of his rise in government.
- 74. Interview with Mikoyan on talk with Johnson reveals favorable reaction.
- 75. He is entitled to seek two full terms.
- 76. He has close ties to civil rights groups.
- 77. Guard is placed at his Washington home; reaction of neighbors,
- 78. He pledges support to Vietnam.
- 79. He refuses to agree to Secret Service proposal that he ride at funeral.
- 80. One of his aides calls off European trip, returns to United States.
- 81. He is praised by Sen. Smathers.

- 82. Judge Sarah Hughes, who administered the oath to Johnson, is first woman judge to administer the presidential oath.
- 83. His aides are at ease with Congress.
- 84. He phones Mrs. Tippit to offer his condolences.
- 85. His heart attack is recalled.
- 86. His sense of humor is seen in some past remarks.
- 87. Wheat dispute will be his first test in Congress.
- 88. Former senator recalls him with affection.
- 89. Regionalism may threaten Johnson.
- 90. Johnsons phone Kennedy's mother to offer condolences.
- 91. He is now "father" to Americans, says Wayne University (Detroit) professor of psychiatry.
- 92. Why Johnson is the 36th U.S. President.
- 93. Labor to support Johnson.
- 94. In interview with Truman, Truman tells of talk with Johnson, praises him.
- 95. Congress sources predict Johnson will hew to Kennedy line.
- 96. He used a Catholic Bible in taking the oath of office -- was it Kennedy's?
- 97. Former St. Louis minister preaches to new President at Washington service.
- 98. He calls four governors back from Washington airport for briefing.
- 99. He may follow F.D. Roosevelt's pattern.
- 100. He is seen favoring government role in economy, but businessmen see him as more conservative than Kennedy.
- 101. His style is "earthy and flamboyant."
- 102. Twenty aides form his cadre; this may double or treble.
- 103. A midwest view of him is that he is able.
- 104. His key foreign problem: Russian relations.
- 105. His key domestic problem: civil rights.
- 106. His religious sect has 1.8 million members.
- 107. Text of his first public words as President -- at Andrews Airforce Base.
- 108. His two daughters move into a guarded life.
- 109. He faces grim parallels to situation after Lincoln's death: a civil rights fight; he is a Southerner suspected by many Northerners, etc.
- 110. He inherits many thorny problems from Kennedy.
- lll. Federal government's urban aid is expected to go on--Johnson is a friend of cities, mayor says.
- 112. He is "fine," his wife reports, just after seeing him in hospital emergency operating room in Dallas after assassination.
- 113. His daughter Luci goes home to a new life.
- 114. Johnsons are likely to sell their Washington home.
- 115. Will Johnson seek Connally as his aide?
- 116. He is a strong backer of the U.S. space effort.
- 117. Hiss Texas ranch neighbors expect tourist traffic.
- 118. His cousin Oreole Bailey, his elderly neighbor in Texas, recalls his help, praises him.
- 119. Recollection that, in announcing candidacy for Democratic nomination for presidency in '60, Johnson said "I cannot say truthfully that any man is qualified for it in advance."
- 120. Foes of "digit dial" phones have a friend in President Johnson; he insisted his Washington phone number be changed back to old system.
- 121. His choice at the '60 Democratic convention as vice-presidential candidate was a surprise.
- 122. He left a promising career as a teacher for the political path.
- 123. How his destiny call came on the telephone in '60.
- 124. Kennedy's judgment in choosing him as running mate in '60 praised.

Local:

- 1. Shock, stunned reaction of local residents to assassination.
- 2. Local meetings called off because of assassination.
- 3. Local day of mourning proclaimed.
- 4. Local services and rites.
- 5. Local scenes during rites in Washington.
- 6. Expressions of grief, mourning by local residents.
- 7. Local activities stop during rites in Washington.
- 8. Sermons, eulogies, statements at local services and rites.
- 9. Officials request public to pray.
- 10. Local funds raised for the Tippit family.
- 11. Local tributes to Kennedy.
- 12. Local flags are lowered to half-mast.
- 13. Floral tributes are sent to the Washington rites.
- 14. Reactions, mourning, services at local colleges, universities.
- 15. Local reactions to Oswald's slaying, local police statements.
- 16. Local roads, highways renamed for Kennedy.
- 17. Local chapter of University women pledges rights bill support to honor Kennedy.
- 18. Reactions of local school pupils' described.
- 19. Local Catholic prelate describes grief in Ireland while he was there.
- 20. Local students propose that candles be put in windows to honor Kennedy.
- 21. Margaret Mead mourns Kennedy, pays him tribute in local interview.
- 22. Local college and other games called off or delayed.
- 23. Description of red sky and Doomsday atmosphere locally on November 22.
- 24. Military rites at local bases, space centers, etc.
- 25. Local school girl once met Johnson.
- 26. How local teachers broke the news of the assassination to pupils.
- 27. Reactions in newspapers' newsrooms.
- 28, GOP headquarters attacked in San Diego.
- 29. San Francisco attorney asked to defend Ruby.
- 30. Assassination brings local military alert.
- 31. Denver city council's day-of-mourning proclamation is almost verbatim copy of that for Lincoln 98 years ago--found in oldest council minutes.
- 32. Local resident, French native, recalls slaying of President Doumier.
- 33. Prof. Barghoorn cancels taping of TV show he was to do in Hartford.
- 34. Statements of shock, grief, accounts of how various officials got news.
- 35. Statement of grief and shock by Adebo while visiting locally.
- 36. Local Christmas sing to be made a tribute to Kennedy.
- 37. Proposal that new high school be named for Kennedy.
- 38. Interviews with residents on street indicate confidence in Johnson.
- 39. Proposal for a scholarship fund in memory of Kennedy.
- 40. Local memorial service for Tippit, offering to go into Tippit fund.
- 41. Local Negroes and whites who fought last summer, now mourn together.
- 42. Interviews with local residents who attended rites in Washington.
- 43. How Robert Kennedy got the news at his estate in Virginia.
- 44. How Ted Kennedy got the news in the Senate.
- 45. Description of the crowds at the Washington airbase as Kennedy's body was returned from Dallas.
- 46. Washington Redskins players join in prayer before game.
- 47. Kennedy was interested in preserving Washington's Lafayette Square.
- 48. Composition to be played at Constitution Hall concert will honor Kennedy.
- 49. A little girl spreads roses in path of the cortege.

- 50. D.C. stadium to be renamed for Kennedy.
- 51. Latin editors at IAPA meeting (Miami) are shocked at news.
- 52. Reactions in Palm Beach, where Kennedys have a home.
- 53. Description of Palm Beach home and review of Kennedy's visits.
- 54. Local girl recalls meeting Kennedy at a football game.
- 55. U. of Miami football players express shock, grief.
- 56. Threats fail to halt Florida-Miami game.
- 57. Cuban refugees express grief, shock.
- 58. Seminole Indians mourn Kennedy.
- 59. Local sculptor is making a bust of Kennedy.
- 60. Police official (Chicago) says assassination "could have happened here."
- 61. Local telephone switchboards jammed.
- 62. Interviews on street: "How would you vote on the Ruby jury?" and "How will you remember Kennedy?" and "What should be his memorial?"
- 63. Three local psychiatrists differ on motives of Oswald and Ruby.
- 64. Statements of officials on return from Washington rites.
- 65. Local Negro leaders mourn.
- 66. Goldwater gets news of assassination at local airport (Chicago).
- 67. Civil rights leaders postpone school protests.
- 68. Right-wing group sends condolences.
- 69. Local police review routines after Oswald's slaying.
- 70. Reactions of shock and grief in police department at assassination.
- 71. Local residents describe seeing Kennedy in Dallas motorcade.
- 72. Marionette of Kennedy now to be left unfinished.
- 73. Local resident, close friend of Kennedy's, expresses grief, shock.
- 74. Local bishop, reached by phone in Rome, expresses shock.
- 75. New England Society of Newspaper Editors meeting called off.
- 76. Little girl recalls shaking Kennedy's hand.
- 77. Four graduates of nearby medical school treated Connally in Dallas.
- 78. Mayor wires condolences to White House.
- 79. Local resident recalls Harvard classmate Kennedy.
- 80. Local ministers protest playing of Minnesota-Wisconsin game.
- 81. Moscow Circus cancels two local shows as tribute to Kennedy.
- 82. Local boy went to Washington to attend rites.
- 83. Local trial recessed until after rites.
- 84. Former local residents attended Ft. Worth breakfast where Kennedy spoke.
- 85. Municipal farm inmates hold memorial service for Kennedy.
- 86. Local school was designated as first physical fitness demonstration center under Kennedy's plan.
- 87. Sen. Mansfield says Johnson will continue Kennedy policies; Mansfield's parents, local residents, express grief.
- 88. Sports fans pleasure in Nebraska football victory tempered by grief.
- 89. Governors at midwest governors' meeting in Omaha express shock, adjourn.
- 90. Mrs. Otto Kerner, wife of Illinois governor, recalls assassination attempt on FDR and death of her father, Chicago Mayor Cermak.
- 91. Local bishop wires condolences to Jackie.
- 92. Local sculptor had just finished bust of Kennedy, planned to present it to him.
- 93. Local vote support for Kennedy recalled.
- 94. Church congregation sends letter of condolence to Jackie.
- 95. Local resident has copy of order of procession for local Lincoln rites.
- 96. Louis Lyons pays tribute to Kennedy on local (Boston) TV station.
- 97. Description of mourning at Harvard.
- 98. Kennedy library plans at Harvard revealed.

- 99. Local resident sang at Washington mass.
- 100. Local woman has letters from Johnson.
- 101. Tough Dallas police officer in Oswald case is a former local resident.
- 102. Headquarters of Communist Party locally (New York) issues condemnation of slaying of President Kennedy.
- 103. Nixon voices grief on local TV station (New York).
- 104. Harlem pays tribute to "our man."
- 105. Broadway and Off Broadway theaters close.
- 106. Local residents' statements on lessons learned from assassination.
- 107. Local ministers (New York) urge Kennedy memorial hospital in Harlem.
- 108. Interview with widow of Kennedy PTboat shipmate, who tells how JFK gave \$2,000 from his magazine article on PT experiences to her, and helped with VA benefits, counseling for her son; she receives threats.
- 109. Mayor wires Johnson, pledges support by Detroiters.
- 110. Grade school children asked why assassination occurred, but teachers couldn't answer.
- 111. Local Negroes link deaths of Kennedy, Evers,
- 112. Local Armenians chant prayer for the dead.
- 113. What one local family was doing when news came, what they later did.
- 114. Reactions to assassination by young are "real" but "normal," local clergymen, educators, and psychiatrists in survey agree.
- 115. "New Citizens Stunned, Undismayed"--group of naturalized seem more optimistic that there is no vein of hate in the United States.
- 116. "Courthouse Steps Held Lincoln, JFK"--parallels between local appearances in 1859, 1960.
- 117. Russian tourist group joins in TV viewing of Kennedy rites.
- 118. Priests (one local, one in New Jersey) talk two men with guns out of avenging Kennedy (Philadelphia Bulletin).
- 119. German sailors, just in port, find news "terrible...unbelievable."
- 120. Austin reception is called off (local bulletin).
- 121. "What Might Have Been: Austin's Real Warmth" -- plans for Kennedy visit.
- 122. How dinner preparations in Austin came to a standstill.
- 123. "Shocked disbelief shows on faces at hospital" -- Dallas local.
- 124. Crowd outside hospital gasped at death word--Dallas local.
- 125. Priest who gave sacraments had never seen a president before-Dallas.
- 126. Local ministers (Dallas) ask residents to examine their hearts.
- 127. Local woman (Dallas) snapped picture just as Kennedy was shot.
- 128. Nixon's expressed concern at Kennedy visit (while in Dallas) proved prophetic.
- 129. County judge proposes monument to Kennedy by Dallas and county, near assassination site.
- 130. Touring Nationalist Chinese group stunned.
- 131. Dallas Chamber of Commerce magazine expresses grief.
- 132. Dallas Civic Opera plans tributes to Kennedy.
- 133. Telegrams to Dallas are mostly abusive -- 50 of 68 on mayor's desk.
- 134. Two death threats were made locally (Houston) before Kennedy visit.
- 135. Local detective, a gun expert, says Kennedy presented a perfect target to the assassin: he was moving away--the easiest target to hit, killer fired at 40-degree angle downward and could prop rifle on window sill, and four-power telescopic sight made 100 yards like 25.
- 136. "Kennedy's Farewell Haunts Friends Here"--Houston Chronicle president and his wife.
- 137. "The assassin's bullet was aimed at the noblest American idealism," local rabbi (Houston) writes.
- 138. Proposals to name new school, sports stadium, rename street in Houston for Kennedy.

- 139. Name "Kennedy" is placed on list of names for new schools by board.
- 140. Local woman (Seattle) received a letter from Kennedy when her husband was killed in Vietnam; she is composing letter to Jackie.
- 141. "Meader Grieved and Confused" -- comic Vaughn Meader in local interview says he has become identified with Kennedys: "people today have offered me sympathy as though I were one of the Kennedy family."
- 142. Jurors (Milwaukee) emerge from four days of isolation in murder trial, get news of assassination.

Moscow:

- 1. Khrushchev calls at U.S. Embassy, expresses sorrow.
- 2. Soviet propaganda broadcasts blame assassination on rightists.
- 36 Memorial observances held in Moscow.
- 4. Mrs. Khrushchev weeps in expressing sorrow.
- 5, Reactions of Soviet people indicate great sorrow.
- 6. Soviet propaganda broadcasts, press reports reject blame against Reds.
- 7. Soviet spokesmen raise question: "Who are the real killers?"
- 8. Soviet comment in reaction to attacks on left in assassination aftermath.
- 9. Soviets denounce U.S. for Oswald's slaying.
- 10. Review of Soviet-U.S. relations during Kennedy presidency.
- 11. While Mrs. Khrushchev weeps over assassination, Red propagandists have field day over Oswald's slaying.
- 12. Kennedy had considerable influence in Moscow, was respected.
- 13. Soviets fear U.S. public reaction against Reds as result of assassination.
- 14. Soviets engaged in assessments of President Johnson.
- 15. Soviets blame "fascist-minded forces" for Kennedy, Oswald slayings.
- 16. Description of the Khrushchev family's reactions to assassination.
- 17. Analysis by New York Times correspondent Harry Schwartz of how cold war will go now.
- 18. Texts of Khrushchev messages to Jackie and Johnson.
- 19. Khrushchev is eager to meet Johnson.
- 20. Red Europe's propagandists assert Johnson will face rightist-racist pressures.
- 21. A new phase begins in U.S.-Soviet relations.
- 22. Soviet bloc shows uncertainty on Johnson's policies.
- 23. Text of Tass dispatch about Dallas.
- 24. Khrushchev ends trip at assassination news, returns to Moscow.
- 25. (Prague dateline) "Reds Call U.S. Opinion Cleansing Them 'Important'."
- 26. "Soviet Condolences Are Called Sincere"--local interview with Seymour Topping, former New York Times bureau chief in Moscow: he says Kennedy was respected as dedicated to world peace and as a strong man; suggests Moscow is hoping there will be no policy changes, that Kremlin fears anti-Soviet feeling in the U.S.

National:

- 1. Reports of shock, grief, etc., in various Texas cities.
- 2. Roundup of reactions to Oswald's slaying.
- 3. Statement by Rev. Martin Luther King.
- 4. Methodist Church issues statement expressing mourning.
- 5. Reports of mourning in Palm Beach, Florida.
- 6. Expressions of mourning by leaders across the nation.
- 7. Gov. Long, in statement of mourning, recalls his father's assassination.
- 8. TV networks scrap all shows, commercials.

- 9. Post offices across the nation to close for day of mourning.
- 10. Jurors in Wisconsin trial do not know of assassination.
- 11, Longshoremen's union issues statement of mourning.
- 12. Mass for Kennedy is held in Boston.
- 13. Networks to resume regular programming (after November 26).
- 14, Yale-Harvard game postponed.
- 15. CBS-TV games called off.
- 16. Army, Navy may cancel game.
- 17. Roundup of press editorials across the nation.
- 18. U.S. space shots are delayed.
- 19. The nation pays tribute to Kennedy.
- 20. Republican candidates suspend partisan activities.
- 21. Republican national committee meeting postponed.
- 22. The nation pauses during the Kennedy rites in Washington.
- 23. Right-winger quits group in protest at anti-Kennedy statements.
- 24. Reactions of three former Presidents--Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower.
- 25. Negroes across the nation mourn,
- 26. Bank is robbed during slowdown following assassination.
- 27. Artillery fires salute to Kennedy in San Francisco.
- 28. Nixon issues statement.
- 29. Knowland, in Tokyo, issues statement.
- 30. Dixie critics of Kennedy join in mourning.
- 31. Former Vice-President Garner reported overcome at news.
- 32. Astronauts express their shock.
- 33. James Roosevelt urges the Medal of Honor for Kennedy.
- 34. Wisconsin jury gets the news of the assassination.
- 35. Hoffa says Robert Kennedy is now "just another lawyer."
- 36. Widow of Kennedy's PTboat crewman receives threats.
- 37. Rockefeller and Goldwater call off campaigning.
- 38. Racist calls assassination a "tyrant's death."
- 39. Welch of Birch Society issues statement at news conference.
- 40. Almost all West Coast sports called off.
- 41. Roundup of expressions of anger at NFL for not cancelling games.
- 42. National one-minute telegraph silence honors Kennedy--dates back to practice in early days of telegraph.
- 43. Cardinal Cushing weeps after Boston rites eulogy, sorrows for Kennedys.
- 44, Pall cast over national sports.
- 45. Roundup of cancelled events across the nation.
- 46. Most colleges postpone games.
- 47. NFL decides to play games, AFL decides to cancel.
- 48. Gov. Faubus blames Marxists for Oswald.
- 49. Two railroads honor Kennedy.
- 50. Las Vegas mourning; gambling closed down.
- 51. NFL scored, AFL praised.
- 52. Flag Foundation issues rules for display of half-mast flags.
- 53. Proposal that civil rights demonstrations be called off until new year.
- 54. Three top U.S. Communists wire condolences to Jackie.
- 55. TV has a tough job trying to fit the national mood.
- 56. Reviews of TV performance and audience reactions.
- 57. Reactions to assassination in Hollywood.
- 58. National roundup of labor reaction to assassination.
- 59. Cape Canaveral is silent in honor of Kennedy.
- 60. The South is urged to end discord.
- 61. Poll across the nation of reactions to Oswald's slaying.

- 62. Reactions of shock, grief, anger in Boston.
- 63. Cape Canaveral moonshots delayed.
- 64. Strike at The Toledo Blade is ended by the assassination.
- 65. Crowds of mourners gather at the Kennedy family plot in Brookline.
- 66. Sen. Saltonstall recalls Kennedy's friendship in statement.
- 67. Goldwater expresses sorrow to reporter in interview after his mother-inlaw's funeral in Muncie, Ind.
- 68. Rumors are rife that Kennedy's father, Ruby are dead.
- 69. Governors parley in Omaha ends early because of assassination, rites.
- 70. How Kennedy called Garner shortly before his assassination.
- 71. The sports world lost a friend in Kennedy, sports leaders say.
- 72. St. Louis crowd of 35,000 holds memorial service at site of first hearing in the Dred Scott case.
- 73. Description of pall over NFL game crowds and players.
- 74. Description of pall over Giant-Cardinal game.
- 75. Pete Rozelle defends NFL play.
- 76. Roundup of sports columns on reactions to games called, games played.
- 77. Texas condidate on anti-Kennedy platform says he'll drop out: "I cannot represent killers...or fanatics."
- 78. Former California Gov. Knight blasts Dallas police.
- 79. Reflections on Kennedy, the Kennedy family--by-lined article by Cardinal Cushing of Boston in Manchester, N.H., Union-Leader.
- 80. Speculation on effect assassination coverage will have on TV networks.
- 81. Minnesota murder trial recessed until after rites.
- 82. Portland, Me., girl's trayer for Kennedy.
- 83. The military to fire salutes every half-hour.
- 84. W. Virginia feels deep loss in death of Kennedy.
- 85. Phoenix, Ariz., shocked into a temporary lull in enthusiasm for Barry.
- 86. South Boston displays angry silence.
- 87. TV networks pool camera coverage of Washington rites.
- 88. Stepson kills man who cursed Kennedy, the United States.
- 89. Prof. Barghoorn (in Conn.) calls assassination "catastrophic."
- 90. Episcopal bishop of U.S. blames indifference to hate for assassination.
- 91. Roundup of press criticism of Dallas police.
- 92. Chicago man tells his wife he's going to put a bullet in his head, "like Kennedy;" he does.
- 93. Gen. Walker, in statement, blames left-wing extremists.

Oswald:

- 1. Background on, highlights of his life.
- 2. Story on his captor, a Dallas policeman.
- 3. Map of assassination scene reported found in his room.
- 4. Roundup on reactions of mourners at Kennedy rites, to his slaying.
- 5. Evidence connecting him with rifle found in building.
- 6. Sen. Tower of Texas denies ever helping him.
- 7. Background on his sojourn in Russia.
- 8. FBI cites evidence against him.
- 9. Communist letters are found in his room.
- 10. In his slaying, doctors lost chance to study him.
- 11. Account of his semi-secret burial, rites.
- 12. Statement by his brother.
- 13. Statement of Cuban about him.
- 14. Summing up of police case against him.

- 15. An acquaintance's recollections of him.
- 16. The Fair Play for Cuba committee rejects him.
- 17. Reactions of foreign leaders to his slaying.
- 18. National reactions to his slaying.
- 19. Account of his arrest, including arrest of a second man.
- 20. He had asked for a Cuban visa.
- 21. Past actions, statements and associations showing he was a Communist.
- 22. He had asked for a Mexican visa.
- 23. Reaction of U.S. officials to his slaying.
- 24. Investigation of his slaying ordered.
- 25. Recollections of him by friends who knew him in Russia.
- 26. Account of his visit to Mexico.
- 27. The mystery surrounding him.
- 28. Milan newspaper's Moscow correspondent recalls him.
- 29. Former classmate recalls him.
- 30. UPI reporter recalls talks with him in Moscow.
- 31. His family visit him often at Dallas jail.
- 32. Background on the Cuba group he claimed to represent.
- 33. Dallas police and district attorney deny report of map in his room.
- 34. His widow's future is dark.
- 35. He is reported to have been seen in Ruby's club.
- 36. Recollections of him in Moscow days, by Priscilla Johnson (NANA).
- 37. Friend describes him, his personality, etc.
- 38. The State Department paid for his return from Russia.
- 39. His letter to Connally--was Connally his target?
- 40. He was a good husband, father, friend (Mrs. Paine) says.
- 41. FBI claims Dallas police knew of the threat against his life.
- 42. Roundup of new evidence against him and account of attempts to keep his burial secret.
- 43. State man recalls him from Marine Corps days as an "aggravator."
- 44. Opinions of him by several New York psychiatrists.
- 45. ACLU denies he was ever a member.
- 46. Report that he was considered a poor shot in Marine Corps.
- 47. Two policemen guard his body in Ft. Worth before burial.
- 48. His wife doesn't want to return to Russia.
- 49. A surgeon's report of his wounds.
- 50. Text of District Atty. Wade's press conference on evidence against him.
- 51. Recollections of him, from Moscow days, by A.I. Goldberg (AP).
- 52. His attempts to infiltrate anti-Castro organizations, told by Cuban.
- 53. Excerpts from radio interview with him in New Orleans, August 1963.
- 54. Account of security measures at funeral home in Ft. Worth, threatening messages and sinister onlookers, passersby, visitors—before burial.
- 55. Havana radio tells of his visa application in monitored broadcast.
- 56. Local chapter of Cuba committee doubts his membership.
- 57. Reactions of TV viewers to his slaying.
- 58. Account of his summer spent in New Orleans.
- 59. His New Orleans landlady, neighbors recall him.
- 60. There is no federal law under which to try him.
- 61. Oklahoma woman, former classmate, says slaying "was too good for him;" she "expected something like this of him"--in reference to assassination.
- 62. Captor-cop quoted as saying Oswald shouted: "I got a President and a policeman."
- 63. Attorney Abt demurs at taking his case; Oswald asked for Abt.
- 64. Ex-Marine recalls that Oswald shot himself with a pistol in Japan.

- 65. Account of threats against him and of armored car standing by.
- 66. Former classmate, local resident, recalls him as shy, quiet.
- 67. Legal battle avoided by his slaying: fear of a Supreme Court test because of possible claims that his civil rights were not protected.
- 68. Account of his involvement in a riot with Cuban exiles in Miami.
- 69. Red Cross worker in W. Virginia thinks she once gave him bus fare.
- 70. Pro-Castro group he belonged to is still active in Tampa.
- 71. He told an untrue story of his stay in Russia, says New Yorker, former Travelers Aid official at Port of New York.
- 72. Psychiatrists, in phone interviews, question his sanity.
- 73. He would hang up on his mother when she called him in Russia in 1959; she hadn't seen him since until she went to visit him in jail.
- 74. Danger signs were lacking in this "misfit's" life.
- 75. His arrogance irks Dallas prosecutor.
- 76. FBI interviewed him, sources s'ay-but Dallas Morning News finds no reference to Oswald in the police intelligence files.
- 77. Doctor's report that massive bleeding led to his death.
- 78. (Before slaying of Oswald) State's biggest trial expected.
- 79. Local man (Dallas) pointed him out in theater.
- 80. Anonymous call forecast his slaying during transfer.
- 81. He "screamed before he was hit," newsmen who were present at his slaying agree in interviews.
- 82. Doctors put odds for Oswald just slightly over Kennedy's.
- 83. His wife, mother sob as news of his death comes--as told by Irving, Texas, police chief who had them in his home.
- 84. Threats follow his slaying; airplane bombing threat.
- 85. He sought job locally (Houston) previous month, Mrs. Paine reports.
- 86. "Oswald's Last Laugh"--just before his slaying, detective says, Oswald laughed when detective remarked that, if anyone was going to shoot Oswald, he hoped they would be as good a shot as Oswald; Oswald replied: "No one is going to shoot at me."
- 87. Couple say they saw Oswald on a corner after the shooting.
- 88. Large crowd waited at courthouse for Oswald's transfer from city jail.
- 89. Oswald was "a fellow traveler, but which road?" by Laurence Stern, The Virginian-Pilot (Norfolk).
- 90. "Cuba Committee Has History of Confusion" -- account of background of group Oswald claimed to represent; how many famous persons backed it at first, but abandoned it.

Political Outlook:

- 1. Reassessment of coming election.
- 2. Roundup of views of political scene in Washington.
- 3. Johnson's political outlook as given in interviews.
- 4. Political shifts seen likely in Texas,
- 5. Nixon's chances seen bettered.
- 6. The snarl caused in California politics.
- 7. The assassination upsets the political scene, raises questions.
- 8. Effects on politics in Connecticut.
- 9. State politicians reassess their chances.
- 10. Republican politicking halt is urged.
- 11. The prospects for '64.
- 12. Questions raised about vice-presidential selections.
- 13. D.C. Democrats expected to cooperate with Johnson.

- 14. Scranton becomes a potential nominee.
- 15. Goldwater's chances have become slimmer.
- 16. Many political wounds have to be healed.
- 17. The prospects of Robert Kennedy running for office.
- 18. The Democrats could lose Illinois.
- 19. Johnson's position is strong for '64.
- 20. James Meredith sees stronger backing for civil rights by parties.
- 21. Johnson faces decision on reorganizing Democratic campaign machinery.
- 22. Johnson must improve his image.
- 23, Assassination casts a heavy fog over the political outlook.
- 24. Political effects are being weighed in Washington.
- 25. Political outlook in California is shifting.
- 26. Political edge of the tragedy strikes Michigan Democrats.
- 27. "Goldwater Finished?"--article says Goldwater's chances of winning.the Republican nomination "may have died with the assassin's bullet."
- 28. Congress race in 10th District (Texas) takes "cruel twist"--signs urging voters to "Scratch Lyndon's Boy, Jake" took on different meaning.
- 29. The Johnson-Connally moderate-conservative alignment is in unchallenged control in Texas.
- 30. "Tragedy Welds Bexar politicians"-Texas county factions brought together to mourn after assassination.
- 31. "Bobby Kennedy Is Key To Democratic Power" -- news analysis.

Presidential Succession:

- 1. Explanation of present line of succession.
- 2. Background of McCormack, now next-in-line.
- 3. Views of vice-presidents on presidential succession.
- 4. Four successors to presidents through death were not re-elected.
- 5. Sen. Hayden is next-in-line after McCormack; his background.
- 6. Hayden succeeds Johnson, gets duties and salary, but not title.
- 7. Confusion about succession because of lack of clear plans.
- 8. Life sketches of McCormack and Hayden.
- 9. Background report on the vice-presidency.
- 10. Salt Lake Tribune is reported as calling editorially for a Constitutional amendment to have Congress elect the vice-president after the vice-president becomes president.
- 11. The Constitution is vague on the president's successor.
- 12. The United States is never without a commander-in-chief.

Rites:

- 1. Schedules and plans for rites are announced.
- 2. Memento card of funeral mass given to those attending.
- 3. Description of Kennedy's burial site in Arlington.
- 4. Description of crowds at the Capitol Rotunda.
- 5. National and world leaders arrive for rites.
- 6. Alabama GI has charge of the riderless horse in procession.
- 7. Dignitaries in Washington to attend rites.
- 8. Kennedy's mother arrives in Washington for rites.
- 9. Traditions behind rites for presidents.
- 10. Description of crowds visiting Arlington grave.
- 11. The riderless horse in procession belongs to Jacqueline Kennedy.
- 12. The riderless horse is not Jacqueline Kennedy's, but an Army mount

regularly used in Arlington rites.

- 13. Miscellaneous sidelights on the Kennedy rites.
- 14. Description of the scene at Arlington in evening after rites.
- 15. Total listing of world leaders attending rites.
- 16. All U.S. armed services are to participate.
- 17. Catholic rites for Kennedy are the same for the humble.
- 18. Explanation of the eternal flame at the Arlington grave.
- 19. Kennedy is second president buried at Arlington.
- 20. Caisson was last used for Roosevelt's funeral.
- 21. Kennedys chose the shorter funeral mass.
- 22. No protocol was observed in arranging the cortege lineup.
- 23. Description of mourners at Capitol Rotunda at night.
- 24. Military jets and presidential jet to fly-over during Arlington rites.
- 25. Small boy spent three-year savings to come to Washington for rites.
- 26. List of burial sites of U.S. presidents.
- 27. Jacqueline Kennedy and Sargent Shriver planned details of rites.
- 28. Eisenhower and Truman make up while together at rites.
- 29. Capitol Rotunda rites planned with great care.
- 30. Famous persons also buried at Arlington.
- 31. Description of the funeral by Saul Pett, AP--"a time to weep, to mourn, to stand erect."
- 32. Horses used in cortege are trained for Arlington military funerals.
- 33. Description and explanation of Catholic funeral mass.
- 34. Arlington's tourist appeal will grow now.
- 35. Explanation of Kennedy's Catholic faith and its view of death.
- 36. Capitol Rotunda rites were inaudible, reporter writes; TV was better.
- 37. Summit talks proposed, while world leaders are gathered for rites.
- 38. Wedding song of Kennedys was included in funeral service at request of Jacqueline Kennedy.
- 39. Requiem rites are familiar to the Kennedys.
- 40. Military services used 4,000 in rites.
- 41. Special Forces included among honor guard unit for first time.
- 42. Special Forces beret among military headgear left on Kennedy's grave.
- 43. Kennedy funeral compared to that of a king.
- 44. Lincoln catafalque to be used in Kennedy rites.
- 45. World leaders here for rites get no red carpets.
- 46. Washington Post critic supplied the Irish air requested for the funeral by Jacqueline Kennedy.
- 47. Quiet dignity of rites varies from those of past.
- 48. Fifty nations are sending envoys to the rites.
- 49. Top military guard is chosen for the rites.
- 50. Closed-casket decision follows Christian trend.
- 51. Contrast in old and new funereal rites.
- 52. Robert Kennedy decided to keep casket closed.
- 53. Any veteran's family can ask for burial in Arlington.
- 54. VIPs are caught in post-rites traffic jam.
- 55. Profile of Cardinal Cushing, who officiated at funeral mass.
- 56. Taps first played during Mexican War.
- 57. English text of funeral mass.
- 58. Rifle salute comes originally from Roman custom.
- 59. Stories on local residents who are in, command honor guard, have other roles in rites--including bugler.
- 60. Jackson, Miss., Clarion-Ledger reporter tells how he and friends got into White House, saw Kennedy's bier in East Room.

- 61. Description of Jacqueline Kennedy's spray of lilies of the valley and of military regalia on the grave.
- 62. Description of the rites by Barbara Tuchman, author of "The Guns of August," in St. Louis Post-Dispatch.
- 63. Catholic Church gives permission for one requiem mass on Sunday.
- 64. Former local resident (Boston) is priest who explained mass on TV.
- 65. The anonymous also pay homage; thousands travel to Washington on impulse; interviews with individuals, couples who watched TV, decided to come to Washington.
- 66. Viewers surprised to see communion at funeral mass told it is no longer unusual in Catholic Church requiem rites.
- 67. Bagpipers who had pleased Kennedy return for funeral procession.
- 68. Twenty-eight New York policemen stand guard at funeral; decided to attend together.
- 69. Police describe Capitol rites scene for the blind.
- 70. Twenty-five veterans join dead in Arlington daily.
- 71. Tradition of riderless black horse goes back millenium, may go as far back as Genghis Khan.

Ruby:

- 1. Statements by his brother and sister.
- 2. Moved secretly from Dallas jail.
- 3. Background on him, stressing that he was a "tough guy."
- 4. He is formally charged with Oswald's murder.
- 5. His statement on motive for slaying Oswald, as reported by lawyer.
- 6. He will file a plea of insanity.
- 7. His brother guarded in Michigan.
- 8. Bail drive in Los Angeles on his behalf is called off because of threats.
- 9. He wanted to make the bigtime.
- 10. Dancer appearing locally appeared in his club, recalls his personality.
- 11. Singer living in New Britain, Conn., knew him.
- 12. His trial is scheduled.
- 13. Acquaintances give recollections of his Chicago days.
- 14. Rumors that California lawyer Ehrlich may defend him.
- 15. Report that Texas will ask the chair for Ruby.
- 16. Funds being raised for his defense.
- 17. Acquaintance says he is kind, except when crossed.
- 18. His police record.
- 19. Local resident recalls his Chicago days, how he founded labor union.
- 20. Some Chicagoans remember him.
- 21. Local resident recalls Chicago days, how he mingled with mobsters.
- 22. He is reported to have been linked with the West Side (Chicago) mob.
- 23. A namesake in Memphis, Tenn., is flooded by phone calls.
- 24. Local resident recalls his New Orleans days.
- 25. Newburyport, Mass., man sees Oswald's slaying on TV, recognizes and recalls Ruby.
- 26. Memory act entertainer knew Ruby, Kennedy, and says Oswald was in Ruby's club when he performed there.
- 27. Interview with his brother by local (Detroit) paper.
- 28. Local doctor recalls Ruby.
- 29. Local resident recalls once knowing him.
- 30. Ruby was at Oswald press conference Saturday morning, justice of the peace says.

- 31. Ruby could have shot Oswald at Friday night press conference, Denver Post photographer who saw him there says.
- 32. Local man, phoned by paper, describes first meeting Ruby in Dallas before Kennedy came, being outside jail when shot was fired.
- 33. Reported to have been working with Chicago mob in attempt to take over in Dallas years ago.
- 34. Contrasting characters, Ruby and Oswald, shared leads in tragedy.
- 35. Friend says Ruby was a "frustrated Ziegfeld," seeking "class."
- 36. Sister says he told her Dallas police were treating him well.
- 37. He was in Dallas Morning News cafeteria at time of the assassination.
- 38. Dallas Times Herald amusements columnist recalls how Ruby seemed near breaking point Friday evening.
- 39. His roommate says Ruby was angered, shocked by the assassination.
- 40. "Possibly avenging Tippit, not Kennedy"--former business associate in New Orleans says: "patriotic, he wasn't--a police buff, he was."
- 41. His attorney reports two threats against attorney's life.
- 42. His attorney says Ruby was after Oswald on Friday; he had a gun, but had no chance to use it.

State:

- 1. Statements of mourning by governors.
- 2. Reactions of shock, grief, etc., in state capitals.
- 3. Reactions across the state.
- 4. Mourning observances in the state.
- 5. Roundup of statements of state political leaders.
- 6. Meetings called off in the state.
- 7. Roundup of editorials from state papers.
- 8. Reactions, statements of congressmen from state.
- 9. State's colleges close.
- 10. Political effects in state.
- 11. Reaction of governor to Johnson.
- 12. Services at Tuskegee Institute, by Carole Simpson, of Tuskegee staff.
- 13. Tribute to Kennedy from Alabama Agriculture Commission.
- 14. Statements of state Democratic leaders.
- 15. State Democratic convention called off.
- 16. Former Arkansas doctor at Dallas hospital treated both Kennedy, Oswald.
- 17. Oswald's captor in Dallas is an Arkansas native.
- 18. Statement of governor on Oswald's slaying.
- 19. Colorado senator sees slipping U.S. morality.
- 20. Twenty-one-gun salute is military tribute.
- 21. Connecticut representative's aide suggests "lights-on" tribute.
- 22. Governor is impressed with Johnson.
- 23. Light vote expected in coming state election.
- 24. Secretary of State represents Governor at Philadelphia rites.
- 25. Governor returns to Washington for meetings with Johnson, asks unity.
- 26. Security increased for Gov. Kerner of Illinois.
- 27. Politics in Illinois off until after January 1.
- 28. Illinois capital recollections of Cermak's slaying.
- 29. Rites at statehouse.
- 30. Forgotten flags unfurled in state.
- 31. Editors heard news of assassination at meeting.
- 32. Governor urges temperance in campaigns.
- 33. If President were assassinated in Maine, maximum term for assassin would

- be life, state supreme court justice says.
- 34. Scholarship fund in memory of Kennedy begun at University of Maine.
- 35. Sen. Jenner blames Red plot.
- 36. State jurists deplore Oswald's slaying.
- 37. Statement by Indiana University President Stahr, former Kennedy Secretary of Army.
- 38. Security increased for Gov. Welch of Indiana.
- 39. Duluth longshoremen walk off jobs as tribute to Kennedy.
- 40. Firm building nuclear submarines continues work as tribute to Kennedy.
- 41. Montana newspapers mourn in editorials--some see assassination as out-growth of hatred.
- 42. Kennedy's executive secretary, Ev Lincoln, is from Osceola, Nebr.; Osceolans express grief.
- 43. New housing unit for elderly in Concord, N.H., is first Kennedy memorial in the United States.
- 44. Reactions of Democrats at the statehouse.
- 45. Rye, N.H., storeowner Herbert Philbrick blames Reds.
- 46. Atlantic City bar association meeting gets news, registers shock.
- 47. Senior high school class from state changes itinerary from Gettysburg to Washington to attend rites.
- 48. Poem by policeman is put on New England teletype network.
- 49. New Jersey bar association expresses fear for future, calls off meeting.
- 50. Cuban refugees in Miami offer floral tribute to Kennedy.
- 51. Georgia governor's guard tightened after phone threats minutes after the assassination.
- 52. State police are alerted for possible unrest.
- 53. Kennedy's cousins in Michigan feel a personal shock.
- 54. Pupil asks is it all right to pray? (because of Supreme Court decision); principal suggests pupils "meditate;" all sing "God Bless America."
- 55. Civil rights leaders are confident -- some see tragedy as boost for cause.
- 56. Texas political feud was settled in Kennedy's plane one hour before his assassination-between warring Democratic factions.
- 57. New hospital (Denison, Texas) to have room dedicated to Kennedy.
- 58. Lt. Governor Preston Smith would take Connally's post under Texas constitution.
- 59. Yarborough pledges Johnson and Connally his support in two messages.
- 60. One word, "Canceled," is added to marquee at site of Kennedy dinner.
- 61. Lt. Gov. Smith says he will not take over unless asked to.
- 62. Extremists are denounced by the Texas AFL-CIO.
- 63. Texas must free itself of bigotry, judge says at memorial service.
- 64. Tragedy darkens Garner's 95th birthday.
- 65. Virginia newspapers in editorial roundup praise Kennedy.

Security:

- 1. Measures by the Secret Service to protect the President.
- 2. Problems of the Secret Service in providing security at rites.
- 3. Problems of the Secret Service in providing protection for Kennedy.
- 4. Speculation about future procedures of the Secret Service.
- 5. Secret Service, other police agencies, military plan for rites security.
- 6. Precautions taken by the Secret Service for Kennedy's Dallas visit.
- 7. Bubble top had been removed from Kennedy's car at his request.
- 8. Twenty extra Texas highway patrolmen sent to Dallas to guard Connally.
- 9. Speculation about future role of Secret Service.

- 10. Difficulties of the Secret Service's job.
- 11. Former Secret Service man tells of fear of snipers in guarding four presidents.
- 12. Secret Service may be more strict with Johnson.
- 13. Many police, GIs scan the cortege route.
- 14. Secret Service employs varied tactics to protect Johnson at rites.
- 15. Problems now for the Secret Service, with a different family to guard.
- 16. New Britain, Conn., family's son, in Secret Service, was with Kennedy in Dallas.
- 17. Problems facing the Secret Service are summed up by Hartford Times reporter John K. Borland, who has accompanied presidents on tours.
- 18. Secret Service security was lax, official says; also, roundup of criticisms of Dallas police.
- 19. Extra security teams flown into Washington for rites.
- 20. The worst fears of the Secret Service were realized in the assassination.
- 21. The Secret Service had its busiest day in Dallas.
- 22. D.C. police force on duty was doubled for more than an hour after the assassination.
- 23. President Johnson refused to ride in a car at the Kennedy funeral.
- 24. A rash of threats breaks out against world leaders at rites.
- 25. The security net in Washington described by Alfred Lewis, Washington Post.
- 26. DeGaulle's guard is the tightest of any in the Big Four.
- 27. Secret Service and police security measures for Kennedy's Miami visit.
- 28. Local security measures for Kennedy during visit.
- 29. Presidential car is built for security.
- 30. Difficulty of security and increase in threats against Kennedy.
- 31. Kennedy often ignored security measures,
- 32. Protecting presidents is hard, by Philip Meyer, Knight newspapers.
- 33. Kennedy approved the fatal motorcade route in Dallas.
- 34. The Secret Service to continue guarding Jackie and the children.
- 35. Kennedy shunned security measures while in New York.
- 36. The assassination broke the tightest security barrier.
- 37. Quick action of Secret Service man to protect Johnson in motorcade car during assassination caused bruise of Johnson's arm, heart attack rumors.
- 38. No Secret Service men were hurt in Dallas, as reported, Treasury says.
- 39. How Secret Service could better protect presidents.
- 40. Dallas Morning News claims FBI talked to Oswald six days before.
- 41. Detroit police commissioner orders alert after assassination.
- 42. Police inspector headed force guarding Kennedy in Detroit.
- 43. How heads of state are guarded.
- 44. Myth of Secret Service dictation to president may come true.
- 45. Assassination shatters a myth that the Secret Service dictates to the president and a century-old proud record without any successful assassination attempts.
- 46. All world leaders live in danger of death; how the British "Special Branch" neutralizes all known subversives in the United Kingdom when royalty or heads of state are to appear in public.
- 47. History of the Secret Service.
- 48. Congress has rejected more funds for the Secret Service as a solution for the problems of protecting presidents from assassination.
- 49. Yugoslav visitor raps poor protection for U.S. presidents.
- 50. Description of security measures when Kennedy visited Tampa.
- 51. Bubble-top car is not bullet proof; Ford Motor Company followed the specifications from the White House.

- 52. Johnson's human shield reshaped to fit perils--how the Secret Service changed tactics as the scene changed along the funeral procession route.
- 53. Search of the Internal Revenue Service building is instituted when a man with a weapon is reported to be on the roof.
- 54. Goldwater is guarded by the police in Muncie at mother-in-law's funeral.
- 55. Connally's children and Lynda Bird Johnson are guarded in Austin.
- 56. Parkland Hospital again becomes a virtual fortress in guarding Oswald.
- 57. Sheriff had made elaborate security plans to protect Oswald.
- 58. Dallas council may investigate the Oswald security planning.
- 59. Six white pickets carrying anti-Kennedy signs at Trade Mart are arrested after assassination.
- 60. (Pre-assassination story on November 22) The President is well guarded during his visit to Houston.
- 61. In interview, Houston Secret Service agent says there was no hint of trouble in advance.
- 62. "Will Heads Roll?--What Happened To President's Security?"--law enforcement officer in Austin says there is no evidence Oswald was under observation, yet he worked in a building on Kennedy's route.
- 63. "Trip With President Points Up Terrible Security Risk" -- by William Prochnau, Seattle Times Washington bureau.

Tippit:

- 1. Mrs. Tippit mourns, praises her husband.
- 2. Description of rites for Tippit.
- 3. The Tippit family, their background and the bleak outlook ahead.
- 4. Tippit was uninsured--Dallas police have no policy or fund.
- 5. Description of grief of Mrs. Tippit at his rites.
- 6. Description of mourning for Tippit in Dallas.
- 7. Tippit's last day and his last hours.
- 8. "Heroic Patrolman Lauded at Rites" -- account of words at service.
- 9. Slain policeman's family comforted by many expressions of sympathy.
- 10. Dallas Times Herald starts fund as a memorial to Tippit.
- 11. Federal funds are urged for the Tippit family by a Texas representative.
- 12. Fund grows for Tippit family as nation opens its purse.

United Nations:

- 1. Tribute to Kennedy in the UN.
- 2. Memorial service for Kennedy in the UN.
- 3. High regard generally for Kennedy in the UN.
- 4. UN sessions are cancelled.
- 5. Diplomats weigh effects of the loss of Kennedy on the UN.
- 6. Assessments of Johnson in the UN.
- 7. Speculation in the UN on the future of Adlai Stevenson.
- 8. Cuban envoy in UN expresses sorrow.
- 9. Is the status of Adlai Stevenson changed?
- 10. UN diplomats express hopes that Kennedy policies continue.
- 11. U Thant uses Kennedy's eulogy to Hammarskjold to eulogize Kennedy.
- 12. Sadness in the UN reflects Kennedy's special place in and faith in UN.
- 13. Faith in Kennedy gives way to doubt in Johnson.

Vatican City:

1. Prayers for Kennedy are offered at the Vatican.

- 2. The Pope eulogizes Kennedy.
- 3. Requiem mass is held in Rome.
- 4. Chicago Cardinal, in Rome, issues statement.
- 5. The Pope sends five messages of condolences to Kennedy family members.
- 6. Roundup of mourning rites held in Rome.
- 7. Cardinal Spellman says a mass for Kennedy in Rome.

Warnings, Premonitions; the Presidential "Jinx":

- 1. Billy Graham says he warned Kennedy against Dallas trip.
- 2. Woman is heard on phone in California saying Kennedy would be killed, minutes before the assassination.
- 3. Adlai Stevenson says friends in Dallas warned against Kennedy's visit after attacks on Stevenson; he conveyed these warnings to the White House.
- 4. Southern Methodist University student wrote his mother a letter, expressing fears for Kennedy's safety if he came to Dallas.
- 5. Indiana judge says he predicted the assassination three weeks ago.
- 6. Local woman calls Rochester, N.Y., police to ask if it is wise to move Oswald; minutes later, Oswald is slain.
- 7. Parade magazine, on May 13, 1956, carried prediction of self-styled crystal-gazer, Mrs. Jeanne Dixon, that '60 election would be won by a Democrat but that he'd be assassinated or die in office.
- 8. "Stories Pop Up All Over U.S."--roundup on phone call, Graham, warning by Connally, Byron Skelton (Democratic national committeeman who wrote letters November 4 to Robert Kennedy and to a Johnson aide in Washington giving warnings, and later in Washington warned those at national committee head-quarters), Stevenson, SMU student letter, Parade article.
- 9. Lufkin, Texas, woman dreamed on November 2 that Kennedy would be killed, wrote to a White House aide she'd been corresponding with earlier.
- 10. Mrs. Jeanne Dixon, Washington crystal-gazer, accurately forecast Roosevelt's death, Eisenhower's illness, the British Conservative party defeat after World War II and Churchill's personal comeback, death of Carole Lombard in plane crash.
- 11. Recap of the record, listing presidents, dates, etc.
- 12. Kennedy had scoffed at the past record on this.
- 13. Kennedy once recalled the story of the jinx.
- 14. Legend that Shawnee chief put a curse on Wm. Henry Harrison in 1811 after defeat in battle--said every U.S. chief elected every 20 years would also die in office.
- 15. San Antonio Express article on jinx on September 14, 1960, said winner of the Nixon-Kennedy election might be next.

Washington:

- 1. Reaction in Congress to the assassination.
- 2. Allied chiefs arrive in Washington.
- 3. Description of the vigil at Kennedy's bier in White House.
- 4. Senators get pictures of the rites.
- 5. Estimates of the crowds along the funeral route.
- 6. Demands for action in Congress.
- 7. Reactions at the White House when news of Assassination came.
- 8. Kennedy's former neighbors in Washington mourn.
- 9. A law against presidential slayers is proposed in Congress.
- 10. Congressmen favor a Johnson-Khrushchev meeting.

- 11. Cabinet members, enroute to the Far East, turn back and return.
- 12. Congress awaits Johnson's program.
- 13. Description of crowds outside the White House.
- 14. The Senate passes a resolution of grief.
- 15. Protocol problems to be faced with many heads of state coming for rites.
- 16. Post-midnight concert by the National Symphony Orchestra is a tribute to Kennedy.
- 17. Congress pays its respects to Kennedy.
- 18. Description of the mood in Washington.
- 19. Report on the Salinger press conference.
- 20. Government officials agree that Kennedy esteemed Johnson.
- 21. Washington bureau writer describes the White House crowd vigil and the mystical hold of the presidency and the personal tribute to Kennedy that it reflects.
- 22. A federal law on assassination is slated.
- 23. Bethesda social scientists plan a study of public grief, but say non-government funds are needed, or project won't be launched.
- 24. "John Kennedy Is Home" -- description of scene at Andrews Field and of crowd reactions, by Jim Lucas, Scripps-Howard.
- 25. Connecticut representative to propose a Kennedy Memorial Commission.
- 26. Rose is placed on Kennedy's former Senate desk by Margaret Chase Smith.
- 27. Delay seen in U.S. pay raise vote.
- 28. Connecticut delegation's reaction to first Johnson Congress speech.
- 29. House passes resolution of sympathy.
- 30. New faces at the White House under Johnson.
- 31. Minister, among crowd outside White House, carries sign saying he'd warned Kennedy and God had punished him.
- 32. Mourners are flooding into Washington for the rites.
- 33. Seven civil rights leaders urge a strong civil rights law as a memorial to Kennedy.
- 34. Congress expected to speed up its business.
- 35. Guard at Rotunda is listed.
- 36. U.S. murder act covers 48 classes, but not the President.
- 37. McGeorge Bundy is the new face behind Johnson.
- 38, Threats are made against Sen. Tower of Texas.
- 39. Description of reactions to the assassination in Washington.
- 40. The new White House staff.
- 41. Cabinet group lauds Johnson.
- 42. Senators have pictures taken paying tribute to Kennedy.
- 43. Senators claim pictures taken of them at bier are not political.
- 44. Account of Washington reactions by Repr. J. Hale Boggs, Louisiana.
- 45. Sen. Long to send a letter to Jacqueline Kennedy.
- 46. Description of Senate reaction to assassination news, by May Craig.
- 47. Fair Play for Cuba committee denounced in Senate.
- 48. Murder act excludes the President.
- 49. Sen. Mansfield says the Senate will push ahead, except on day of mourning.
- 50. Congress is likely to quit for the rest of the year, await new program.
- 51. Recollection of visit to Roosevelt at White House and of sports interests of FDR and his successors.
- 52. McCormack breaks his rule, leaves the Capitol while the House is in session, to lead the Massachusetts delegation to the Kennedy rites.
- 53. How an Arlington grave digger got the word to come to work--to dig Kennedy's grave, by Jimmy Breslin, Boston Globe.
- 54. Reactions of New Mexicans in Washington to assassination news.

- 55. No federal law covers the assassination case, the Justice Department says; Oswald will be tried under Texas law.
- 56. The National Association of Mental Health meeting in Washington closes with a tribute to Kennedy, and a pledge of a new drive for mental health.
- 57. Kennedy and Johnson staffs cooperate in the changeover.
- 58. Interview with Goldwater by Repr. Horton (R-Rochester, N.Y.) is dropped; it contained critical comment on Kennedy.
- 59. Aide to Sen. Tower tells of Cuban's strange visit, claiming U.S.-Soviet plot to overthrow Castro; possible assassination motive seen.

World:

- 1. Roundup of world reactions to news of assassination.
- 2. Japanese commander of ship which sank Kennedy's PTboat voices shock.
- 3. Uncertainty about future U.S. course reflected in reactions abroad.
- 4. Roundup of mourning around the world.
- 5. Roundup on reactions of world leaders.
- 6. Report of reactions in Cuba.
- 7. Story on a Tass report in Russia.
- 8. Report on mourning in Berlin.
- 9. Red Chinese newspapers attack Johnson.
- 10. Manila newspaper suggests that the Peace Corps be renamed for Kennedy.
- 11. Reactions of foreign officials to Oswald's slaying.
- 12. Roundup of reports on how nations paid respects.
- 13. Statue to Kennedy in London is proposed.
- 14. Report of skepticism abroad about the Dallas probe.
- 15. U.S. troops in Korea mourn.
- 16. Eulogy to Kennedy by Nehru.
- 17. Berlin square is renamed for Kennedy.
- 18. Previous statement of Japanese commander of ship which sank Kennedy's PTboat recalled—his rejoicing that Kennedy had not died then.
- 19. Vietcong releases Yank--is this a gesture occasioned by the assassination?
- 20. U.S. feat in sending a program to Japan via Telstar is darkened--Kennedy message to the Japanese, a highlight of the transmission, removed.
- 21. Mexican border is closed to foil assassination plot escapes.
- 22. Mexican border is open.
- 23. Reaction to assassination news in Vietnam.
- 24. Reactions of GIs in Frankfurt to assassination news.
- 25. E. Berlin propagandists call Oswald a martyr.
- 26. Most of the world mourns Kennedy, but Red China doesn't.
- 27. John Masefield dedicates a poem to Kennedy.
- 28. Woman in Ireland starts a fund for Oswald's widow.
- 29. Reaction to assassination news in Bonn.
- 30. Reds use Oswald's slaying for propaganda purposes, foreign observers say.
- 31. Red Chinese heap scorn on Kennedy.
- 32. Questions are being raised in Europe about the assassination and subsequent events.
- 33. British are angered and disgusted at Oswald's slaying.
- 34. Free Asia is stunned by the assassination; report from Saigon.
- 35. E. Hartford (Conn.) couple, returned from Rome, saw crowds signing book at U.S. embassy.
- 36. Korean elections are muted by the assassination.
- 37. W. Berlin is reassessing Johnson.
- 38. London paper starts a fund for the Kennedy statue.

- 39. Europe sees rites on TV via relay satellite.
- 40. Indians at U.S. embassy in New Delhi hold Kennedy memorial service.
- 41. Queen Frederika of Greece places a wreath on Kennedy's grave the day after the rites.
- 42. Churchill issues statement in praise of Kennedy.
- 43. Reaction to assassination in Latin America.
- 44. Ugly suspicions sweep Europe after Oswald's slaying.
- 45. World reaction is like the shock of Roosevelt's death.
- 46. Czechs fear a new chill in East-West climate.
- 47. DeGaulle to lead the French delegation to the rites.
- 48. Germans, East and West, mourn for Kennedy, by Antony Terry, London Sunday Times.
- 49. Reactions to the assassination news in Asia, by Keyes Beech, Chicago Daily News.
- 50. Roundups of reactions in five countries (Reuters).
- 51. Middle East reactions, by Alvin Rosenfeld, New York Herald Tribune.
- 52. British reactions, by Robert Estabrook, Washington Post.
- 53. Latin American mourning for Kennedy.
- 54. Reactions in Africa, by Russell Howe, Washington Post.
- 55. Reactions in Panama, Chicago Daily News.
- 56. London bobby stops newsman, expresses mourning for Kennedy (UPI).
- 57. E. Berlin mourning is illustrated by man praying before a picture of Kennedy (Reuters).
- 58. Red Chinese children cheer Kennedy's death (Reuters).
- 59. Priests across Europe offer prayers.
- 60. Roundup of briefs on reactions in Britain, W. Germany, France, Italy, Moscow, Japan, India, Senegal, Algeria, Poland, UN, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Canada, S. Vietnam, Indonesia, Kenya, Ghana, Greece, Peru--from Washington Post, Reuters, Manchester Guardian, UPI, Los Angeles Times.
- 61. Reactions to assassination in Nassau.
- 62. Yugoslav newsman, visiting the Miami Herald, writes of reactions in Yugoslavia.
- 63. Red Chinese walk out on Kennedy tribute in Afro-Asian conference.
- 64. Roundup of reactions in the Communist world.
- 65. Kennedy, Oswald murders puzzle the Japanese.
- 66. John Steinbeck describes reactions in Poland.
- 67. Pakistani friend prays for Johnson.
- 68. Latin Americans' confidence in U.S. is shaken.
- 69. British foreign secretary pushes Kennedy's ideals.
- 70. News of Oswald's slaying is carried throughout Europe on radio-TV.
- 71. Far Eastern reactions to Johnson.
- 72. Concern is voiced that the Red Chinese may try to test the U.S.
- 73. British wonder how the U.S. will act, react in the new era.
- 74. European press blames Dallas police in Oswald's slaying.
- 75. DeGaulle says Kennedy "died like a soldier."
- 76. Europe is concerned about accord.
- 77. Vietnam mourns Kennedy, but not Diem.
- 78. Voice of America tells of Oswald's slaying.
- 79. Tiny nations join the powers in mourning.
- 80. Vancouver bank is robbed during assassination radio reports.
- 81. U.S. Army engineers helping rebuild 'quake-torn Skopje, Yugoslavia, work harder to honor Kennedy.
- 82. Reaction to assassination in Cuba, from the Chicago Tribune's Mexico City bureau.

- 83. Latin America's hopes cut off by assassination (NANA).
- 84. Voice of America alters format to accent assassination, aftermath, and world-wide reaction.
- 85. Loss of strong friend in Kennedy alarms Latin Americans.
- 86. British to sound out Johnson on ties while here for rites.
- 87. Roundup of world reaction, totaling 35 dispatches (New York Times).
- 88. Eight full reports from world capitals in roundup format (New York Times).
- 89. British see hope of leading West now.
- 90. Dallas in European eyes (two dispatches-Paris and London) (New York Times).
- 91. Latin Americans say Kennedy instituted a new era in hemispheric ties.
- 92. Cambodian press halts attacks on the United States.
- 93. Japanese think the United States has let them down.

Miscellaneous:

- 1. Hartford Courant note explains playdown of sports news, small headlines, no columns, etc.
- 2. Wilmington, Dela., News & Journal note explains advertisers were requested to drop out on day of mourning; also, why some advertising stayed in-because of mechanical problems, and no disrespect meant.
- 3. "Here's How We Got The News"--Chicago American prints series of bulletins from the first on the Kennedy shooting to the death report.
- 4. Daily Kennebec Journal, Augusta, Me., note explains that extra on November 22 was 4th extra in recent times: VE and VJ Days, death of governor; they assembled four-page paper and had 3,500 copies by 6:30 p.m., all of which were sold out.
- 5. Boston Herald note explains they will publish no advertising or editorial matter not in keeping with mourning--except that printed and distributed earlier.
- 6. Rochester Democrat-Chronicle note announces issues of November 23-26 are available as historic issues, and will be mailed for 50 cents.
- 7. "In A Newspaper City Room You're Always Waiting--The Big One, When It Comes, You Don't Believe"--Seattle Post-Intelligencer.
- 8. Charleston, W.Va., Gazette and Mail, under heading "National Tragedy Causes Deletions," explains many regular features and columns are omitted to make room for complete coverage of the events surrounding the assassination and Johnson's assumption of office; since many stores would close Monday, many regular advertisers cancelled ads for Sunday and Monday, but some were unable to because the ads were on pages locked up earlier in the week; items in those ads will be featured when the stores reopen Tuesday; TV logs for up to Tuesday are incorrect, as all regular programs have been pre-empted by coverage of the national tradedy.
- 9. Charlotte, N.C., News note explains why the News is late: they tried to get the latest in before going to press.
- 10. "Page 1 Underwent Surgery As Newsroom Moved Fast" -- Cleveland Plain Dealer.
- 11. "Vindicator Kept Readers Posted As News Arrived" -- Youngstown Vindicator.
- 12. "City Room Goes Into Action at News of Dallas Violence"--Philadelphia Bulletin.
- 13. "In Today's Chronicle: Special 4-Page Section to Read and Save"--Houston Chronicle.
- 14. Dallas Times Herald note explains there will be no comics until after the Kennedy funeral.
- 15. "Newspapers Hush In Grief and Horror" -- how Milwaukee Journal and Sentinel employees and news staff fell silent, meditated at 11 a.m. as rites began in Washington.

- 16. A Friday-Monday chronology of the tragic events (AP).
- 17. Roundup of events in chronological order: "Four Days That Shook the World" --Chicago American.
- 18. Account of reactions of persons on a train from Memphis to Chicago, by Dan Sullivan, Chicago American.
- 19. The 36 presidents: a listing, giving dates of birth, death (New York Times).
- 20. The Presidency: a review, including presidential successions, assassinations of other presidents, vice-presidents who succeeded assassinated presidents (New York Times).
- 21. Most presidents have been buried in their home states (New York Times).
- 22. Heavy burdens of office hit Truman, too (AP).
- 23. The assassination and Oswald's slaying: the two murders have ironic similarities (UPI).

PICTURES AND CARTOONS IN 143 NEWSPAPERS

(Note: This listing is based upon a spot check and in no way reflects the complete picture coverage in these newspapers. Pictures are not listed in alphabetical order, or by categories, but just as first found in the content analysis. Sources are given if identified)

- 1. John F. Kennedy (AP) (UPI) (S)
- 2. Lyndon B. Johnson (AP) (UPI) (CP) (S)
- 3. Lee H. Oswald (AP) (UPI) (S)
- 4. Assassination scenes in Dallas (AP) (UPI) (S)
- 5. Artillery firing salute to Kennedy (AP)
- 6. Eisenhower and Johnson (AP) (UPI)
- 7. Dallas chief of police (AP)
- 8. Little girl praying, weeping outside Dallas hospital (AP)
- 9. Various governors in Washington (AP) (UPI) (S)
- 10. Ladybird Johnson (AP)
- 11. Khrushchev at U.S. embassy in Moscow (AP) (UPI)
- 12. Cartoon on fanaticism
- 13. Scenes of mourners in other lands (AP) (UPI)
- 14. W. Berlin mourners gathered in square (AP)
- 15. Truman arrives at White House to pay respects (AP)
- 16. Oswald's wife, mother, children at Dallas jail (AP) (UPI)
- 17. Kennedy's rockers being removed from White House (AP) (UPI) (KF)
- 18. Tippit's family (AP) (UPI)
- 19. Dallas scenes since the assassination (AP) (UPI) (S)
- 20. The presidential car (AP) (UPI)
- 21. Scenes from Kennedy's last hours in Texas (AP) (UPI)
- 22. Background scenes and earlier pictures from Kennedy's life (AP)(UPI)(KF)
- 23. Robert Kennedy being comforted by his children after getting news (UPI)
- 24. Crowds in Capitol Rotunda (AP) (UPI)
- 25. Jacqueline and children outside church (AP) (UPI)
- 26. Oswald's slaying (DMN) (DTH) (AP) (UPI)
- 27. Jack Ruby (AP) (UPI)
- 28. Various scenes from rites (AP) (UPI) (S)
- 29. View of Arlington hillside (AP) (UPI)
- 30. Oswald, wounded, after shooting (AP) (UPI) (S)
- 31. Johnson placing wreath at Capitol Rotunda rites (AP) (UPI) (S)
- 32. DeGaulle and Rusk (UPI)
- 33. Johnson staff meeting (UPI)
- 34. Eternal flame at Kennedy grave (AP) (UPI)
- 35. John Jr. saluting (both full pix and cropped) (AP) (UPI) (S)
- 36. DeGaulle and Johnson (UPI)
- 37. Sailor weeping in crowd along cortege route (UPI)
- 38. Scenes of local mourning (S)
- 39. Local services (S)
- 40. Jacqueline beside Johnsons in presidential jet as oath is taken (AP) (UPI)
- 41. Kennedy in Dallas before assassination (UPI) (AP)
- 42. Jacqueline getting into ambulance with Kennedy's body in Washington; scene at Andrews Airforce Base on return from Dallas (AP) (UPI)
- 43. Kennedy and Johnson (AP) (UPI)
- 44. Johnson paying respects, with Mrs. Johnson at White House (UPI)
- 45. Vigil by bier in East Room of White House (AP) (UPI)

98. Kennedy and Sen, Hayden (S)

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46. Kennedy's mother (AP) (UPI)
47. Scene in Capitol Rotunda as eulogies are delivered (AP) (UPI)
48. Mrs. Tippit weeping at burial rites for her husband (UPI)
49. Kennedy burial site in Arlington (UPI) (AP)
50. Cartoon - flag at half-mast
51. Scene at rites for Oswald (UPI)
52. Eisenhower and Truman (AP) (UPI)
53. Kennedy and Gov. Wallace (S)
54. State capital flag at half-mast (S)
55. Gov. Egan mourns (S)
56. Dallas theater where Oswald was arrested (AP)
57. Kennedys and Connally in car just before assassination (AP)
58. Oswald's wife (AP) (UPI)
59. Old drawing of Garfield assassination scene (AP)
60. John Jr. and Caroline (AP)
61. Kennedy's Irish kin praying (AP)
62. Johnsons and Jacqueline at rites (AP)
63. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy (UPI) (NEA)
64. Dallas building from which shots were fired (AP) (UPI)
65. Presidential car speeding to hospital, Kennedy's foot over side (UPI)
66. Kennedy and Jacqueline (AP) (UPI)
67. Kennedy and Jacqueline, with children (UPI) (KF)
68. Scenes of events of Kennedy's last 24 hours in Texas (UPI)
69. Johnson and Ladybird Johnson at Washington airbase as Johnson speaks;
   new President's first words to American public (AP) (UPI)
70. Assassin's view from Dallas building (UPI)
71. Capitol flag at half-mast (KF)
72. Motorcade in Dallas before shooting (an over-all shot) (KF)
73. Kennedy inauguration scene (KF)
74. Kennedy-Nixon debate scene (KF)
75. Kennedy campaign scene (KF)
                                          (Subjects 73-82 constituted
76. Kennedy with parents (KF)
                                          a typical roundup, picture
77. Kennedy UN speech scene (KF)
                                          spread from a single source)
78. Kennedy press conference (KF)
79. Kennedy in Navy days (KF)
80. Kennedy and Jacqueline after their wedding (KF)
81. Kennedy sailing (KF)
82. Kennedy in White House office (KF)
83. Riderless horse in cortege march (AP) (UPI)
84. Gov. Connally (AP) (UPI) (CP)
85. House Speaker McCormack (AP) (UPI)
86. Kennedy during Alaska campaign (AP)
87. Mourning college students (AP)
88. Ambulance bringing Kennedy's body to White House (AP)
89. Kennedy's rocker - Cartoon
90. Korean delegation to rites, in Alaska enroute to Washington (S)
91. Johnson family at church (AP)
92. Jacqueline, children, and Kennedy family at rites (AP) (UPI)
93. Truman at rites (AP)
94. Cartoon - "LBJ, New President"
95. Eisenhower and Truman at rites (AP)
96. Washington mass for Kennedy (AP) (UPI)
97. World leaders at rites (AP) (UPI)
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99. Assassination scene in Dallas, with arrow from building (AP)
100. Detective holds rifle found in Dallas building (AP)
101. Kennedy - boy football player (AP)
102. Kennedy and Caroline (AP)
                                             (Another example of a
103. Kennedy and Eisenhower (AP)
                                              picture spread)
104. Kennedy delivering speech (AP)
105. John Jr. descending Capitol steps (AP)
106. Kennedy and Jacqueline with his parents (AP)
107. Cartoon - profile of Kennedy - "Profile in Courage"
108. Kennedy at his desk, before portrait of Lincoln (AP)
109. Kennedy on visit to Arizona (S)
110. Local children praying (S)
111. Oswald's letter to Connally (AP)
112. Johnson and Rusk (AP)
113. Pope Paul (AP)
114. White House staff passing bier in East Room to pay respects (AP)
115. Harvard student, head in hands, mourns on steps (AP)
116. Floral tributes placed at assassination site in Dallas (AP)
117. Jacqueline and Caroline kneeling at casket in Capitol Rotunda (AP) (UPI)
118. Kennedy's mother with Ted Kennedy (AP)
119. Diagram of rites route in Washington (AP)
120. Prince Philip at rites (AP)
121. Nixon pays respects (AP)
122. Dutch royalty at rites (AP)
123. Japanese leader at rites (AP)
124. Cartoon - nation and world mourning
125. Cardinal Cushing and McCormack (AP)
126. Dallas police with rifles guard book building (AP)
127. Kennedys in car just before shots came (AP)
128. Blurred shot of car just after shots were fired (AP)
129. Jacqueline and Robert Kennedy holding hands in door of plane in
     Washington as casket is lowered from plane to ambulance (AP)
130. Kennedy, Jacqueline, and children leaving church last Easter (AP)
131. Johnson on Arizona visit (S)
132. Kennedy and Udall (S)
133. Kennedy and Arizona Star editor-publisher (S)
134. Kennedy and brother Joe with cowhands at corral in Arizona during summer
     both boys worked on ranch to toughen for football (S)
135. White House, with flag at half-mast (AP)
136. Priests praying beside bier in East Room of White House (AP)
137. Kennedy's sister arrives in Washington (AP)
138. Local military parade honoring Kennedy (S)
139. Lincoln statue in background in Rotunda rites scene (AP)
140. Crowd outside Capitol, waiting to enter (AP)
141. Caisson bearing casket, outside Capitol (AP)
142. Old drawing of Lincoln assassination (CP)
143. Assassination scene--through windshield of car as shots are fired (AP)
144. Kennedys and Connallys in car, just before shots (AP)
145. Johnson and Truman (AP)
146. Old newspaper reporting McKinley assassination (S)
147. London newspaper's front page, with assassination headlines (AP)
148. Jacqueline, Robert Kennedy, and Ted Kennedy in rites march (AP)
149. Pallbearers carrying casket down steps of Capitol to caisson (AP)
150. View of procession approaching Capitol, from top of dome (AP)
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- 151. Tattered newspaper in street, with assassination headlines (S)
- 152. Prince Philip arrives in Washington (AP)
- 153. Local crowd pays tribute to Kennedy (S)
- 154. Johnson's Texas ranch home (AP)
- 155. Local highway which has been renamed for Kennedy (S)
- 156. Kennedys and Johnsons in Ft. Worth (AP)
- 157. Johnsons and McCormack arrive at White House to pay respects (AP)
- 158. Cartoon Johnson's need for support
- 159. Rites procession on Memorial Bridge. (AP)
- 160. Group of world leaders at graveside in Arlington (AP)
- 161. Sen. Yarborough weeping (UPI)
- 162. Parents and children stretched flat in Dallas as shots are fired (UPI)
- 163. Kennedys and Johnson in Houston (AP)
- 164. Kennedy's family--scenes of past and present events (UPI) (Another group)
- 165. Four assassinated presidents (AP)
- 166. Jacqueline and Secret Service man on car trunk just after shots (AP)
- 167. Artillery salute to Kennedy in Boston (AP)
- 168. Warrens arrive for rites, Mrs. Warren weeping (UPI)
- 169. Johnson family portrait (UPI)
- 170. Crowds outside White House, with minister in foreground carrying sign: "I Warned JFK and God Has Punished Him." (UPI)
- 171. Johnson as baby and as young boy (UPI)
- 172. Jack Ruby's sister (UPI)
- 173. Oswald's body removed from Dallas hospital by police (UPI)
- 174. Cardinal Cushing comforts Jacqueline (AP)
- 175. Crowd reactions along route of cortege (UPI)
- 176. Nixons at rites (UPI)
- 177. Jacqueline, wearing veil, shows dignity at rites (AP) (UPI)
- 178. Jacqueline and children, Kennedys and Johnsons leave Capitol (AP)
- 179. McCormack, Mansfield, Warren, Ladybird, and Jacqueline in foreground of dignitaries attending Capitol rites (UPI)
- 180. Four spectators grieving at Capitol rites (AP)
- 181. Wreaths on Kennedy grave in Arlington (AP)
- 182. Jacqueline and Robert Kennedy leaving grave (UPI)
- 183. Irish cadets at Arlington rites (UPI)
- 184. Ruby being moved from jail (UPI)
- 185. Peter Lawfords at rites (UPI)
- 186. Johnson and Brandt (UPI)
- 187. Mrs. Khrushchev weeping in Moscow (AP)
- 188. Johnson and Haile Selassie (AP)
- 189. Johnson and Erhardt (AP)
- 190. Johnson sitting in his rocker in White House office (UPI)
- 191. Lawfords at Los Angeles airport, leaving for Washington (S)
- 192. Shot through windshield during assassination, with numbers identifying Kennedy, Jacqueline, and Connally (AP)
- 193. Artist's sketch of Kennedy (S)
- 194. Jacqueline smiles on meeting Johnsons at Arlington rites (AP)
- 195. Local women on street watch TV in store window (S)
- 196. Johnsons and Jacqueline after oathtaking, man comforting Jacqueline (AP)
- 197. Jacqueline and children await start of cortege (AP)
- 198. Jacqueline receives folded flag at graveside in Arlington (AP)
- 199. Local woman prays alone in church (S)
- 200. Kennedy receiving University of California degree (S)
- 201. Cartoon mourning world

- 202. Three pictures of Kennedy and sports: throwing out ball at first game of season, sailing, golfing (AP)
- 203. Crowd at Presidio rites in California (S)
- 204. Local school girl who met Johnson (S)
- 205. Kennedy registering for the draft at Stanford (S)
- 206. Little girl signing letter to John Jr. and Caroline (S)
- 207. Picture of McKinley bier taken by local woman's father, who was White House photographer in 1901 (S)
- 208. Front page of the Oakland, Calif., Tribune reporting McKinley death (S)
- 209. Dallas policeman Tippit (AP)
- 210. Carrier Coral Sea salutes Kennedy in Golden Gate (S)
- 211. Berkeley, Calif., street--deserted, black-streamered, flag-lined (S)
- 212. Four pictures of Jacqueline -- with story on "Jackie's Era"
- 213. Candlelight service at University of California in Berkeley (S)
- 214. Ladybird Johnson and two queens at White House after rites (AP)
- 215. Kennedys and baby John Jr. (AP)
- 216. Kennedy speaking in Ft. Worth just before leaving for Dallas (AP)
- 217. Kennedy applauding Jacqueline at Chamber of Commerce in Dallas (UPI)
- 218. Kennedy on his last California visit (S)
- 219. Jacqueline entering the White House with the casket (UPI)
- 220. Local women shoppers registering shock at assassination news (S)
- 221. Union Jack at half-mast over Westminster, London (UPI)
- 222. Cartoon on hatred
- 223. Honor guard around bier in East Room of the White House (AP)
- 224. Kennedy, Eisenhower, and Truman at rites for Rayburn (UPI)
- 225. Johnson and Ladybird in western garb, sitting on ranch fence (UPI)
- 226. Kennedy tossing coin before '62 Army-Navy game (UPI)
- 227. Candlelight service at state capital (S)
- 228. Mexican border post scene after closing; crowds waiting (S)
- 229. Navy ships salute Kennedy in San Diego (S)
- 230. Ted Kennedy and sister, Eunice, arrive for rites (AP) (UPI)
- 231. San Francisco Chronicle front page on Lincoln assassination (S)
- 232. Diagram of Dallas jail, Oswald slaying scene (S)
- 233. Cartoon Lincoln mourning, with head bowed in hands, in Lincoln Memorial (Bill Mauldin, Chicago Sun-Times)
- 234. Scene at window of book building in Dallas, inside (AP)
- 235. Montage of three drawings of other presidential assassinations (S)
- 236. Diagram of assassination scene in Dallas (S)
- 237. Rockefellers at rites in Washington (AP)
- 238. TV picture of Oswald distributing literature in New Orleans (UPI)
- 239. Caroline wiping tears away at bier in Capitol Rotunda (AP)
- 240. Pictures of eight presidents—with "high-and lonely-office" story (AP) (Another example of picture spread, this accompanies article)
- 241. Kennedys, Jacqueline and notables at Capitol Rotunda rites (UPI)
- 242. Six-column box: "Death of Lee Harvey Oswald"--four pictures taken from CBS-TV in San Francisco at time of his slaying, one AP picture of Oswald on stretcher, with text (San Francisco Examiner)
- 243. Jacqueline, Robert Kennedy, Ted Kennedy, and pallbearers at grave (AP)
- 244. Reproduction of mass memento card (UPI)
- 245. Oswald at press conference after police questioning (S)
- 246. Legless Negro in crowd along cortege route; he had kept all-night vigil in 32 degree cold to keep his place (S)
- 247. Reproduction of advertisement for rifle Oswald bought (AP)
- 248. Billboard in South demanding impeachment of Warren (S)

- 249. Striking view of workmen preparing catafalque in Capitol Rotunda as statue of Garfield looks on (S) (Washington Star)
- 250. World leaders leaving cathedral in Washington after requiem mass-accompanying sketch is numbered to identify each (AP) (UPI)
- 251. Drawing of scene at Capitol Rotunda rites, by Kitty Crapster, Washington Post.
- 252. Photograph of Lincoln lying in state (AP) (UPI)
- 253. Kennedy bier, with Lincoln statue in background (AP) (UPI)
- 254. Reproduction of Rev. Philips Brooks' sermon after Lincoln assassination (S)
- 255. Reproductions of "Guide Book for Marines" and "Hands Off Cuba" leaflet, with Oswald's name on both-given to local resident (S)
- 256. "When Detroit Mourned Lincoln" -- scene at Campus Martius rites (S)
- 257. Reproduction in Boston Globe of full-page ad in Dallas paper by American Fact-Finding Committee--described as a "hate ad." (S)
- 258. Kennedy family tree (S) (New York Times)
- 259. "What An Extra Really Means" -- nine pictures on Atlanta Journal extra preparation and crowds inside and outside newspaper office (S)
- 260. Two pictures of bubble-top car--one with top on, one with top off (Ford Motor Company) (The Detroit News)
- 261. Picture spread: "John F. Kennedy: Father"--seven pictures of John Jr. and Caroline dancing in his office; of Caroline kissing Kennedy; Caroline and Kennedy visiting hospital to see Jacqueline when baby boy was lost; John Jr. under Kennedy's desk; Caroline and Kennedy in his office; Kennedys and Caroline just before the '60 campaign; Kennedy and Caroline in a car, watching a parade.
- 262. "The President--The Crowds He Lived In": in Boston, New York, Illinois, W. Virginia, on a beach in California, students at White House.
- 263. "Two Days In Her Life"--Jacqueline in wedding gown and after the assassination, still wearing blood-stained suit.
- 264. Picture of type of cartridges used by the assassin, paired with AP picture of detective with rifle (S)
- 265. View of Arlington hillside, with X marking gravesite-to-be (AP)
- 266. Two pictures of Oswald's slaying--from Dallas Morning News and Dallas Times Herald--separated by column of text on the AP story of finding of a map from pictures of Jacqueline and children outside church and of world leaders in cortege.
- 267. NBC-TV photo of Oswald's slaying, via AP Wirephoto: shows anquish on Oswald's face, as seen over shoulder of lunging Jack Ruby.
- 268. Father Huber, priest who administered last rites to Kennedy (UPI)
- 269. "Dawn Breaks Over Flower-Laden Grave" -- Arlington scene Tuesday in early morning; guards silhouetted (S)
- 270. Guards and priests around bier in East Room of White House--an 8-column by 10.5-inch picture on Page One.
- 271. Artist's sketch of assassin at window of Dallas building (S), with AP picture of building, with arrow to assassination site.
- 272. "In Memoriam--Many Are the Ways of Expression"--four pictures: local woman with her portrait of Kennedy made with postage stamps; flag-draped bier in store window; minister with his poster of tribute to Kennedy; florist shop window, with Kennedy portrait and flowers (S)
- 273. Lincoln funeral car-from booklet published in 1865 by act of Congress, entitled "Great National Calamity" (S)
- 274. Texas Welcome dinner scene in Austin Municipal Auditorium; dining hall is empty (UPI)

- 275. Program for Texas Welcome dinner -- never to be used (S)
- 276. Wife of Dallas mayor waiting in convertible outside hospital (S)
- 277. Empty chair reserved for Kennedy at Dallas Trade Mart (S)
- 278. Bullet scar on curb in Dallas (S)
- 279. TV Channel 8 cameraman being searched at Parkland Hospital (S)
- 280. Parkland Hospital blackboard records moment of Oswald's death (S)
- 281. Ruby's room in disarray after FBI search (S)
- 282. Parkland Hospital chief surgeon shows newsmen path of bullet that killed Oswald (S)
- 283. Luggage being searched at Dallas airport after airplane bomb threat (S)
- 284. Form used by Dallas policeman in making routine murder report of the Kennedy assassination (S)
- 285. Oswald's handprint in police paraffin cast (S)
- 286. "Mug shot" of Oswald taken by Dallas police photographer and appearing on identification card (S)
- 287. Reproduction of London Daily Standard front-page tribute to Jacqueline
- 288. Cartoon "1865...and...1963" -- mourners at bier, Lincoln in background
- 289. Cartoon "The Cortege" -- mass of humanity, stretching back into far distance, follows caisson and casket (S)
- 290. Cartoon stricken family before TV (Herblock)
- 291. Full page of Connally family pictures (S) (Austin American-Statesman)
- 292. Two doctors who attended Kennedy (S)
- 293. Cartoon "Still at Large" -- criminal type slinking down alley, is labeled "The Forces of Hate That We Have Allowed to Fester In Our City" (S) (Bob Taylor, in Dallas Times Herald)
- 294. Mrs. Connally picture, with story on assassination and pre-assassination events as told to reporter (S)
- 295. Trade Mart staff awaiting arrival of the President (S)
- 296. School classroom scene, showing children's shock at news of assassination --8 columns by 10 inches (S) (Houston Chronicle)
- 297. Oswald's rooming house in Dallas (S)
- 298. Mrs. Connally talking to the press (S)
- 299. Joseph Kennedy--earlier picture, with AP story on how he mourns alone, and cutline: "'Tremendous Courage' at News of Son's Death"
- 300. Spread in Houston Post: three pictures of Oswald at press conference; one of Dallas police ID bureau officer with Oswald's prints; one of Dallas Chief Curry; one of Dallas homicide Captain Fritz, in charge of investigation; one of Justice of the Peace who took charges; one of Dallas policeman M.N. McDonald who helped capture Oswald (S)
- 301. Judge Sarah Hughes (S)
- 302. Johnson as a teacher, with his championship debate team (S)
- 303. Kennedys thanking San Antonio police for a "fine job" while there on day; before assassination (S)
- 304. Kennedy, Johnsons, and Connally bow heads in prayer at Ft. Worth Chamber of Commerce breakfast--captioned: "President's Last Prayer" (UPI)
- 305. Front pages of Virginia papers on assassination (AP) (S)
- 306. Kennedy as a Harvard swimmer in 1938
- 307. Johnson, then a Navy officer, greeted at airbase in New Guinea during World War II (AP)
- 308. "Signs Reflect Nation's Grief"--reader boards along streets and highways on which advertising signs have been changed to pleas for prayers and expressions of sympathy (S)
- 309. Cartoon Herblock Goldwater in uniform and with wooden horse, running down street, arousing "Gen. Birchnut," "Col. Hotspur," "Adm. H. Bobbem"

(all retired), and carrying sign: "I Say: Fear the Civilians--They're Taking Over (Goldwater Speech to The Military Order of the World Wars"; captioned: "To Arms!--The Sack Coats Are Coming."

(Note: Art items cited from 274 to 304 are from Texas newspapers. The last item, 309, from a W. Virginia newspaper, is included as significant of things to come)