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"To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word it is because there is no light in them."—Isaiah 8:20

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SHALL AMERICA BOW TO THE POPE OF ROME?

A TREATISE ON THE VATICAN ENVOY APPOINTMENT

By JAMES DEFOREST MURCH

All freedom-loving Americans were shocked when President Truman on Saturday, October 20, announced to the nation that he had appointed General Mark W. Clark as full-fledged United States ambassador to the court of the pope of Rome.

Conscious of the fact that our religious freedoms in America are predicated upon that article in the Bill of Rights in the U. S. Constitution which guarantees that church and state shall be ever separate, millions of citizens saw in President Truman's move an immediate threat to their liberties.

Ever since President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Mr. Myron C. Taylor as his personal representative to the Vatican the day before Christmas, 1939, there have been quasi-official relations between the United States and the Vatican in direct repudiation of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Even after President Truman withdrew Mr. Taylor from his post January 18, 1950 because of the growing indignation of American citizens, a "pipeline" was maintained between Washington and Rome which *sub rosa* perpetuated this unconstitutional relationship.

As recently as August 10, Mr. Myron Taylor, whose "resignation" Mr. Truman had "accepted" returned from an audience with the pope and reported at the White House concerning plans which were being devised for "the mobilization of the spiritual forces of the world," ostensibly in the fight against world Communism. It is quite apparent that the bold action of President Truman on October 20 was the outgrowth of a Romish plot to assume world religious leadership at a time of international crisis.

AMERICA AND PROTESTANTISM IN AMERICA NOW FACE ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS CRISES IN THE HISTORY OF THE FIGHT FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM. IF ROME AND THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON CAN GET AWAY WITH THIS, THE DAYS OF OUR LIBERTY ARE NUMBERED AND FINISHED.

As a contribution toward a better understanding of the events and the principles involved I shall present the situation in three or four rather comprehensive treatises: First, the story of how the present church-state relationship was established. Second, the story of the first U. S. embassy to the Vatican and its alarming consequences. Third, the fundamental principles involved in such a diplomatic connection. Fourth, the necessity for the immediate termination of every vestige of this unconstitutional and un-American procedure.

The New Deal Formula For By-Passing the Bill of Rights

For years the Roman Catholic hierarchy through its increasingly powerful American representatives had been bringing pressure upon the United States government to re-establish its embassy to the Vatican, which the liberty-loving American people abolished following the Civil War.

After many presidents and Congresses had toyed with the idea, intrigued by the prospect of winning the considerable Roman Catholic vote for their pains, it remained for President Franklin D. Roosevelt to find a way.

The President and the pope were no strangers. The latter, when he was Cardinal Pacelli, papal secretary of state, and only a few months before he was elected pope, visited the United States. He and Archbishop (now cardinal) Spellman were Mr. Roosevelt's guests at Hyde Park. When Pacelli was elected Mr. Roosevelt took his first step. He did what no president of the United States had dared to for many years; he broke precedent by telegraphing the new pope: "It is with true happiness that I have learned of your election as Supreme Pontiff. Recalling with pleasure our meeting on the occasion of your recent visit to the United States I wish to take this occasion to send you a personal message of felicitation and good wishes."

To his critics President Roosevelt replied, "Do not be alarmed. This is just a personal matter." But the matter did not end there. When Pacelli was crowned, the President sent the nation's foremost ambassador, Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy, from the Court of St. James to the Vatican to attend the coronation. Again, it was "just a personal matter," but it was the first time in history that a Roman Catholic had represented the President in any Vatican function. Despite the restrictions of space, the Kennedys were allotted places in the formal Diplomatic Tribune, thus indicating what the papal court thought of the incident. A few days later, when the pope received the Kennedys (a distinguished sign of papal condescension), the pontiff "smiled broadly in deep satisfaction and expressed his joy by saying that the presence of a representative of President Roosevelt was one of the outstanding pleasures of his coronation."

Everyone "in the know" politically and diplomatically was aware that the President had at last discovered the formula which might avoid official dip-

lomatic recognition on the one hand and Protestant condemnation on the other. In theory, the United States had not been represented at the Vatican; in practice, we had. Protests poured in, but the clever Washington diplomats had already charted their course, and the letters and telegrams had about as much effect as the proverbial "water on a duck's back." The stage was now set for the crucial act.

In brief the procedure was to appoint some distinguished American (preferably a Protestant) with the rank of ambassador who would go to Rome as the personal representative of the President. He would not be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, the customary procedure with regard to ambassadors. He would not live in the Vatican state and his contacts with the pope would be only occasional. If possible, a multi-millionaire would be chosen who would not require a salary to be paid by the government. The circumstances of the appointment's announcement would be camouflaged to prevent public criticism.

President Roosevelt Took Advantage of War Powers and Christmas Spirit

Accordingly, President Roosevelt, taking advantage of his vast war powers, appointed Myron C. Taylor, former chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation, as his personal representative to the pope. The occasion of the announcement was extremely clever.

It was the day before Christmas, 1939. Everybody was thinking and hoping in terms of "peace on earth, good will to men." Three letters written by the President were released in all the newspapers. In their common introduction they sanctimoniously recalled that Christmas was being observed in a world of sorrow. Isaiah's prophecy of the coming of Christ was likened to the coming of a new age "wherein through renewed faith the upward progress of the human race would become more secure." The Christmas star, first seen by the lowly shepherds of Judea, was like

EDITOR'S NOTE

We have a feeling that there is no religious issue today which is more important than that of the appointment of a Vatican envoy. Hence we devote this entire issue to this subject.

We urge all our readers to bombard Washington with a deluge of letters. May God spare America from the union of church and state.

this new age first foreseen by "the people" and now by their national leaders. The world must safeguard this precious heritage for our time.

The letters were addressed to the pope, to Mr. George A. Buttrick, then president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and to Rabbi Cyrus Adler, head of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. To the latter two President Roosevelt wrote that "it would give me great satisfaction if you would, from time to time, come to Washington to discuss the problems which all of us have on our minds." But to the pope he wrote: "It is therefore my thought that though no given action or given time may now be prophesied, it is well that we encourage closer association between those in every part of the world—those in religion and those in government—who have a common purpose. I am therefore suggesting to Your Holiness that it would give me great satisfaction to send to you my personal representative in order that our parallel endeavors for peace and the alleviation of suffering may be assisted." (Italics ours.) The letters to Drs. Buttrick and Adler went by mail, but the pope's letter was transmitted through Archbishop Spellman of New York, who, with Mr. A. A. Berle, Jr., assistant secretary of state, handed it to Archbishop Cicognani, Apostolic delegate in Washington, for delivery to the Vatican. On this eventful occasion President Roosevelt was host to Archbishop Spellman at lunch in the White House.

Ostensibly the President had been moved by the tender spirit of Christmas simply to ask the cooperation of the religious elements of our American life in his efforts for world peace. The trusting citizenry accepted his subterfuge as "all wool and a yard wide." His scheme had worked.

Both Bro. Buttrick and Bro. Adler responded cordially to their letters and thus allowed themselves to be used as pawns on the diplomatic board. The pope, with a show of conservative dignity, waited until January 7, 1940, to make his formal reply and it was delivered January 20 by Archbishop Cicognani accompanied by Monsignor Michael J. Ready. The letter itself, was effusive. It said:

"We lost no time in communicating your note to the distinguished gathering present that very morning in the Consistorial Hall of this Apostolic Vatican Palace, solemnly expressing before the world, Catholic and Non-Catholic alike, our appreciation of this courageous document, inspired by a far-seeing statesmanship and a profound human sympathy." Concluding, the pope said that he was happy to approve the presidential appointment and "We shall find a special satisfaction, as we have already informed Your Excellency, in receiving (him) with all the honor due to his well-known qualifications and to the dignity of his important mission." (Italics ours.)

Roman Catholicism in America was jubilant. The hierarchy and the people hailed President Roosevelt as "a new Messiah." His diplomatic achievement was "a master stroke, with the purpose of the appointment justifying all." The expected protests were turned aside in such a manner as to brand the protestants as obstructionists and "isolationists," if not "fifth-columnists."

The State Department now lent Mr. Harold Hilgard Titt-

man, II, former counselor of the embassy in Rome, as Mr. Taylor's assistant, and provided two foreign service officers, a secretary, a code clerk and two stenographers at the expense of the American taxpayers. What sort of budget was set aside for consultation with Bro. Buttrick and Bro. Adler is not known.

The Vatican Jubilant

Seldom in recent years has the Vatican been as jubilant as it was on the day when the first United States ambassador ever assigned to confer with the pope presented his credentials. Great preparations had been made to give the event the august solemnity it warranted. According to the elaborate protocol Ambassador Taylor was in full court dress. Mrs. Taylor accompanied him in a high-necked, long-sleeved gown of papal black especially designed for the solemn occasion. There was a formal reception at the entrance of the Apostolic Palace by purple-robed prelates, the Swiss Guards, chamberlains and red-liveried ushers. The Tittmans, also attired according to strict papal rules, followed them. American Monsignor Hurley was present.

The distinguished party proceeded up the elaborate stairway to the Clementine Hall where they were again formally received. This time it was the Papal Master of the Household, Monsignor Alberto Arborio Mella di Sant' Elia, extending the felicitations of His Holiness. On the party moved through the luxurious halls joined from time to time by more officials, prelates and members of the uniformed soldiery of the Papal State.

At last they moved into the throne room and approached the throne itself where stood "the Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church." Pius XII was garbed in a white cassock and a red cape bordered with ermine, the mark of kings. His tall, imposing form moved toward the American Ambassador, pontifical dignity marking every step. A deathly silence pervaded the throne room as everyone present realized the significance of what was occurring. Then the pope stretched out his hand in a frankly happy welcome. His countenance beamed with joy and satisfaction. He led the Ambassador and Mrs. Taylor to seats which had been prepared for them. Formal addresses were made. The President's credentials were presented. The pope spoke glowingly of his esteem for Mr. Roosevelt, for the American nation. A large silver medal, emblematic of the occasion, was bestowed.

Despite the known antipathy of the great majority of the American people to such a relationship, despite the fundamental laws of the land which guarantee separation of church and state, despite a former bitter experience which set the pattern for what must inevitably eventuate—diplomatic relations had been re-established between the United States and the Holy See.

Then came the death of President Roosevelt and the "cease-fire" end of World War II. The new President Truman pledged himself to carry on the policies of his predecessor including, of course, the unconstitutional and un-American embassy for the Vatican.

President Truman's Hand Is Forced

It was not so easy, now that (Continued on page two)

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Vatican Envoy

(Continued from page one)

the war was over, to make it appear that Mr. Taylor's presence in Rome was quite as essential as before. Protestants could not so readily and effectively be smeared with charges of treason when they protested the relationship. Washington was literally swamped with demands that Mr. Taylor be brought home.

It remained for the National Association of Evangelicals to become the "straw that broke the camel's back." Its Commission on Christian Liberty had called a meeting of Protestant leaders in the Wardman Hotel, Washington, January 17, 1950 to draft strategies to deal with the Vatican-White House tie-up. Through contacts in the Presidential retinue, the Wardman Park resolutions were presented to Mr. Truman just as he was about to make his final decision on Mr. Taylor's resignation. Stung to the quick by mounting criticism the President read a few lines of the resolution and accepted the resignation.

Roman Hierarchy Goes To Work

But the Roman hierarchy never gives up. It accepted the President's action as a mere incident and went to work on new plans to turn the tide. This time the stakes were set even higher. Rome was not to be satisfied with a mere "personal representative of the President;" she must have a full-fledged Ambassador with all the status and prerogatives appertaining thereto.

The American public has been kept in the dark concerning the subterranean, star-chamber skull-druggery that has been going on between the Democratic administration in Washington and the diplomatic minions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. All the time these negotiations were going on Protestants were given to understand that the President was on their side and that diplomatic relations would not be resumed.

The first open indication that all was not well came on August 10, 1951 when the supposedly-deposed envoy, Mr. Taylor, appeared in the White House reporting on a conference he had held with the pope concerning "the mobilization of the spiritual forces of the world" in the fight against Communism.

Quite evidently the strategy agreed upon at that time eventuated in the Pope's Eternal King Encyclical issued upon the occasion of the fifteenth centenary of the Council of Chalcedon and in President Truman's widely-publicized address before the Washington Pilgrimage

of Churchmen.

Mr. Truman said to the Protestant dupes gathered in the National City Christian Church: "Despite the barriers that divide the different churches, there is a common bond of brotherhood that underlies them all . . . We must continue our effort to find those common ties, and to bring the churches together in greater unity in a crusade for peace. In this way, we shall come closer to the one God who is Father of us all. In this way we shall find greater power to meet the troubles of our time. God grant that we may speak together, as brothers, of His power and His mercy, and bear witness of Him against those who deny Him. May God unite the churches — and the free world — and bring us peace."

Pope Says All Christians Should Join Catholic Church

Said the pope: "All Christians must unite under one banner against the stormy assaults of the infernal enemy. Who is not horrified by the hatred and ferocity with which the enemies of God, in many countries of the world, threaten and destroy or try to uproot all that there is of divine and Christian? . . . Divided and dispersed, Christians cannot continue to lose time against the combined hosts of their enemies . . . All those . . . who because of the iniquity of the times are separated from the bosom and the unity of the church, should render without hesitation the due, reverent homage to this primacy, following the example of the footsteps of their fathers."

Communist Threat Exploited

When we "put two and two together" it meant that the Communist threat is being used to build the Roman Church and elevate the pope as the spokesman for all Christendom in the crisis.

Then Mr. Truman proceeded to "render without hesitation the due and reverent homage" by appointing on Saturday, October 20, Gen. Mark W. Clark as the full-fledged U. S. Ambassador to the Court of the Pope of Rome.

President Uses Subterfuge

Mr. Truman knew that the Senate had announced its recess adjournment for October 20. The normal constitutional procedure in the appointment of ambassadors is to nominate to the Senate and allow sufficient time for investigation, before action to approve or disapprove. The nomination of General Clark on the same day the Senate adjourned therefore, had all the appearance of subterfuge. The President, under normal circumstances, has the right, should the Senate neglect to approve his nomination before adjournment, to make an *ad interim* appointment subject to later Senate confirmation. The press at one time actually announced that President Truman would send General Clark to Rome at once. Some observers believe the chief executive was in ignorance of the 1867 law terminating U. S.—Vatican relations and thought he could bypass the Senate by this clever ruse.

The President, however, was legally blocked from making an *ad interim* appointment. The nomination of General Clark is up for Senate action when it reconvenes early in 1952.

Despite the frustration of his over-all plan, the astute Mr. Truman had won Roman Catholic support for his "new Dealers" at the November election. Cardinal Spellman and

the entire American hierarchy had given him "E for effort."

Seldom in the history of this nation has such a high-handed perversion of constitutional justice been perpetrated upon the American people.

II

A Brief History Of Former Papal-American Relations

An Ambassador in the Vatican from the USA is a threat to American liberty.

Such a Papal-American relationship was once and for all times proved detrimental by twenty years of actual experience. The story of that experience is extremely interesting and little known. It has never appeared in textbooks of history taught in the public schools. Our politicians keep mum about it. Our clergy rarely mention it for fear of being smeared as "bigoted and intolerant." As a result the present generation of American citizens do not have the necessary background to form an intelligent opinion

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about the Truman appointment.

The United States of 1867 knew that there could be no politico - ecclesiastical relations between Washington and Rome and by an overwhelming expression of their opinion demanded their termination. The President and the Congress acquiesced and for more than seventy years did not presume either openly and honestly or by subterfuge to attempt their resumption.

What Is The Story?

The Pope of Rome hated England. That hate dated back to the days of King Henry VIII. There was therefore rejoicing on the banks of the Tiber when the news came of the successful revolt of the thirteen American colonies. The keen diplomats of the Papal States saw their opportunity to extend their influence to this new land and almost immediately opened up the ports of Civita Vecchia on the Mediterranean and Ancona on the Adriatic to the colonies.

The move meant much to the young republic. It was a recognition by a European land that the United States had taken her place among the powers of the world. (The Papal States at this time occupied a sizable territory. The temporal power of the pope was much more of an actuality than it is today.) Our fathers did not respond to the overture, however, by appoint-

ing a Vatican representative, until 1797. The thirteen colonies had been populated by Europeans who knew what papal tyranny was. When the government finally appointed our first consul, he was not an American citizen but John B. Sartori, a Roman, acting for us. Consuls and consul-generals represented us for half a century. Each was carefully instructed to confine his activities to "commercial relations" between the States.

Roman Consulate Established

But in 1847, President James K. Polk, strongly urged by Roman Catholics at home and abroad, sent a message to the Congress stating that it was "highly expedient" that the United States raise the Roman consulate to a legation and establish more formal relations with the Papal States. He still emphasized the commercial value of the contact. The Congress approved and appropriated \$1,000 for the project.

In 1848 Jacob L. Martin was appointed amid grumblings from the people. These grumblings were so serious that the Secretary of State, James Buchanan, was led to write a detailed statement regarding the limitations of the envoy. "Your efforts," decisively wrote Buchanan, "will be devoted exclusively to the cultivation of the most friendly civil relations with the Papal Government and to the extension of the commerce between the two countries. You will carefully avoid even the appearance of interfering in ecclesiastical questions whether these relate to the United States or any other part of the world." Strangely enough Martin died just twenty-four days after he was received by the pope.

Diplomatic Relations Broken By Papal Revolution

In 1849, a revolution broke out in the Papal States headed by the indomitable Mazzini. The tyranny of the popes was traditional. The nobility lived in sumptuous palaces as large as the capitol at Washington, with private hunting reserves of thousands of acres, retinues of liveried servants, lavish trappings and all that their hearts desired. The people were peasants, denied the right to hold property, kept in abysmal ignorance, clothed in rags, housed in shacks, and fed on hard bread and sour wine. Revolt spread like flame until the pope and his retinue were forced to flee from Rome, taking refuge in Gaeta.

Martin was dead. Lewis Cass, Jr., the newly appointed envoy had not arrived in Rome. Nicholas Browne by virtue of his being U. S. Consul represented the USA. He naturally upheld the revolutionists, unwisely speaking in their meetings and congratulating them on "throwing off the yoke of the oppressor, Pius IX." With glowing enthusiasm he wrote the State Department: "The papacy has fallen; morally, it has fallen forever."

While the American people loudly cheered the audacious Mr. Browne, the State Department was more reserved. The revolution proved to be ill-timed. When the pope, aided by the armies of the Emperors of Austria and France, returned to Rome (1850), our diplomatic relations were resumed. Cass made due apologies for Browne's indiscretions.

Diplomatic Relations Restored

The pope, however, was not easily placated. He sulked. Finally Cass proposed that the

United States receive an official nuncio. President Franklin Pierce acquiesced and the Holy See sent Monsignor C. Bedini who arrived in Washington in 1853. The State Department made all arrangements for his formal reception, but the people protested. The clamor rose with daily increasing crescendos. In many cities there were anti-papal demonstrations. Bedini was hanged in effigy. In desperation the President was finally forced to discontinue the project. When the news reached Rome the pope was enraged. The versatile Cass was able, however, to soothe "His Holiness" ruffled spirits. Washington promoted him to a full ranking minister.

Pope Deprived Of Honest Right To Claim Temporal Sovereignty

The spirit of revolt in the Papal States would not die. Garibaldi fanned the spark (1860). He was joined by Victor Emmanuel. The people rose again, came up through Naples and Sicily, and surrounded Rome. After a long and bitter war they wrested every inch of land from the pope, destroying his last honest right to claim temporal sovereignty. It had been on this ground that the doubtful relationship had been maintained between Washington and Rome. This was the beginning of the end. The American people were now certain they wanted no tie up with a "church-state" that was in reality only a church.

A Backward Glance

But we are slightly ahead of our story.

John P. Stockton, the successor to Cass, was in Rome at the time of the second revolution. He seems not to have sensed the growing feeling in the homeland, nor to have understood the underlying principles involved. At one time he called upon the U. S. Navy to come to the aid of the pope. Shortly after this incident Stockton was succeeded by Alexander W. Randall.

Randall was a thorough-going American. He did not like Rome and was restive under the protocol of the Vatican court. When the Civil War broke out in America he asked to be recalled, and was succeeded by Richard M. Blatchford (1862). Rufus King followed in 1863.

Things were happening rapidly on both sides of the Atlantic. Victor Emmanuel was at the gates of Rome. The Confederacy was at the gates of Washington. Diplomatically we were espousing the cause of the pope, but strangely enough the pope had recognized Jefferson Davis as "le President du Sud" (President of the South) and was carrying on an official correspondence with the Confederacy. Rome has always denied any ulterior motives, but the federal government had its serious doubts. Furthermore, Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, who had repudiated the Monroe Doctrine and set up a European-controlled monarchy in Mexico over our protest, was wined and dined in the papal palace and given the blessing of the pontiff. Secretary of State Seward was beginning to be ruffled.

In the midst of this turmoil and Machiavellian wire-pulling King proposed the most daring exploit in the history of American diplomacy. Blatchford had once proposed that the pope might find refuge in America if things got too hot for him in Rome. Debacle now seemed imminent. Monsignor Nardi, the pope's private chaplain, and General Kanzler, papal minister of war, approached King ex-

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Vatican Envoy

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pressing the belief that the USA was "the only country in which the pope could seek and find a suitable and secure asylum." King assured the entire papal entourage that his country would like to have the pope. "Our country," he said, "is the home of civil and religious liberty as well as the refuge to all who have fled from political and other troubles in the Old World. His Holiness, should he see fit to go to the United States would, no doubt, meet with a kind welcome and be left to pursue unquestioned and unmolested, his great work as head of the Catholic Church. (Italics ours.)

King reported to Seward on November 20, 1866, the trend of events in Rome and his promise of asylum. Seward approved and set about to ask the Navy to dispatch warships to a papal port. King went further. Gustavus V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, happened to be in Rome. King approached him and received permission to telegraph Admiral Goldsborough, commander of the U. S. Mediterranean fleet then anchored in Lisbon, that "important matters seemed to call for the immediate presence of one of the ships of Civita Vecchia." Goldsborough sent the *Swatara* and the *Frolic*.

While King was selling American liberty short, Charles Cushman, our consul in Rome, heard that Garibaldi was about to enter the city. Feeling that he was fully justified he joined the Papal Zouaves, a unit of the pope's army, shouldered a musket and tried to stop the liberator. This incident was reported to Seward who by now felt that things had gone too far. To make a long story short — the pope did not come to America.

A Story Of Treachery

The story of this treachery began to seep through the corridors of State Department secrecy to the American people. They were furious. On top of this, the pope, alarmed at the increasing number of Protestant churches in Rome, had ordered all Protestant edifices to move beyond the city walls. One of these was American. Despite the fact that the pastor placed the Coat of Arms of the United States above the door the papal gendarmes demanded in the name of His Holiness that worship cease. President Andrew Johnson and the Congress retaliated by ordering the ministry to the Holy See closed (1867). This was the last straw.

Liberty-Loving Americans Protest

The President and the Congress were deluged with protests from millions of liberty-loving Americans. Even Roman Catholics joined with Protestants demanding that all relations with the Vatican cease at once. The debate in the halls of Congress was long and furious. The legislators refused the usual appropriation of funds for the envoy. King continued in Rome several months without pay and finally left January 1, 1868. He was our last representative to the Vatican for a period of seventy-two years.

In 1867-68 the American people knew that there must never again be diplomatic relations between Washington and the Vatican. They knew the fundamental nature of Roman Catholicism, not only as it is set forth in the immutable canon law of the Church but by bitter

experience. They knew that the papacy was tyranny which threatened true democracy. They knew that it was opposed to freedom of worship; to the separation of church and state; to universal education under the auspices of the state; and to the whole spirit of the Bill of Rights. They knew that the fealty demanded of every American Roman Catholic to the pope first and the "Stars and Stripes" afterward was inimical to national unity. They knew that Rome was seeking by every means at her disposal to make America Catholic and thus eliminate the world's chief stronghold of Protestantism. "ROME NEVER CHANGES."

III

Fundamental Principles Involved

Intelligent Americans are opposed to diplomatic relations between the United States and the Vatican because of the nature of the papal state and the fundamental law upon which it is built. We believe that such relations are inimical to the welfare, and freedom of the American people, if not to the integrity of the American state.

In order that we may clearly understand the issue, we wish to recall some of the basic principles involved.

1

The Pope of Rome considers himself the viceroy of Jesus Christ upon earth and, therefore, the "supreme pontiff of the universal church."

Pope Leo XIII, in his encyclical letter on *The Reunion of Christendom*, said, "We . . . hold upon this earth the place of God Almighty." Leo was but reiterating the age-old position of the Roman Catholic institution when he made this statement.

Cardinal Farley, in an American edition of the *Dogmatic Canons and Decrees of the Church*, sanctioned by his imprimatur this further word: "We teach and declare that, by the appointment of our Lord, the Roman Church possesses a superiority of ordinary power over all other churches and that this power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff which is truly episcopal is immediate; to which all, of whatever rite and dignity, both pastors and faithful, both individually and collectively, are bound by the duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, to submit not only in matters which belong to faith and morals, but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world."

It should be noted that the pope is here considered to be supreme over all the churches of whatever rite and therefore, by implication, over all spiritual matters as they pertain to states or sovereign rulers of states. No less a person than Premier William E. Gladstone, of Great Britain, called attention to this latter provision of canon law.

2

The Pope of Rome is a civil and political sovereign under the law of nations and considers himself, by divine right, to be the source of authority in all temporal governments.

The *Catholic Directory*, published with the official sanction and approval of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, of which the pope is the sovereign head, gives as one of his official titles, "Sovereign of the Temporal Dominions of the Holy Roman Church."

At one time these temporal dominions were in reality quite

extensive. The Papal States covered thousands of square miles in southern Europe. Kings and princes of other nations recognized their authority as emanating from the Papal King of Kings and journeyed to Rome to be crowned and blessed. With the disintegration of The Holy Roman Empire, however, this prestige began to decline. As the result of the Italian Revolution the last vestiges of real temporal sovereignty were taken from the pope. It remained for Fascist Dictator Benito Mussolini, by the so-called Lateran Treaty, to restore legal title to the Vatican grounds, as an independent state.

This temporal power, whether recognized by the nations or not, is conceived by the Church to be inherent in the papal office and superior to all other such powers. Pope Boniface VIII in his famous *Bull Unan Sanctam* declared: "In her (the Church) and within her power there are two swords, we are taught in the Gospels, namely, the spiritual sword and the temporal sword . . .; the latter is to be used for the Church, the former by the Church; the former by the hand of the priest, the latter by the hand of the princes and kings, but at the nod and sufferance of the priest. The one sword must of necessity be subject to the other, and the temporal authority to the spiritual . . . For truth being the witness, the spiritual power has the functions of establishing the temporal power and sitting

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in judgment on it if it should prove not good . . . but if the supreme power (the Papacy) deviate, it cannot be judged by man but by God alone. And so the Apostle testified, 'He which is spiritual judges all things but he himself is judged by no man.'

3

The temporal power (the State) must not be divorced from the spiritual power (the Church), according to the law of the Roman Church.

Boniface's assertion (quoted above) that temporal and spiritual power are inherent in the Roman Catholic Church and are inseparable has been reiterated by many popes since his day. The *Great Encyclical Letters* of Leo XIII are particularly explicit on this principle.

Leo speaks of the separation of church and state as "a fatal theory" and holds that "the absurdity of such a position is manifest." He continues: "Many wish the State to be separated from the Church wholly and entirely, so that in regard to

every right of human society, in institutions, customs and laws, the officers of States, and the education of youth, they would pay no more regard to the Church than if she did not exist; and, at most, would allow the citizens individually to attend to their religion in private if so minded. Against such as these, all arguments by which we disprove the principle of separation of Church and State are conclusive; with this superadded, that it is absurd the citizen should respect the Church, while the State may hold her in contempt."

4

In ordinary circumstances the Roman Catholic Church recognizes the temporal rights of nations as parallel to the spiritual rights of the church but in case of conflict the church is supreme.

Adherents of the papacy frequently quote the encyclicals to prove the essential harmony between church and state. These documents were written with such diplomacy and suavity that if enough of the text is omitted it is easy to make a case. For instance the *Encyclical Letter Immortale Dei* of Pope Leo XIII states: "The Almighty, therefore, has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over divine, and the other over human things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each, so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right. But inasmuch as each of these two powers has authority over the same subjects, and as it might come to pass that one and the same thing—related differently, but still remaining one and the same thing—might belong to the jurisdiction and determination of both, therefore God, who foresees all things and who is the author of the two powers, has marked out the course of each in right correlation to the others." But this same pope in his *Encyclical Letter The Christian Constitution of States* defines this "right correlation" in startling terms: "Over the mighty multitude of man-kind, God has set rulers with power to govern, and He has willed that one of them (the Pope) should be head of all." And again, "The only begotten Son of God entrusted all truths which He had taught (to the Roman Catholic Church) in order that it might keep and guard them and with lawful authority explain them, and at the same time He commanded all nations to hear the voice of the (Roman Catholic) Church as if it were His own, threatening those who would not hear it with everlasting perdition."

That great compendium of Roman Catholic teaching, the *Catholic Encyclopedia* declares: "In case of direct contradiction making it impossible for both jurisdictions to be exercised, the jurisdiction of the Church prevails and that of the state is excluded."

5

The Vatican is conceived by many to be the spiritual and temporal capital of the world.

Every true Roman Catholic looks upon Rome and the Vatican with much the same veneration as the Jew upon Jerusalem. But while with the Jew this respect is largely sentimental, with the papist it is thoroughly realistic. Here is the capital of the world from which

rules his supreme sovereign.

The pretense of statehood is maintained in the space of a few acres bounded by the Leonine walls, erected long ago by Leo IV. It has a population no larger than an Indiana town. Besides the magnificent basilica of St. Peter and the papal palaces it has a post office, a radio station and a seldom-used railway terminal. There is a papal army and all accoutrements of a state.

There is a magnificent throne room in the Vatican where the "supreme pontiff" has his royal seat. On state occasions he wears the tiara or triple crown symbolizing his temporal claims and bearing the keys of Peter symbolizing his spiritual claims. The crown is surmounted by a golden globe and cross. There is an elaborate protocol to which all who approach "His Holiness" must strictly conform.

A complete organization is maintained of which the Secretary of State is the most exalted officer. Ambassadors are sent and received. Treaties are made. A papal nobility is maintained. There is a body of canon law dealing with the most minute matters of both temporal and spiritual concern.

Most intriguing of all is the elaborate network of diplomacy and espionage which extends from the Vatican to every part of the known world. It is these political and spiritual informers which make the papal state of such vast importance in world affairs. The chief figure in this organization is the nun who in most countries enjoys the political status of ambassador, is permitted the use of a secret code, and accorded by the privileges dictated by diplomatic custom. Through their spiritual status they are granted immunities and privileges far beyond other diplomats.

6

The Roman Catholic state is an *Imperium in Imperio* — a state within a state.

The papal system is a vast ecclesiastical empire deeply rooted in the domestic and international politics of the world. The pope rules over this empire as supreme and absolute monarch. He claims to derive his sovereign power from God and exercises arbitrary authority over all his subjects in every nation under the sun.

Every cardinal is an active member of the Curia Romana, or papal court, which assists the pope in governing the far-flung papal empire. The cardinal takes oath that he will respect the pope above all earthly rulers.

Every bishop is appointed by the pope and is a procurator of the papal empire. He too must conform to the general laws of the empire and the direction of the pope and is forbidden to take any oath of fealty to any other government.

It is furthermore evident that title to all real and personal property held by the Roman Catholic Church in every nation is vested in the cardinals and bishops and controlled directly by the pope. In this respect it may be said that the lands of the papal empire are almost as extensive as those of the British empire.

Finally, comes the question of the fealty of the Roman Catholic citizen. Is it primarily to the temporal state or to the papal empire? Mr. Gladstone in his *Vatican Decrees and Their Bearing on Civil Allegiance* (Continued on page four)

Vatican Envoy

8

(Continued from page three)
ance wrote: "It is the peculiarity of the Roman theology that by thrusting itself into the temporal domain, it naturally, and even necessarily, comes to be a frequent theme of political discussion. To quiet-minded Roman Catholics it must be a subject of infinite annoyance that their religion is, on this ground more than any other, the subject of criticism; more than any other occasion of conflicts with the State and of civil quietude. I feel sincerely how much hardship their case entails. But this hardship is brought upon them by the conduct of the authorities of their own Church . . . All other Christian bodies are content with freedom in their own religious domain. Orientals, Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Non-conformists, one and all, contentedly and thankfully accept the benefits of the civil order; never pretend that the State is not its own master; make no religious claims to temporal possessions or advantages; and consequently, never are in perilous collision with the State. Nay, more, even so I believe it is with the mass of Roman Catholics individually. But not so with the leaders of their Church, or with those who take pride in following the leaders."

As long as the canon law of Romanism insists upon fealty to Imperium within and above imperio we may expect this unfortunate argument to continue and freedom-loving people of every nation to register their protest against it.

7

The Roman Catholic system is fundamentally fascist and opposed to democracy.

Many Roman Catholics in America recognize this fact. So loyal are they to their country and so imbued with the principles of freedom that they have repeatedly criticized their own system. This protest has extended on occasion to the clergy itself. Father Thomas Hecker was the first to propose that the church should make itself American. Several cardinals have interpreted Vatican pronouncements in terms of our democratic way of life. So have these influences been felt within the church that there has grown up a school of thought called "Americanism" which has much the same meaning to the Romish theologians as "modernism" in Protestantism.

But the overwhelming weight of Catholic opinion favors the traditional view that the order of states is hierarchial, not democratic, ruled at the top by the dual sovereignty of Pope and Emperor, by the union of Church-State authority.

The Encyclical *Lettre Immortale Dei* of Pope Leo XIII expressed condemnation of government by the people. Said Leo: "The sovereignty of the people . . . and this without any deference of God, is held to reside in the multitude; which is doubtless a doctrine exceedingly well calculated to flatter and inflame many passions, but which lacks all reasonable proof, and all power of insuring public safety and preserving order." His immediate predecessor, Pius IX, in his *Syllabus of Errors*, condemned as erroneous the proposition that "the commonwealth is the origin and source of all rights, and possesses rights which are not circumscribed by any limits."

THE BAPTIST EXAMINER

PAGE FOUR

NOVEMBER 24, 1951

The Roman Catholic system is actively opposed to many fundamental rights guaranteed to American citizens by the Constitution of the United States.

American liberties are under constant threat from active Roman Catholic elements in our national life. Openly Roman Catholicism seems to bulwark those liberties. Its citizens are often prominent in public affairs. Its prelates frequently make pronouncements which encourage us. But the system is opposed to many of our fundamental rights. Such groups as the Jesuits keep up subtle, camouflaged or *sub rosa* attacks intended to destroy them.

As recently as May, 17, 1941, America, the "most influential Catholic magazine in the United States," said: "American democracy is disintegrating, crumbling from within. Fatigue, disillusionment, disgust, and unbearable tension in society, the fear of war and the fear of bankruptcy, the absence of security, the technological revolution which has gone far beyond the instruments of social control, deep rooted anarchistic

perfidy.

2. Because the United States maintained such an envoy from 1847-1867 and found the relationship to be such a liability that it was terminated by popular demand.

3. Because all the temporal benefits supposed to be derived in the present instance are now being offered by the UN.

4. Because this relationship constitutes the recognition of a church as a state, thus compromising the American principle of separation of church and state and conferring special honors and privileges upon one among many religious bodies in America.

5. Because it sanctions the existence of a state within a state and recognizes the temporal power of the pope in America.

6. Because it is an insult to Protestantism.

7. Because it is a threat to the perpetuity of American constitutional principles and the liberties of the American people.

8. Because it is already beginning to fan the flames of intolerance and bigotry and may result in the revival of such movements as the Ku Klux

pressive showing by the Christian Democratic Union in the American-occupied zone of Germany prepared the way for the Vatican announcement of its proposal to form a Christian Social International, linking all Roman Catholic parties.

Besides Germany and Belgium, Roman Catholic political parties are now occupying a large share of the lime-light in Italy, where the Christian Democratic Party has a majority in Parliament; in France, where the Republican Popular Movement and the DeGaullists hold a majority of the seats; and in Holland, where the Catholic People's Party is a vital part of the Government coalition.

In Spain and Portugal the whole fascist political structure is in Roman Catholic control.

In the Americas, papal-controlled Quebec dominates Canadian politics and policy, and openly boasts of the "conquest of the cradle" by which Roman Catholics, helped by subsidies for large families, will by 1970 be in a majority throughout the Dominion. Practically every Latin American "republic" is dominated by Rome.

the civic definition both of freedom and authority. For the purpose of state, religion is either a universally admitted system or a matter of individual choice. But by the definition which is the very soul of Catholicism, religion must be for the Catholic first, a supreme authority superior to any claims of the state; secondly, a corporate thing and not an individual thing; thirdly, a thing dependent upon authority, and not upon a personal mood; fourthly, a guaranty of individual freedom in all that is not of faith . . . The chief political problem presented by religion has, then, still to be solved in the New World . . . Presented the problem certainly will be, and in one or other of the many fashions, stable or unstable."

With America now the leading nation of the world and the site for the UN rival "capital of the world," the Vatican has manifestly decided that *now is the time* for the final inevitable conflict to begin. Already she looks to American Romanists for the bulk of her financial support and the best of her future leadership. It is widely and publicly rumored that Cardinal Spellman is being groomed for the papacy and that such a pope might well rule from American soil. Every day brings new evidence that this battle for the capture of America is on in real earnest.

The battle for freedom from this identical papal power was fought by our forefathers when they left Europe to found a new nation in America. For more than 150 years we have enjoyed that freedom. Today we see a gigantic growth of that tyranny upon our free soil. As free men we cannot permit it to develop to the point where it might gain the political, psychological or numerical ascendancy and again impose its intolerable will upon us.

Our Constitutional Rights Must Be Upheld

Now that Rome has made the decision that America must be brought into the papal orbit red-blooded Americans and corruptible Protestants are forced to make a corresponding decision. It is to use our power which is still pre-eminent in this country to uphold our constitutional rights, to demand the cleansing of our political house from every vestige of papal aggression, and to stand for our blood-bought principles with renewed devotion. The hierarchy cannot expect us to stand in fear of its accusations of "intolerance and bigotry" and meekly accede to its offensive. Since Rome has organized a new mighty upsurge for its own ends, there must of necessity be organized under strong leadership a new mighty upsurge of the old Protestant American spirit to balance it and withstand it.

We know what the Roman hierarchy expects to do in the next fifteen of twenty years and what it is doing now. We shall not deter it or deflect it except by an equally intelligent and well-planned program — theirs for supreme authority, ours for freedom. In the realm of power we are fully their equal. In numbers, wealth, education, ingenuity and (what is more vital) in the spiritual imponderables we are greatly superior.

The test of our ability to keep America free is to be found just now in our demand that there must be no USA envoy to the Vatican and that all diplomatic relations between the two states (!) cease. Let us address ourselves to this task without further indecision or delay. **THE TIME IS NOW!**

Here Is How All Christians Can And Should Bombard Washington

SAMPLE RESOLUTION FOR ORGANIZATIONS

WHEREAS, the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution guarantees the protection of our religious freedoms by the provision that church and state shall be forever separate, and

WHEREAS, the Roman Catholic hierarchy is historically opposed to the separation of church and state, and

WHEREAS, the action (today) of President Truman in nominating to the U. S. Senate General Mark W. Clark as full-fledged U. S. Ambassador to the Vatican, repudiates the Bill of Rights and the U. S. Constitution and threatens our Protestant religious freedoms,

Therefore, be it **RESOLVED**, That we, (_____)

do hereby censure President Truman's action and call upon every Senator to refuse approval to the appointment of General Clark, and furthermore to pass legislation that will prevent President Truman or any other President from ever appointing an envoy to the court of the Pope of Rome.

(Send copies to the President, Senators and newspapers).

hatred of a social order, which has too long denied the principle of social justice, the revolt of the masses and the leveling of all values, the absence of any common ethical basis—these are but a few of the multiple factors in the decline which is now upon us . . . Leadership in this crisis will not come from the laity. It will not come from the bottom of the Catholic pyramid. It will come only from the top, from the Hierarchy. The Christian Revolution will begin when we decide to cut loose from the existing order, rather than be buried with it."

This sort of thing must be met by vigorous protest and appropriate action if the American way of life is to be preserved.

IV

The Imperative Necessity for Immediate Action

Our study makes it amply evident that—

There must be no Ambassador of the United States in the Vatican.

Every true American will demand this—

1. Because this relationship perpetuates an act of political

Klan.

9. Because it recognizes a power which has notoriously aided and approved fascist regimes in many nations.

10. Because its maintenance will inevitably result in the introduction of the religious issue into American politics.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR UNITED ACTION.

The situation is aggravated by the happenings in America and Rome during the past few years, revealing the evident intention of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to make America and the others nations of the world political and religious satellites of the pope.

After centuries of Italian dominance of the Sacred College Pope Pius XII startled the world by appointing thirty-two cardinals from many different nations — twelve from the Americas. The newspapers were filled with stories of the pomp and circumstances surrounding their elevation to the papal nobility.

Roman Catholic political parties have been organized throughout Europe. The triumph of the Christian Social Party in Belgium and the im-

SAMPLE LETTER FOR INDIVIDUALS

Senator John Doe
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Doe:

When President Truman's nomination of Gen. Mark Clark as Ambassador to the Vatican comes to the attention of the Senate for action early in 1952 I (we) trust that you will register a strong protest against approval and, in case the issue comes to a vote on the floor of the Senate, that you will vote against Gen. Clark's appointment. Let us keep the action of the U. S. Senate in 1867, the law of the land on U. S.-Vatican relations.

(Send a copy to the President and Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Also send a copy to every congressman and senator from your state.)



The Campaign to Make America Catholic

There is every evidence that there is a well-balanced effort on the part of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to make America Catholic. There is nothing particularly new about this. Archbishop Ireland in November, 1889, preaching in Baltimore, uttered a phrase which brought indignation to every freeborn American, "Our work is to make America Catholic." Theodore Maynard, a leading Catholic writer, during the famed Al Smith campaign for the Presidency, said: "The plain fact is that America will soon become the decisive battleground of the Faith. We must therefore be prepared for a struggle for which weapons keener than those that are just now at our disposal will be called for." The internationally known Catholic writer, Hilaire Belloc, goes more deeply into the reasons for the effort. He says, "The necessary conflict between the civil state and the Catholic Church where the two are not identified . . . must still take place in the United States . . . The Catholic Church is in its root principles at issue with

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