Aspects of the Catholic Profile in the Christian Century: A Post-War Picture, 1946-1958

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ASPECTS OF THE CATHOLIC PROFILE IN THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

A POST-WAR PICTURE, 1946 - 1958

by

Roman Lewicki, S.J.

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

It was Karl Mannheim who said, "In order to work in the social sciences one must participate in the social process.... Participation in the living context of social life is a presupposition of the understanding of the inner nature of this living context."¹ He was expressing the same idea that Max Weber had expressed before him that for the social scientist involvement in his subject was a decided advantage. It was Mannheim's idea, and Weber's also, that involvement in the social process does not destroy the objectivity of scientific research, but rather renders it more fruitful. Mannheim and Weber saw that it may well be because of his involvement in a certain social situation that a man may formulate a certain problem or raise a certain question.

It was very much because of such an involvement that the present study was born. While he was engaged in his philosophical studies, it happened that a copy of The Christian Century

¹Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, trans. by Louis Wirth Edward Shils (New York, n.d.), p. 46. The book that the writer has used is a pocket edition put out by Harcourt, Brace and Company. Future references will be to this edition.
came to this writer's hands. He was not at that time reading the periodical concerning a topic regarding the subject of this study. However, a number of questions began to come to mind. One of these questions had to do with the relation between *The Christian Century* and the vast Protestant-Catholic dialogue that is going on in our times. The writer began to reflect that being such an influential magazine *The Christian Century* could have a great impact on that dialogue. It seemed obvious that what *The Christian Century* had to say about the Catholic Church was important. It could well be that for many Protestants the image of the Catholic Church that they perceive would be the one that they drew from the pages of *The Christian Century*. The next question was, "What does *The Christian Century* say about the Catholic Church?" Eventually it was this question that became the subject of this study.

Thus it was that this study became a content-analysis of the editorials, articles, and letters in *The Christian Century* about matters Catholic. As the study was originally projected, the investigation would have included the topics of "The Hierarchy and the Priesthood," "State and Church," "The Schools," "Censorship and Anti-Protestantism," in addition to "The Papacy and the Vatican." When the actual research began, however, so much material was gathered on the Papacy and the Vatican that it was decided to limit the study to this topic. The present study, then, aims at being a content-analysis of the matter
dealing with the Papacy and the Vatican that appeared in the editorials, articles, and letters of the Protestant weekly, The Christian Century, during the years 1946-1958. 2

The terms employed in the study will be used according to the definitions that follow. "Content analysis" refers to "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." 3 "Papacy" refers to "the office and dignity of the pope as well as his person as head of the ecclesiastical system of the Roman Catholic Church." The "Vatican" will be taken to refer to "the administrative center of the Catholic Church" or to "that complex of departments and ministries which assist the pope in the government of the Roman Catholic Church." 4 "Editorials" are taken to be those items which appear under the heading of

2 It will be seen at once that the present study bears some similarity to that of John J. Kane, Catholic-Protestant Conflicts in America (Chicago, 1955), especially note pp. 5-21, and Gordon C. Zahn, "The Content of Protestant Tensions: Personal Experiences and 'Known Facts';" American Catholic Sociological Review XVI (March, 1955), 12-22, and also "The Content of Protestant Tensions: Fears of Catholic Aims and Methods," American Catholic Sociological Review XVIII (October, 1957), 205-212. The present study differs in its concentration on elaborating a specific tension area from one major Protestant source.

3 Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communications Research (Glencoe, 1952), p. 18.

4 The definition of the "Papacy" and "Vatican" was put together from articles on these two subjects in the Catholic Encyclopedia. Cf. G. H. Joyce, "Papacy," Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1913) XI, 451; and Benedetto Ojetti, "Roman Curia," Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1913) XIII, 147.
"Editorials" in The Christian Century. "Letters" refer to the communications that are listed on the "Correspondence" page in the same periodical. "Articles" refer to those extended written works which appear under the name of an author. The Christian Century is the weekly undenominational Protestant magazine which is published by the corporation of the same name and has its offices in Chicago at 407 South Dearborn Street.

The material for this study was gathered from a regular interval sample of the volumes of The Christian Century from 1946-1958. After the sample had been taken, the writer drew up a long list of topics dealing with matters Catholic. With this


6 Care was taken to make this list as exhaustive as possible. It was the concern of the writer that no topic which might contain some item on a matter Catholic be omitted. The following list contains almost all of the items checked: Authority, Authoritarianism, Annulment, Aid, Archbishop, Bible, Bishop, Birth Control, Catholic Church, Catholicism, Censorship, Church, Church and State, Contraception, Ceremonies, Christ, Cardinal, Canon Law, Dogma, Dogmatism, Doctrine, Divorce, Education, Embassy, Family, Freedom, Family Planning, God, Gospel, Hierarchy, Heaven, Hell, Italy, Infallibility, Jesus Christ, Lawcanon, Marriage, Morality, Missions, Negro, New Testament, Pope, Papacy, Pontiff, Pius XII, Priest, Priesthood, Protestantism, Public Schools, Planned Parenthood, Power-Catholic, Protestant-Catholic relations, Race relations, Rome, Roman, Roman Catholic, State, Schools, Spain, South America, Sacraments, Taylor, Tensions-Catholic-Protestant, Truman, Vatican, State-Vatican, Vatican Embassy, Vote-Catholic, Virgin Mary. This list will make it clear that the manner of procedure was to go through the indices alphabetically and note down whatever might be connected with Catholicism.
list he began to check the indices of *The Christian Century* for references to the various topics. When a reference was found, it was noted down. These references were then checked against the text in order to find the specific references to things Catholic. After the first volume had been completed, the writer checked the items that he had found with the index topic "Catholicism" in *The Christian Century*. He found that the topic "Catholicism" in the index was all-inclusive. After this discovery, the writer gathered the rest of the material under study by the following method: using a separate file card for each volume, he noted down all the page references under "Catholicism" in the half-yearly indices. With these page references, he turned to the text of the volume to record the editorial or article dealing with or mentioning something Catholic. This

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7 When a reference to something specifically Catholic was found, it was recorded on a file card. For each editorial, article, or letter a separate file card was used. These cards were filled out in such a way as to supply information on the category of the content, the title of the editorial (if an article, the name of the author as well), the date of the issue, and the page number. To record the letters, it was necessary to read the correspondence section of each weekly issue in the volume. If a letter was found that pertained to the subject under study, it was treated in the following way: a separate file card was used on which the heading under which the letter appeared was recorded, the name of the correspondent, the page and date of the issue, and the category.

8 Thus on one file card all the page references under "Catholicism" from January to June of 1946 were written on one side. On the reverse side all the page references from July to December of 1946 were written. The same procedure was used for all the other volumes contained within the sample for this study.
initial cataloguing was done for all the five volumes before the more minute work of the actual analysis began. The initial cataloguing revealed that there were 547 references to Catholicism or some topic related to Catholicism.

Once these items had been catalogued and categorized, the deeper research began. The writer then took the reference card and read the content of the editorials, articles, and letters--volume by volume. Any item or statement or symbol that The Christian Century used when speaking about matter Catholic was noted down on the proper reference card exactly as it appeared. These references were then organized in a chronological fashion and written up. The findings thus obtained are reported in the chapter on the Papacy and the Vatican.

9 Most of the time the title gave the category. If not, the item was scanned for the "predominant subject matter" and this was noted down as a temporary category. The writer used Berelson's scheme of employing the "what is said" categories. "Subject matter: This is perhaps the most general category in content analysis studies and it answers the most elementary question: What is the communication about? This is the basic question in analyses primarily concerned with determining the relative emphases given to different topics in a body of communication content. Topics are subject-matter categories in the same sense that a subject of an active sentence (sic, verb) is its subject-matter. Thus a paragraph or a measure of space or an article or a larger unit of content can have a predominant subject-matter or several subject-matters....The specific subject-matter categories used in different studies varies with the nature of the material under analysis and the purposes of the investigation." Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe, 1952), p. 149.
However, since the collection and interpretation of these findings is based on a certain theoretical frame of reference, it seems good to outline the theoretical orientations of this study. The purpose of the following chapter is to present this theoretical outline.
CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

It is true that there exists a body of theory dealing specifically with content analysis. However, if the present study is to be systematically relevant, it would seem that it ought to be located in a broader theoretical framework. A study of the content encoded by a particular communicator occupying a certain status within the structure of the communications system may be significant beyond what might be called its "intra-systematic" implications. It may be that certain discoveries on this "intra-systematic" level point to or lead one to hypothesize certain relations between the communications system and the broader social system. Not only this aforementioned possibility, but the very structure of the mass communications system itself seems to call for a broader theoretical orientation than that which might seem adequate on the "intra-systematic" level. The student can hardly help but notice the extraordinary pervasiveness of mass communications.\(^\text{10}\) It is because it is so very pervasive that the communications system would seem to call for a

theoretical framework that would be adequate not only at the particular level, but that would extend to the general level of the social system also. Such a theoretical framework would embody a sociological approach to mass communications as opposed to the more atomic viewpoint of the traditional theory approach. In adopting such a broad theoretical orientation, one does not forego the necessity of intense work on the particular level. Such an approach seems to this writer to strike in what the theorists call the "middle range." For while striving to discover something significant at one systematic level, the researcher does not lose sight of the possibility of his findings being systematically relevant at another level.

It is considerations such as these that have prompted this writer to adopt the sociological view of mass communications as the larger theoretical framework within which he would locate his specific research problem. Before explaining the particular body of theory which the student applied to this present research, it seems good to sketch something of an outline of the broader theory to which the student has committed himself.

What is the sociological view of mass communications? Put briefly, the sociological view of mass communications is a theoretical approach to the study of communications which seeks to relate the functioning of the communications system to the social system. The sociological view of mass communications strives to "fit together the many messages and the manifold
individual reactions to them within an integrated social structure and process."\textsuperscript{11} As the sociological view of mass communications sees it, "The traditional approach...in its more extreme versions, has focused exclusively on the simple act of communication, from source to audience....Yet the traditional view does not take fully into account ongoing processes of social interaction of which the single communicative act is merely one component. Nor does it take into full account those psychological processes which, although they may be going on within the individual recipient quite apart from any particular communication, may nevertheless markedly affect his reaction to it."\textsuperscript{12}

When one examines the elements of the sociological view of mass communications, one sees that the new approach is not so much a drastic departure from the traditional view but rather an extension of it. In the traditional view one found the implicit notion of a sort of "atomic" communicator bent on getting his message to a recipient—almost as "atomic"—who would then decide what response to make to the message. As the research in the field grew, the fact came to light that the communicator, the recipient, the message, and the act of communicating the


\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 543. The traditional approach may be expressed in Lasswell's "Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect." Cf. \textit{ibid.}, p. 539.
message were not so "atomic" after all. Lasswell's formula had been productive of a great deal of fruitful research. The very simplicity of the scheme it suggested made it a handy research tool. But the formula itself called forth its extension. When the research on the effects of communication brought to light the concept of the "boomerang" effect,¹³ mass communications researchers began to see that there was not a simple, clear-cut, and well-defined relationship between the intent of the communicator and the reception of the message by the recipient. The traditional view of the recipient had to be modified so as to allow for the predispositions and the psychological processes of the recipient.¹⁴ More attention was paid to the social context of the recipient.

It was only natural that reference group theory should be employed in illuminating the relationship between the recipient's group memberships and roles and his perception of communications sent to him. The recipient in the sociological view has lost much of the "atomic" quality that he had in the traditional view.


¹⁴ On this point the above cited essay will prove an interesting one. In addition one may confer Wilbur Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communications (New York, 1957), pp. 53-54: "Mass communication never acts by itself on an individual. Whatever effect mass communications has, it will have jointly with other determining forces...personality...and his group..."
The recipient is still the actor or group that receives the message from the communicator or encoder. But it is now seen that the recipient has primary and other groups with which he interacts. These groups shape his values, sanction his behavior, and influence his role as a recipient. These groups in turn are located in a broader social structure and the alignment of these groups seems to have an effect on the way the recipient will receive the message.  

Just as the conception of the recipient has been extended, so also the concept of the communicator has undergone extension. It is now seen that the communicator too has his reference groups which are also part of a broader social structure. 

The influence of group alignment on the perception of messages is well brought out by Edward A. Shils and Morris Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II," Reader in Public Opinion and Communication, ed. by Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz (Glencoe, 1953), enlarged edition, p. 422: "It seems necessary, therefore, to reconsider the potentialities of propaganda in the context of all the other variables which influence behavior....It must be recognized that on the moral plane most men are members of the larger society by virtue of identifications which are mediated through the human beings with whom they are in personal relationships. Many are bound into the larger society only by primary group identifications. Only a small proportion possessing special training or rather particular kinds of personalities are capable of giving a preponderant share of their attention and concern to the symbols of the larger world. The conditions under which these different groups will respond to propaganda will differ, as will also the type of propaganda to which they will respond."

is now seen too that the encoding of the message is not necessarily originated solely by the communicator, but that the expectations of recipients, as well as "feedback" from them has an influence on the communicator and his shaping of the message.

In the sociological view of mass communications, even content analysis takes on a new aspect. Content is now used "to make inferences about the nature of the ongoing interaction."17 What the sociological view does then is to view the communicator and the recipient, as well as the communicative act and content, as situated in and influenced by reference groups and the broader social structure. Both communicator and recipient are surrounded by their own larger social structures and these in turn together with the communicative interaction patterns are situated in the over-all social system. The above sketched outline, then, traces the broad theoretical frameword which serves as the large system referent for the present study. So comprehensive a scheme has been adopted in order to relate the present

the relation between the communicator and the social structure. However, these findings have not been codified and applied to the field of communications study in any great degree. While there is a good deal of truth to this statement, one would err if he took it to mean that the communicator as such has not been the subject of much study. Content analysis, as a matter of fact, is really a study of the communicator. One might speculate as to whether content analysis studies might not yield more interesting results if the content were related to the social group memberships of the communicator.

17Ibid., p. 571.
study on a particular aspect of the communications system to the larger social system—if, and in so far as, this is possible.

In conducting the actual research for this study, however, a more restricted body of theory was employed. This is the theory connected with the research technique known as content analysis. As mentioned in another part of this study, "Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." As a technique it is related to a certain body of theory. The body of theory in turn is based on certain assumptions and lays down certain rules and requirements for the use of the technique.

What are the assumptions of content analysis? Berelson mentions three main ones:

1) ... that inferences about the relationship between intent and content or between content and effect can validly be made, or the actual relationships established... This assumption that knowledge of the content can legitimately support inferences about non-content events is basic to a central contribution of content analysis....

2) ... that study of the manifest content is meaningful. This assumption requires that the content be accepted as a "common meeting-ground" for the communicator, the audience, and the analyst....

3) ... that the quantitative description of communication is meaningful. This assumption implies that the frequency of occurrence of various characteristics of the contents itself is an important factor in the communication process, under specific conditions...

19 Berelson, Content Analysis, pp. 18-19, and 20.
The significance of these assumptions is that they give content analysis a scientific standing and enable it to make a genuine contribution to mass communications research and theory.

Besides the assumptions, content analysis must meet certain requirements to justify its status as a research technique. One of these is "the requirement of objectivity [sic]" which "stipulates that the categories of analysis should be so precisely defined that different analysts can apply them to the same body of content and secure the same results." 20 Another requirement that content analysis must fulfil is the requirement of system.

The requirement of system [sic] contains two different meanings. In the first place, it states that all [sic] of the relevant content is to be analyzed in terms of all [sic] the relevant categories for the problem at hand. This requirement is meant to eliminate partial or biased analyses in which only those elements in the content are selected which fit the analyst's thesis.... The second meaning of "system" [sic] is that analyses must be designed to secure data relevant to a scientific problem or hypothesis. The results of content analysis must have a measure of general application. 21

In addition to the preceding requirements, content analysis must also give itself to quantitative description.

The requirement of quantification [sic], the single characteristic on which all the definitions of content analysis agree, is perhaps the most distinctive feature of content analysis... Of primary importance in content analysis is the extent [sic] to which the analytic categories appear in the content, that is, the relative emphases and omissions. Now this requirement of

20 Ibid., p. 16.
21 Ibid., p. 17.
quantification does not demand the assignment of numerical values to the analytic categories. Sometimes it takes the form of quantitative words like "more" or "always" or "increases" or "often" [all quotation marks sic].

It seems to the writer of this study that these requirements serve the function of providing empirical justification for the assumptions. In other words, if the requirements of objectivity, of system, and of quantification are strictly adhered to, content analysis is clothed with the exactness that is expected of a scientific research technique. But knowing the assumptions that a certain research technique presupposes, and accepting the requirements that it demands in its use are only preliminaries to an actual use of the technique in a specific research problem. Once the assumptions and the requirements of a research technique have been settled, the next natural question is to ask how one actually uses the technique. With regard to the problem under study here, the question would be "Just what does one do when he performs a content analysis?"

The definition of content analysis that has been given in the earlier sections of this study gives us a clue to the answer of this question. Indeed, the definition answers the question, but the answer needs to be specified in more detail. To begin the discussion one may answer the question by replying

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22 Ibid.

that one simply "describes the manifest content of the communication under study."\textsuperscript{24} What the content analyst tries to uncover is what is said in "that body of meanings through symbols... which makes up the communication itself."\textsuperscript{25} By the use of analytic categories, the content researcher seeks to describe as scientifically as possible the manifest meaning of the particular message or messages in the communication content under study.

One can see at once, then, the importance of the definition of the categories that will be used in any particular study. How does one perform this important task of settling the analytic categories for the content under study? When speaking of the problem of the formulation of categories, Berelson says:

In summary, the general categories of a content analysis must be stated in analyzable forms appropriate to the particular content under investigation. There is something of a progression in the design of a content analysis. The hypotheses derive from the nature of the problem and in a sense help to refine it. The general categories for analysis are contained in the hypotheses and they in turn are translated into concrete, specific indicators for purposes of the actual analysis. The actual results are then generalized and applied to the level of the categories and thus constitute a test of the hypotheses under investigation. It is thus important that the translations necessary at every stage of the design be adequately made: the hypotheses should express the problem, the categories adequately express the hypotheses, and the indicators adequately express the categories.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{24}This is an adaptation of the definition.

\textsuperscript{25}Berelson, \textit{Content Analysis}, p. 13.

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., p. 164-165.
An example may help to clarify the meaning of this quotation. For example, suppose that the content which one wishes to subject to analysis is the campaign literature of a particular party at election time. From the "nature of the problem," it would seem fairly accurate to hypothesize the existence of propaganda material in the content. This hypothesis, in turn, would lead one to conduct the research by the use of propaganda analysis categories. As the research would proceed the precise propaganda character of the content would be specified. It will be noticed that in Berelson's conception of the formulation of the categories there is a sort of system of checks and balances. The problem will determine the range of the hypotheses; the hypotheses will determine the general form of the categories which are specified in the course of the research and then referred back to the hypotheses.

This writer has, however, one difficulty with this scheme. The difficulty is a methodological one and has bothered him for as long as he has been studying sociology. As it strikes this writer, the question comes to this, "Is it accurate to say that 'the hypotheses derive from the nature of the problem!' " The point of doubt is this: does the problem define hypotheses? Would it not, perhaps, be more accurate to say that the problem generates a question; indeed, that the problem itself is a kind of question. The point seems to be fundamental to one's conception of science. As usually conceived, a hypothesis is a
"tentative answer" to a question. It seems legitimate to ask, however, whether the primary concern of science is answers or questions. If the researcher is conducting a study to verify a hypothesis, his attitude seems in danger of being more that of a man who is trying to prove something rather than that of a man who is trying to **discover** something. As this writer sees the case at present, the hypothesis is the fruit of research not the burden of it. The structure of the research process seems more naturally determined by the question that is asked rather than by a preconceived--all be it, tentative--answer. Thus it would seem more accurate to say that a particular problem presenting itself for research gives rise to a question, and as the researcher pursues the answer to the question he formulates categories which enable him to specify the content under research. It would seem to follow then that the question defines the limits within which categories will be formulated.

In addition to the categories, there is another element important to the body of content analysis theory. This is the **unit** which is used to record the data uncovered in the course of

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the research. This "recording unit," as Berelson calls it, "is the smallest body of content in which the appearance of a reference is counted (a reference is a single occurrence of a content element)." The size of these units varies. "The smallest unit generally applied in content analysis (sic) is the word." Another is the theme. "In its most compact form, the theme is a simple sentence....In other words, a theme is an assertion about a subject-matter." The theme is a handy unit for content analysis since it takes the form in which issues and attitudes are usually discussed. However, one of the most often employed of the recording units is that of the item.

The unit most frequently used in content analysis is the item....The item differs among the different media: it may be a book...an editorial...a news story....This unit classifies material in the large, so to speak, and for this reason it has been frequently employed, especially in the case of subject matter analyses for which it is particularly suitable. Analysis by the entire item is appropriate whenever the variations within (sic) the item are small or unimportant....The item is a convenient unit of analysis, particularly applicable when only broad content differences are under analysis.

All that has been said so far treats of the general conduct of a content analysis. All that has been said so far, however,

28 Berelson, Content Analysis, p. 135, parenthesis in original.

29 Ibid., p. 142.

30 Ibid., p. 138.

31 Ibid., p. 140.

32 Ibid., pp. 141-142.
may be considered at a descriptive level. One may be concerned as to whether content analysis has anything to offer at the explanatory level. What indeed is the purpose of content analysis? Does all that it tell us merely say that, "The content of this message is such."? And, if this is all that content analysis has to say, is it meaningful, is its contribution significant?

Content analysis has been used for a variety of purposes. It is true that for the most part content analysis studies have tended to concern themselves with stating what has been said. But content analysis is not confined to this alone. It has also been used to detect the existence of propaganda, to identify the intentions and other characteristics of the communicators, and to determine the psychological state of persons and groups. Content analysis has been used to study the effects of communication. A more recent use, as was noted earlier,\textsuperscript{33} is to employ content analysis as an indicator of the nature of the ongoing interaction process. Still, one might grant all of this and argue that as yet this says nothing about the explanatory level of content analysis.

There is a sense in which this objection is valid. In many cases content analysis simply relates what is said in a particular communication. One might argue that this is at least

\textsuperscript{33}Cf. p. 13.
something of an explanation. It seems to this writer, however, that there is a sense also in which the objection proposed is invalid. If one demands an explanatory formulation from all research, then the objection stands. However, is it legitimate to demand that all research reach the explanatory level? Might there not be a type of research which is, as it were, the doorway to explanation. Content analysis seems a fine example of what was mentioned above when the hypothesis was referred to as the fruit of the research effort and not its burden. When one has finished a content analysis study, he has a certain limited body of facts before him. If his research stops here, one may argue that the effort hardly seems significant. But the whole point is that the research should not stop here. Content analysis should raise questions that will demand an answer, or the hint of an answer, on the explanatory level. Thus content analysis is really merely the beginning of research. If one views the matter in this light, the contribution that content analysis has to make to a theory of the communication system is considerable. If one views the matter in this light, one can also see that a content analysis research effort must be located within a broader theoretical framework. It was this conception of content analysis that prompted the writer of this study to adopt the theoretical orientations that have been outlined in this

\[34\text{Cf. p. 18.}\]
chapter. The application of this framework to the particular topic of this research effort is left for another chapter.

Before the task of the application is considered, two topics which will furnish the raw materials for that application must be considered. The first of these topics deals with a historical sketch of The Christian Century, and the second deals with the actual content analysis of the material on the Papacy and the Vatican that was found in the sample. The historical sketch of The Christian Century will be given in the next chapter and the results of the content analysis in the chapter following that.
CHAPTER III

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

In the previous chapter, it was stated that one of the uses of content analysis has been "to identify the intentions and other characteristics of the communicators." As a matter of fact, Berelson mentions that this has been one of the major uses of content analysis. "The basic logic of this application of content analysis is this: the content has such-and-such characteristics, therefore the communicators have such-and-such intentions." This seems to be an application of the assumption that "knowledge of the content can legitimately support inferences about non-content events..." The use of content analysis as a clue to the intentions of editors or writers, however, does not seem to rest on a purely assumptive base, but appears to have a foundation in fact. For it does seem to be a fact that, "Every communication outlet has an objective or a set of objectives, whether implicit or explicit." It seems safe

36 Berelson, Content Analysis, p. 72.
37 Ibid., p. 18.
38 Ibid., p. 43.
to say that, to some extent at least, the content will express that objective or set of objectives. Consequently, in performing a content analysis it is useful to know the objectives of the communicator so as to be able to verify whether the messages sent express the objectives or not. This verification is more easily made if the particular communication outlet under study makes an explicit statement of its objective or set of objectives. Fortunately, the communication outlet under study in this research effort has made an explicit statement of its objectives. This will be treated later in this same chapter.

A consideration of the objectives of a communication outlet prompts the introduction of another element into the discussion. This may be styled the "temporal factor" or "the history" of the communication outlet. The communicator is involved in an ongoing social process. His objectives at any particular temporal point of the process may or may not be identical. The temporal factor may indicate that a particular communicator has changed his objective "as time went on." Or it may even be that the "times" themselves have influenced the objective or objectives of a communication outlet. Whatever relation obtains between the "times" and the objectives, a brief look at the history of a communication outlet may prove important in helping to place the outlet in clearer focus.

Because the movement of a communicator along a temporal continuum may indicate the origins and/or the modifications of
his objective, the present writer considers it relevant to introduce at this point of the study an historical sketch of the
Christian Century.

Before turning to the Christian Century, however, one must know a few pertinent facts about the religious body known as The
Disciples of Christ, for The Christian Century was at one time
the denominational periodical of this group. This is not the place to go into a detailed history of The Disciples.39 One
need but note two facts. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century and at the turn of the nineteenth century into
the twentieth, there were two schools of thought among The
Disciples as to what point of New Testament Christianity The
Disciples should emphasize. Both sides had their own journals
to propound their views. According to Garrison and De Groot,

[The Christian-Evangelist]... is primary heir to the
unity [sic] emphasis in the twin-foci ellipse of New
Testament Christianity—the other focal point being
the restoration [sic], or "peculiar people" [sic]
interest, represented by the Christian Standard....
At the turn of the century these two schools of opinion
almost completely divided the brotherhood interests,
with a very great overlapping of readers. There soon emerged a small but constantly growing body which, as
in the Christian world, as a whole, felt that denominational bounds were a very inadequate measure of the
Christian community. These fraternal-minded Disciples

39 A full history of The Disciples may be found in Winfred E.
Garrison, and Alfred T. DeGroot, The Disciples of Christ: A
History (St. Louis, 1952). Point of interest to Catholics may
be found in John A. Hardon, S.J., The Protestant Churches of
America (Westminster, 1956), pp. 63-106.
created their own organ of expression, a journal originally known as the Christian Oracle but later named the Christian Century.\textsuperscript{40}

The Christian Oracle was started at DesMoines in 1884 and moved to Chicago in 1888. By 1899, the periodical was a kind of national organ for The Disciples. The editors changed the name of the weekly from the Christian Oracle to The Christian Century because they believed that the twentieth century was to be preeminently a Christian period. In 1908, Charles Clayton Morrison, who had been the "Interviewer of Noted Men" for the periodical, bought The Christian Century and inaugurated "a new era of frank commitment to liberalism."\textsuperscript{41} What Morrison's plans for The Christian Century were and what he conceived its function to be was set forth in his editorial on taking over the journal. Believing that the policy of the periodical could be better formulated by its readers than by the management, Morrison mentioned just three things that he thought could be said about what The Christian Century purposed to do:

1. It will aim to be a newspaper...Evangelical and administrative achievements will be given hearty reports. In this feature of the paper we wish not to be confined to our own brotherhood alone...but it will be our purpose to consider the important happenings in other churches and in the social order outside the church. Thus our readers may be kept in touch with the wider currents of social and church life...2. The literary character of the paper will be a matter of scruple with us...3. It

\textsuperscript{40}Garrison and DeGroot, The Disciples, p. 430.

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., p. 431.
is the purpose of the editors to open our columns to a
discussion of the vital and acute problems now before
our people and the religious world...Our brotherhood is
racked with dissension...For years a vicious propaganda
has been carried on among us with a newspaper at its
head and front...Falsehood and bigotry have walked abroad
in the livery of the fathers...The channels of our
thinking run with vitriol and invective—not with the
good will of Christ. The issues raised by this propaganda
The Christian Century proposes to discuss not bumptiously
or with passion, but with humility and great earnestness.
We are determined that whatever is said of us, no reader
shall charge us with not being frank.42

This did not mean that The Christian Century had singled out for
attack a rival religious periodical or a group of men that held
different opinions. The Christian Century had for its purpose
to build up and not to attack. As Morrison saw it, the issue
that had split the Disciples was but the problem of all churches.
He stated both the problem and The Christian Century’s approach
to it in unequivocal terms:

We shall frankly admit at the beginning and all the way
that the modern way of regarding religion differs from
the conception of an older time. We believe the differ-
ence is very important and radical. It will be our

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42 The Christian Century (October 10, 1908), No. 41, 3-4.
The dissension that racked the brotherhood was the conflict
between liberalism and conservatism in doctrine, admission or
non-admission of un-rebaptized adults to the Lord’s Supper, hav-
ing or not having missions, being strictly denominational or
truly interdenominational, being creedal or non-creedal as a con-
dition for membership. The propaganda was carried on by the
Christian Standard. The issue which provoked this propaganda was
mainly two-fold: should people who were baptized by aspersio
only be considered true Christians, and should there be open-
communion to the Lord’s Supper of people outside
a given denomination. The information in the footnote was
supplied to the writer in a personal letter from Rev. John A.
Hardon, S.J., Professor of Fundamental Theology, West Baden
purpose to interpret the modern conception truthfully, frankly. We believe that every value that Christianity possesses under the older view is enhanced under the new, and many other values are added. We believe that the essential principles of our plea and the example of the fathers of our movement predetermine the Disciples of Christ to the position the scholarship of the world is taking. Our fathers were the pioneers of modern progressivism.

Constructive, therefore, our work will ever be. We shall strive to make our pages brim with faith and hope and love...—a love that recognizes unity under all the differences and the possibility of cooperation in the spirit of Christ despite the widest theological separation.  

What the historical sketch of The Christian Century reveals then is that at least from 1908 the periodical had set for itself the objectives of being a liberal Protestant weekly. It seems accurate to say that the objectives of The Christian Century embody the whole complex that is "liberal Protestantism."

From time to time there is a reiteration or a restatement of the objectives of the periodical by the editors. One such editorial statement came in the golden anniversary year of 1958. The editorial was entitled, "The Liberal Christian Press." The writer feels that its relevance to the broader theoretical aspects of the present study warrant its quotation in toto.

THE LIBERAL [sic] journal of Christian opinion endeavors to bring a critical and creative spirit to focus on contemporary questions of cultural, social, economic, or political significance. It is concerned with the bearing of Christian principles on all issues of human relations, personal or social, national or international, ecclesiastical or cultural. It seeks the truth, believing

43 Ibid.
that discovery of truth in any field is discovery of God. It participates in the interaction of events, believing that no event ever takes place uninfluenced by the Lord of History. It measures goodness by a gospel which includes the best news ever reported—the resurrection. It assesses evil against that quality of death which can damn the soul as well as kill the body.

A liberal Christian paper must be independent. It can be the organ of no party, sect, organization or special interest whose primary aim is to influence the churches and through them the social order. In other words, it seeks truth rather than power. The independence of this press is based on an editor's freedom as a Christian to seek and publish the truth. If an editor has this freedom, his paper is liberal and Christian, without regard to whether it has or lacks denominational ties. But if editorial freedom is lacking, no amount of support can make up for its absence.

Editorial freedom is established rather than compromised by the orientation of a paper as Christian. Every publication is an expression of a creed, explicit or implied. The liberal Christian paper has the advantage of being ruled by a creed which is known and which is compatible with the principles and practice of freedom. Its faith is that of John Milton, who wrote in 1654: "God himself is truth and the more honest anyone is in teaching truth to men, the more like God and the more acceptable to God he must be. It is blasphemous to believe that God is jealous of truth, that he does not wish it to spread freely among mankind."

This faith is basically that truth is determined by the nature of God, which we may know through Jesus Christ. It sees man as responsible under God for what he believes, for what he feels and for what he does. It appeals to man's reason in behalf of truth and justice. It seeks to enlist man's emotions as well as his mind in behalf of love. It accepts as a fact the human bent to do evil when we know what is good, but it refuses to forget that we are also children of God who can know his gift of forgiveness and personal and social redemption through repentance.

Because its view of man, and particularly of man in association, is wary, skeptical and often critical, the liberal Christian journal is likely to impress the casual reader as pessimistic. It disturbs, stirs, provokes. It often thinks negatively, not positively. It prizes integrity and honesty above the smoothness and pleasantness which have "promotional value." It makes more mistakes than conventional papers because it grapples with issues
while they are hot, while they are in process of decision. It would run less risk if it waited to see what would happen without its intervention, and then came out resoundingly in behalf of a choice already made. But it would lose that precious quality of respect which men give only to those who are bruised in their battles, who commit themselves when commitment may prove costly but may do some good.

I

On the other hand, religious sophisticates sometimes attack the liberal Christian paper on the ground that it is unduly optimistic. They are offended because such a paper "naively" assumes that criticism may result in reform. The liberal paper agrees with Milton that truth "is no fugitive and cloistered virtue" but "is compared in Scripture to a flowing fountain; if her waters flow not in perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition." It believes that the most powerful dynamic operating in history is God and man working together to influence the course of evolution. If it is optimism to have faith that believing and forgiven men can and do collaborate with the Eternal and that the results differ from those of any other course of conduct, then it challenges its critics to make the most of it.

The liberal Christian paper has to walk a narrow line, avoiding nagging bitterness on the one side and complacency and conformity on the other. It has to struggle to keep its mind on its mission of raising questions, of insisting that men think about issues they seek to avoid—even though its own existence is always precarious. The history of journalism is filled with the record of papers which undertook the Christian ministry to the truth and finally failed, and it affords no comfort to those who would like to think that this has happened for the last time.

To return once more to the imagery of Milton, the liberal Christian press threatens the security of the dams which men raise to contain the stream of truth. In our day as in his, the muddy pools of conformity and tradition are well guarded by interests which profit from the stagnation in ecclesiastical, economic or social relationships. Usually these interests are so strong they can protect their dams from being breached by anything so flimsy as an editorial pen, but dam builders cannot control the weather, and sometimes even yet the
heavens open and the floods of truth descend. When that happens, an editorial pen may become a battering ram as it is carried forward by angry waters. Then barriers fall and stagnation is swept away and the stream of truth flows as it was meant to flow.

II

What are the dams behind which truth stagnates today? One is secularism—the theory that the main business of man is improving his economic welfare and that economic welfare can be separated from questions of man's ultimate destiny. It is the delusion that responsibility can be limited, that life can be set in neat compartments and that business can go on as usual without reference to the issues of life and death. The liberal Christian press contends that these issues of life and death must be confronted not in isolation but in indissoluble relation to economic policy. It is not loved by the secularist, who continually tries to gain church approval for his policy of containment of religious truth and is willing to pay a high price to achieve that end.

A second dam is fundamentalism, which seeks to bind the Christian mind within iron walls of biblical literalism. It is often favored by men whose basic philosophy is secularism, for a literalistic and dead-level view of a Bible which was written in ancient agricultural Palestine raises few embarrassments for the modern industrial American. The contention of the liberal Christian press that the Word of God is not a book of a series of 66 books but the Living Christ to whom the Bible bears witness is not and never will be a popular one, for it brings judgment down to date.

Two other dams are churchism and statism. Churchism subordinates the religious spirit and intelligence to the institution of religion. Too often, by authoritarian or by other means, it seeks to limit Christian freedom of thought and speech to concerns which advance the institution rather than the kingdom of God. Statism seeks the same totalitarian end, but makes the state rather than the church the object of worship, the wielder of authority. Both church and state become enemies of the freedom with which God has invested man when they fall into the hands of manipulators of orthodoxy who use creedal devices as instruments of personal or group power rather than as guide lines for the purity of the faith. Among the many other dams designed to contain truth are racism, nationalism and Marxism—but we cannot discuss them now.
The liberal Christian press fights for freedom of thought and expression, not as a means of preserving its own existence and privileges but as a God-given right, a divinely bestowed responsibility. It agrees with Milton that censorship or prohibitions which stop the mouths of conscientious men and women "because we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions destroys the truth in the act of preserving it. It holds that "our testy methods of prohibiting" are "unacceptable unto God," who does not keep man "under a perpetual childhood of proscription but trusts him with the gift of reason to be his own chooser." The highest privilege of the Christian press is to help men and women live up to the responsibility of maturity with which God has invested us all, to do its part to keep the waters of truth from stagnating, knowing they are of God, and to realize that it has friends who earnestly desire to help it carry out that cleansing mission.

Here, clearly enunciated, are the aims of a liberal Protestant periodical; and although the name of The Christian Century never once appears in the editorial, it seems safe to conclude that the editorial does express the policies, aims and objectives of The Christian Century. Such statements are interesting and meaningful because they may reveal how much, at any given time, the objectives of a communication outlet function as a


45 In the same issue, however, there does occur a comment which seems to apply the editorial to the magazine itself. Cf. "Comment on This Issue," The Christian Century, LXXV (July 2, 1958), 770: "Occasionally a journal like this one must take time out to have a good look at itself and at the nature of the professional niche that it shares with others--for its own good and for the contemplation of its readers. Two contributions in this issue survey the field of religious journalism: the editorial comment on the underlying philosophy of the liberal religious press, and the report by Geoffrey Murray on a session of soul-searching engaged in recently by representative European religious journalists."
determinant in the coding of content. Such statements also help
to reveal whether the objectives of a particular communication
outlet have changed, or whether they remain the same. A state-
ment of policy such as is found in "The Liberal Christian Press"
also suggests a number of hypotheses about Roman Catholicism and
its treatment by The Christian Century. This writer would like
to formulate a few such hypotheses. On the basis of the state-
ment about "churchism and statism," it seems one could hypothe-
size that if Roman Catholicism is defined as "churchism" it will
feel the "battering ram" of the "editorial pen;" conversely, in
those areas and activities in which the Roman Catholic Church
assumes a policy consonant with that of The Christian Century,
it will be treated favorably. 46 How far such hypotheses are
susceptible of verification can only be seen after an investi-
gation of the actual content under study.

The investigation of that content is the burden of the next
chapter of this thesis. It is to this investigation, then, that
the student now turns.

46 By suggesting these hypotheses, the student is not
reversing his position about the primacy of the question in re-
search. The reader may note that prior to the testing of the
hypothesis, one must ask the question, "Does The Christian Cen-
tury define Roman Catholicism as churchism?" Before the hypo-
thesis can be verified, this question must be answered. Actually,
prior to the above proposed question, one may ask whether the
Roman Catholic Church feels the battering ram of the editorial
pen. Following upon the answers to these questions one may push
the enquiry further and ask why the periodical defines the Roman
Catholic Church as churchism.
CHAPTER IV

THE PAPACY AND THE VATICAN

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the content of the material dealing with the Papacy and the Vatican. This material will be analyzed in chronological order. Such a procedure seems to have at least two advantages. First, it greatly facilitates the handling of the large number of items involved. Second, the use of a chronological approach should help to reveal any continuities in the treatment accorded to the Papacy and the Vatican. Such an approach has the added advantage of giving perspective and minimizing the danger of misinterpretation.

Materials dealing with the Papacy and the Vatican constituted roughly 16 per cent of the total universe. A breakdown of the material by years and types may be found by inspecting Table 1.

This frequency table reveals two facts almost at a glance. After 1952, there is a sharp decline in the number of items dealing with the Papacy and the Vatican. Two hypotheses suggest themselves. The first would propose that there had been a change in the editorial policy toward the Papacy and the Vatican. This hypothesis, however, does not seem too plausible. For, in
Table 1

FREQUENCY OF ITEMS ON THE PAPACY AND THE VATICAN APPEARING IN THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY, 1946-1958, BY SELECTED YEARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1946</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>1952</th>
<th>1955</th>
<th>1958</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editorials</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main, the same editorial staff has been running The Christian Century since about 1947.47 A more reasonable explanation seems to be that the Papacy and the Vatican are not in the news as much later as they were in the beginning of the period under study. Despite a still raging "cold" war and numerous Asian and African revolutions, the world situation then seemed to have become somewhat stabilized. In the first years of the period under study, however, European Communism was making its armed advances. The Papacy and the Vatican were bound to occupy a

47 In that year, Charles Clayton Morrison, the man who bought The Christian Century in 1908, retired from the post of active editor and became a contributing editor. Dr. Morrison's place was taken by Paul Hutchinson, who had been managing editor. When Hutchinson resigned in 1955, his post was filled by Harold Fey, the Associate Editor under Morrison.
prominent place in such a struggle. As a result, much attention
was given to the statements and pronouncements coming from Rome
and the Vatican.

Another significant fact that the frequency table reveals
is the amount of editorializing that The Christian Century did
on topics concerning the Papacy and the Vatican. A total of 61
editorials were devoted to this material—almost 70 per cent of
all the matter concerning the Papacy and the Vatican in the
years sampled. At this point of his study, the writer is not in
a position to ask why so much editorial space was given to these
topics. He only wishes to note the fact that it was given and
then turn to an investigation of the content of these editor-
ials, as well as the content of the articles and letters. The
study begins with the year 1946.

1946. The first item to which this writer turns his atten-
tion is the captions placed above the editorials. Although the
captions do not by any means insure that the editorials will be
read, nevertheless they are an attention-evoking and interest-
stimulating device. In addition, these captions often contain

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48. One must remember also that 1946 was the election in the
United States. During this election year, the controversy on
the Vatican Embassy received much publicity.

49. The writer agrees with Berelson's remarks on this point.
"In any general analysis of communications in forming people's
opinions and attitudes, it is important to stress the factor of
attention. The self-selection of what will be read or listened
to means that attention is not automatic and hence not always in
or imply a symbol and hence are significant and relevant to this research. Some of the captions tell at once that they deal with the Papacy and the Vatican. Others are neutral as attention-drawers. Oftentimes, however, the position of these neutral captions gives them cue-value. (Frequently, they will follow immediately upon an editorial that dealt with the same subject as that of the neutrally captioned editorial, or with an allied subject.)

For example, the caption "Denies Civil Power Over Marriage" is neutral. The caption of the preceding editorial, however, read "Pope Comes to Defense of Archbishop Stepinac." This editorial ends by speaking about marriage as a church concern in Croatia and this gives the neutral caption a cue-value. In 1946, there were not too many completely neutral captions. "Marriage and the Church," "Pray--and Watch," and "No Ideological War" are about the only ones that would fall into that correspondence with communication content. In this kind of investigation, content analysis plays its part in presenting an objective and systematic picture of the communication content which is available for public attention, whatever the actual exposure." Berelson, *Content Analysis*, pp. 104-105.

50 *The Christian Century*, LXIII (October 16, 1946), 1236. Hereafter the magazine will be cited as TCC.

51 Ibid.

52 TCC, LXIII (October 30, 1946), 1303.

53 TCC, LXIII (June 19, 1946), 774.

54 TCC, LXIII (November 6, 1946), 1333.

As the reader can see, most of these captions imply rather than state a symbol. A complete symbol, or item, or theme is found within the article, editorial or letter under analysis.

55 TCC, LXIII (March 6, 1946), 294.
56 TCC, LXIII (January 9, 1946), 38.
57 TCC, LXIII (June 26, 1946), 798.
58 TCC, LXIII (July 17, 1946), 883.
59 TCC, LXIII (April 3, 1946), 422.
60 TCC, LXIII (May 1, 1946), 549.
61 TCC, LXIII (May 8, 1946), 579.
62 TCC, LXIII (May 15, 1946), 612.
63 TCC, LXIII (May 22, 1946), 643.
64 TCC, LXIII (June 12, 1946), 741.
65 TCC, LXIII (December 4, 1946), 1460.
For the analysis of the subject-matter dealing with the Papacy and the Vatican, the writer has chosen the _Values_, _Methods_, and _Traits_ of Berelson's "what is said" categories.

Applying these categories to the material that appeared in 1946, one gets a profile of the Vatican and the Papacy which looks something like this:

The Pope is praised as giving a "display of ecclesiastical statesmanship of the first order" and "breaking precedents which stretched back into the Middle Ages" by nominating a group of cardinals who would give the Sacred College a non-Italian majority. The _Christian Century_ admires the action of the Holy Father because, "No one could be more aware of the radical nature of these nominations, or of the criticism which they will evoke from traditional centers of Roman Catholic power, than the pope himself. Any reading of the full text of his Christmas allocution..."

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66"Values [sic]:...also called 'goals' and 'wants': what people want or get...Methods [sic]:...deal with the means employed to realize the ends...Traits [sic]:...includes [sic] the ordinary personal characteristics, certain psychological traits, and other ways of describing people." Berelson, _Content Analysis_ pp. 151-157. This writer has chosen these three categories as the most significant. The content classified under any one of the three categories chosen should also reveal the _Direction_ and the _Standard_. The very statement itself should tell the reader the _Authority_ in whose name the statement was made. Where the manifest content does not reveal _Direction_, _Standard_, and _Authority_, it seems better to mention this in a footnote rather than to multiply categories in the body of the study.
will show to what great lengths Pius XII has felt it necessary to go to defend his choices against Italian protests."  

In taking such an action, the Pope is pictured as being "experienced in churchly statecraft," and as having "dared the Italian wrath to give his church a new international base and a new international outlook for days when only a truly international church can play a major part in a world of dissolving nationalisms and sweeping social revolutions." This tribute is paid to the Pope even though The Christian Century "shares with Protestantism strong convictions of disfavor toward the monarchical system which characterizes the Roman Church. We believe the whole concept of a hierarchical order culminating in the papacy and a College of Cardinals called 'princes of the church' is foreign to the genius of Christianity. Our conception of the Christian church makes no provision for and could take no pride in the trappings of state with which this system is invested."  

In another context the Pope is pictured as "making his church one of the four or five major factors in the world today  

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68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.
and tomorrow, just as he is making himself one of the four or five major individuals in contemporary life. He is doing this by his boldness and his foresight."  

Analysis of the rest of the material that appeared in 1946 reveals that one of the principal areas of *The Christian Century's* concern is the motivation of Papal activity. Content analysis reveals a rather deep distrust of the motives of the Pope and a tendency to ascribe to him motives which are not the high ideals that one would expect from the Vicar of Christ. When the Pope issued an address on the eve of the elections in France and Italy, *The Christian Century* hailed his "remarkable speech" as "the most direct intervention by the papacy in politics in modern times." It went on to comment on the occasion of and the reasons for the Pope's speech.

Ostensibly the pope took the air the day before the elections to tell the Italian and French people how they should vote. But actually, in the name of Christianity, he declared a holy war on communism. Presenting himself as the champion of democracy and "true Christian brotherhood," the pope called on Great Britain and the United States to break their ties of alliance with Russia....The pope thus made explicit a papal purpose that has been developing in Europe ever since the surrender of Germany....The pope proclaimed this struggle between Roman Catholic and Communist forces as a holy war to defend individual freedom and the principle of the democratic state. To Protestants this papal claim that the Roman Church stands as the defender of liberty against the encroachments of authoritarian tyranny will appear preposterous. What is the papal church if not itself an embodiment of the principle of authoritarianism? And what is the record of the Roman Catholic

70 *TCC*, LXIII (June 26, 1946), 798-800.
Church—the modern as well as the medieval record—to make anyone believe that a triumph for Catholic parties will mean a triumph for democracy? Moreover, any realistic analysis of the purpose which the pope has in view should rouse Protestant resentment. What the pope really wants is to see a stop put to the Communist advance across Europe which has already cost his church concordat agreements, vast landholdings, and great financial subsidies.

Human rights are, to be sure, involved in the recent changes that have taken place...but there are also very material Roman Church interests at stake, and he would be naive indeed who failed to take into account the part which these have played in moving the pope to fling down the challenge of open battle at this juncture. 71

71: Ibid. Cf. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, XIII (July, 1946), 253-260. The allocution was delivered to the College of Cardinals on the feast of St. Eugene I, June 1st, 1946. There is no mention made of the United States, Great Britain, or Russia. On page 258 there is an allusion made to countries that are capable of helping the homeless: "Quanto poi alle altre due categorie di espatriati o altrimenti costretti a dimorare lungi dalla loro terra, tavolta in regioni che hanno gia una popolazione superiore a quella che in tempi normali la loro agricoltura e la loro industria potrebbero nutrire, sarebbe necessario di provvedere alla collocazione di quegli infelici nei pacci d'oltremare e Noi abbiam ferma fiducia che gli Stati e i continentali capaci di accoglierli non mancheranno di aprir loro le porte e di compiere cosi un'opera di tanto alta e cristiana carita."

The reference to the elections is made on pages 256-257: "Domani steso i cittadini di due grandi nazioni accorreranno in folle compate alle urne elettorali. Di che cosa infondo si tratta? Si tratta di sapere se l'una e l'altra di queste due nazioni, di queste due sorelle latine, di ultramillenaria civiltà cristiana, continueranno ad appoggiarsi sulla salda rocca del cristianesimo, sul riconoscimento di un Dio personale, sulla credenza nella dignità spirituale e nell'eterno destino dell'uomo, o se invece vorranno rimettere le sorti del loro avvenire all'impassibile onnipotenza di uno Stato materialista, senza ideale ultraterreno, senza religione e senza Dio. Di questi due casi si avverrà l'uno o l'altro, secondo che dalle urne usciranno vittoriosi i nomi dei campioni ovvero dei distruttori della civiltà cristiana. La risposta e nelle mani degli elettori; essi ne portano l'augusta, ma pur quanto grave responsabilità!" It is true that it is fairly clear where the sentiments of the Pope lie. It is
Much the same kind of political motivation had also been ascribed to the Pope in an earlier editorial dealing with these same Italian elections. At that time The Christian Century said:

If any doubt remained as to the active part which the Vatican is playing in Italian politics it must have been swept away by the speech which the Pope delivered on Sunday, May 12. Speaking to 40,000 women and girls who packed St. Peter's, Pius XII urged them as a sacred duty to vote in the June election only for parties which are firmly pledged to "respect the rights of God and religion." This amounts to a papal exhortation not to vote for any of the parties of the left, of which the Communists and the Socialists are the most important. Evidently the Pope believes that the time has come for open intervention on the part of the Roman Church in the political struggle which is soon to decide Italy's form of government and party control. Much the same sort of open participation in politics by the pontifical church seems near at hand in many of the other countries of Western Europe. It will be enlightening to see how Italians respond to the papal injunction when they go to the polls a week from next Sunday.72

A mistrust of Papal motives is manifested again in an editorial which comments on the Pope's speech to "the 'sacred Roman Rota'". As reported by The Christian Century, the Pope's speech covered the topics of forced conversions in Yugoslavia, the supposed collaboration of Stepinac with the Nazis, the oppression of Catholics under the guise of freedom of conscience, and the civil powers over marriage. Commenting on these points, The Christian Century wrote:

significant that the Pope speaks through the allocution of the civilta cristiana, not the civilta cattolica.

72 TCC, LXIII (May 22, 1946), 643.
The first of these points relates to the suspiciously large number of conversions to Catholicism among Eastern Orthodox Croatians in 1941. The pope says that "neither the Holy See nor the Catholic episcopate in Croatia had any part in it" and that it must have been "the fruit of persuasion." He did not say much about the charges of collaboration, but the non-Soviet world is not convinced of either their validity or their good faith....The third item was evidently directed against the Russians. The facts speak for themselves, but the pope's words add nothing except another illustration of the Vatican's usual identification of freedom of conscience with freedom for Catholic consciences. His special emphasis on the rights of parents in the education of their children is more convincing to those who do not know that the Code of Canon Law (Canon 1374) says: "Catholic children must not [sic] attend non-Catholic, neutral, or mixed schools ... It is for the bishop alone to decide...." Point four is a reaffirmation of the familiar claim that marriage and divorce lie entirely outside of the state's field of competence, except as regards certain "purely civil effects of marriage," such as laws of inheritance.73

73TCC, LXIII (October 16, 1946), 1236. In its delineation of the points and their order, the editorial is somewhat inaccurate. Cf. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, XIII (November, 1946), 391-397. In this allocution the Pope is continuing the comparison between the juridical power of the church and state begun in his last allocution to the Roman Rota given in October, 1945. He points out that though there are certain elements common to both, there are certain objects which are exclusively proper to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In the first point of the allocution, the Pope considers the first of these objects, the defense of the Faith. In this connection he mentions that he knows that the very name of the Rota is a scandal to some people. They can see no need for such a court to defend the faith since all men have freedom of conscience and are bound to be tolerant of the rights of others. "Yet it happens all too often that the moment they (the champions of freedom of conscience and tolerance) succeed in winning power, they make it their most pressing business to violate people's consciences and to impose the yoke of oppression on their Catholic subjects, especially in matters touching the rights of parents to provide for the education of their children." (The Catholic Mind, XLV (March, 1947), 131-132.) Nevertheless, the Pope does not deny the principles of the freedom of conscience and tolerance. "The ever-increasing contacts and indiscriminate mingling of various religious denominations
within the same national groups have induced the civil courts to apply the principle of 'tolerance' and 'freedom of conscience.' In such circumstances, let us add, Catholics are in duty bound to practise political, civic, and social tolerance with respect to the faithful of other denominations." /Ibid./ (This last statement is completely omitted in The Christian Century's distortion into "the Vatican's usual identification of freedom of conscience with freedom for Catholic consciences.") After this the Pope discusses the 'forced' conversions in Croatia. He brings forth a memorandum from the Vatican Secretariate of State which shows how careful the Holy See and the Bishops of Croatia and Chechoslovakia were to allay all suspicion of forcing conversions in Croatia.

In the second point that the Pope discusses in the allocution, he comments on the marriage cases that have come before the Rota. The Pope expresses sadness at the state of family life as a result of the war. "Our task is to repair this ruin, to heal these wounds, to care for these ills. The heart of Mother Church bleeds at the sight of the unspeakable anguish of so many of her children. To help them She will spare no effort, extending her condescension to its utmost limit. This farthest limit of her power is solemnly formulated in Canon 1118 of the Code of Canon Law: Matrimonium validum ratum et consummatum nulla humana potestate nullaque causa praeterquam morte disolvi potest." /Ibid., p. 134/ (It was this section that The Christian Century took to be a "reaffirmation of the familiar claim that marriage and divorce lie entirely outside of the state's field of competence." In addition, the Pope said nothing about the civil effects of marriage in the allocution. One may note that this is not point four of the allocution, as The Christian Century has it, but rather point two.

In the third point of the allocution the Pope commented on the secrecy with which some of the trials in the ecclesiastical court had to be conducted. It is difficult to find this point "evidently directed against the Russians." The point would make an excellent propaganda piece in the hands of the Russians.

It is true that the Pope did not say much about the collaboration. In this allocution, he said nothing about them. For full documentation, cf. Richard Pattee, The Case of Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac (Milwaukee, 1953). See especially pages 118-130 and 370-411. The latter section contains a number of documents which were submitted in the course of the trial. They seem to exonerate Stepinac of the charges completely.

With regard to the Sacred Roman Rota, one may note the article in Anne O'Hare McCormick, Vatican Journal, ed. by Marion Turner Sheehan (New York, 1957), pp. 35-45, "Ancient Rota is Unmoved by Attacks."
More light is cast on the Papal profile in an editorial that tells us what the Pope did when he canonized Mother Cabrini, the first saint from American shores:

What he did was to create a myth, to pay a debt, and to add to the income of the Vatican. The myth is that of the supernatural character of a woman who worked sacrificially for a church she believed in. The debt is the obligation owed by the church to a woman who did a great deal to preserve the adherence to Rome of thousands of Italian immigrants. The canonization of Mother Cabrini added to the immediate income of the church an amount estimated to be at least $1,000,000. Had she been alive, she would have found better uses for the money and better employment for the hundreds of ecclesiastics who used her canonization as the occasion for a junket to Rome.74

When the Vatican Radio broadcast to the world the conditions of life in Russian Occupied Germany, Protestants were warned by The Christian Century not to "be maneuvered into support of the papal effort to restore the privileged position of the Roman Catholic Church."75 In a previous allocution in which the Pope spoke against imperialism, one finds again The Christian Century's distrust of the Pope's motives:

Was this warning against the nations' attempt to achieve security through imperialistic expansion directed against Russia? Some comment from Rome has suggested that it was. But it is quite applicable to the imperial rivalries of other European nations and to the American trend toward imperialistic expansion. The pope is aware that it will be charged that the Roman Church itself has on occasion nurtured the imperialistic

74TCC, LXIII (July 7, 1946), 883-884.
75TCC, LXIII (May 8, 1946), 579.
virus, and seeks to blunt the edge of such criticism by insisting that this has never been true "unless one persists erroneously in transplanting into past ages the ideas and terminology proper to our own"--a disclaimer which will convince few church historians outside the Roman fold. Doubtless the pope is also aware that this protest against the nations' return to imperialism would carry more weight had it come earlier--say about twelve years earlier, when Italy invaded Ethiopia to the plaudits of Italian bishops and while the present Pius XII was the silent papal secretary of state.76

76 TCC, LXIII (March 6, 1946), 294-295. The Italian bishops referred to above were not following the example of the Bishop of Rome and his secretary. Cf. John Farrow, Pageant of the Popes (New York, 1943), pp. 384-385: "When Italy was making ready to invade Abyssinia and when all the fiery ingredients of patriotism were being invoked to stir popular enthusiasm amongst the Italian people, Pius XI made known his alarm and disapproval. "We long for peace," he told an audience of nurses, "and we pray God that we may be spared from war. The mere thought of war is a terror to us. And now we understand that, abroad, there is talk of a war for conquest, a war of aggression. That is a hypothesis that we do not wish even to consider, a supposition which is truly disconcerting. Any war which is a war only of conquest would be an unjust war, obviously--a thing which routs imagination, something sad beyond words and horrible. We cannot think about an unjust war; we cannot envisage its possibility, and we deliberately turn our mind from it; we do not believe, we do not wish to believe there can be an unjust war. On the other hand, in Italy, they are saying that the war of which there is question will be a just war, because it is a war of defence, to make the frontier safe against the continual, the incessant dangers to which it is exposed; that it is a war necessary by reason of the expansion of the population which is increasing from day to day; that it is a war undertaken to defend or to make certain the country's material security; that such a war justifies itself. It is, however, true, and we cannot but reflect on this truth, that if there is this need for expansion, if there is this need to defend the frontier and make it secure, we can only wish that some other means may be found than war. What is this other means? Obviously it is not easy to say. We do not believe it is impossible to find another means. All the possibilities must be studied. One thing there is which seems to us beyond all doubt, this namely that if the need for expansion is a fact with which we must reckon, the right of defence has its limits and qualifications, and these must be observed if the defence is to be free from blame.'
This same editorial contains another area of the Papal profile to which The Christian Century directs its attention. This is the whole question of what the periodical calls the "unbending rigidity of the papal claims" which must be "acknowledged and deplored for its weakening of the impact of Christianity on contemporary problems." When the Pope addressed himself to a discussion of those very contemporary problems in an allocution on February 20th, 1946, The Christian Century editorialized:

"There is danger, lest distracted by the anachronistic pageantry of recent events at St. Peter's, the public miss the importance of certain things said by the pope...The entire text of that allocution will repay the most careful study. It is, to be sure, a rigidly partisan document. The pope is not willing to conceive any other Christian approach to the 'inextricable tangle' in which modern man finds himself than 'under the guidance...[sic] of the pope and of the bishops in communion with him.'"

The Pope spoke in vain. The Italian armies invaded Abyssinia on the 2nd of October, 1935."


77Ibid.

78Ibid. Cf. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, XIII (April, 1946), 141-151. The allocution was given to the then recently consecrated cardinals. The real subject of the allocution is a study of the nature of the church, its difference from civil society,
and its responsibilities and mission. The allocation may be divided into seven parts. First, a brief greeting to the new cardinals; second, a few words on the supranational character of the church; third, a rather long treatment of the influx of the church on the foundations of human society; fourth, an exposition of the two principal columns of human society: the family and the state; fifth, remarks on the arduous mission of the church; sixth, the Mass and the church; seventh, a parting word on the love of the church.

The quotation given in the editorial makes use of the device of "selection" and leads to an inaccurate rendition of the actual words and thought of the Pope. The original sections will be quoted here to show how much distortion results from their omission. Cf. The Catholic Mind, XLIV (April, 1946), "The Church--Foundation of Society," pp. 200-201:

"Certainly today, in the extricable confusion in which the world is tossing, the State finds itself compelled to take over an immense weight of duties and offices; but does not this abnormal state of affairs threaten gravely to compromise its essential force and the efficiency of its authority?

Now what is the consequence of all this for the Church? She must today, as never before, live her mission; she must reject more emphatically than ever that false and narrow concept of her spirituality and her interior life which would confine her, blind and mute, in the retirement of the sanctuary.

The Church cannot cut herself off, inert in the privacy of her churches, and thus desert her divinely providential mission of forming the complete man, and thereby collaborating without rest in the construction of the solid foundations of society. This mission is for her essential. Considered from this angle, the Church may be called the assembly of those who, under the supernatural influence of grace, in the perfection of their personal dignity as sons of God and in the harmonious development of all human inclinations and energies, build the powerful structure of human intercourse.

Under this aspect, Venerable Brethren, the faithful, and more precisely the laity, are in the front line of the Church's life; for them the Church is the vital principle of human society. Accordingly they--especially they--must have an ever-clearer sense not only of belonging to the Church, but of being the Church, the community of the faithful on earth under the guidance of the common head, the Pope, and of the Bishops in communion with him. They are the Church, hence from its earliest days the faithful, with the consent of their Bishops, have united in particular associations relating to the most diverse spheres of life. And the Holy See has never ceased to approve of and praise these organizations." (Italics added; these were the words used to make the editorial quote.)
This "rigidity" of the papal claims is particularly manifest when he speaks on doctrinal and moral questions. In the editorial, "Denies Civil Power Over Marriage," the adamant attitude of the Pope is pictured as being embarrassing to Catholics. "Though Roman Catholics attempt to explain away the intolerance of some of the classic and even current, pronouncements of their highest authorities on the plea that they apply 'only in a completely Catholic country,' the pope himself seems unaware of any such distinction. Hence his recent claim that the church has exclusive jurisdiction over marriage..."79 Such an attitude is in sharp contrast with the pronouncements of the Episcopal Church: "It is one thing for a church to take the position, as the Episcopal Church does... It is quite another thing for a church to arrogate to itself exclusive jurisdiction in this field for everybody as the Roman Catholic Church does in theory everywhere and in practice wherever it has the political power to make this claim effective."80

In an article on the "Protestant Misuse of the Bible," Charles Clayton Morrison writes that "the pope declares himself to be the infallible interpreter of the Bible. The Bible

79 TCC, LXIII (October 16, 1946), 1236. On this point one may confer the note on page 45.

80 TCC, LXIII (October 30, 1946), 1304.
therefore teaches what the pope says it teaches; and he says it teaches that Peter was the 'rock' on which Christ said he would build his church. His interpretation thus transcends and supersedes the Bible." 81

An analysis of the material dealing with the Vatican reveals a repetition of many of the themes that appeared in the contents of the editorials and articles about the Pope. One of the most prominent of these themes is the ascription of political motivation to the Vatican. The battle between the Church and the Communist forces sweeping across Europe during these times is defined as a struggle in which the Roman Church is seeking to maintain its old established supremacy. This view of the battle between Catholicism and Communism is expressed in almost so many words in the same editorial which warned Protestants against becoming involved in "the papal effort to restore the privileged position of the Roman Catholic Church." 82 This editorial also comments, "Protestants do not want to become involved in any of the political battles between the Vatican and the Kremlin which are being caused by the disestablishment of the papal church in Soviet-dominated parts of eastern Europe." In another editorial the Vatican's declaration of what was termed a "holy war" is seen

81 TCC, LXIII (June 5, 1946), 715. It must be noted that Morrison also accuses Protestantism of claiming infallibility for its interpretation.

82 TCC, LXIII (November 6, 1949), 1333.
as being inconsistent with the attitude of the Vatican during the World War. "During the war, when the Axis powers were under attack, the Vatican issued repeated calls for an end of hostilities. But since then, the Vatican and Roman Catholic leaders everywhere have been attempting to rouse up Christendom for a holy war against communism on the ground that the two cannot exist in the same world...America, the Jesuit weekly, recently fought to turn the charge of warmongering from the Roman Church by declaring that this is 'everybody's holy war!'"  

A great many facets of the Vatican profile emerge in the material printed on the Vatican Embassy controversy. When President Roosevelt appointed Myron C. Taylor as his personal representative to the Vatican and bestowed on him the rank of ambassador, The Christian Century published an editorial entitled "The Vatican Embassy Fraud," in which it denounced the "illicit intrigue between our state department and the Vatican...The establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican began in chicanery and deceit...So, by these devious devices, the Vatican got an American 'Ambassador'..."  

The Christian Century felt that the American people should be warned about the dangers that this alignment with the Vatican could hold, and once again cast doubt upon the motives of the Church. "There are no interests

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83 TCC, LXIII (November 6, 1949), 1333.
84 TCC, LXIII (April 3, 1946), 422-423.
and ideologies more militant or more completely promoted by all the wiles of an expert diplomacy than those of the Roman Catholic Church. Even the most cursory examination of the history of Vatican diplomacy reveals what a prolonged study of it confirms and illustrates by innumerable examples—that its sole purpose has always been the protection of the property and 'rights' of the Roman Catholic Church and the enhancement of its privileges and power." 85

Among the arguments used by the Administration to support the maintenance of the Taylor appointment was one which states his post served the cause of peace. The Christian Century thought otherwise and expressed itself editorially, "The main problem in connection with peace today is the achievement of a working accord between the United States and Russia. The Vatican is in no position to do anything about this problem. On the contrary, it may be depended on to obstruct and delay a settlement between these two nations as long as possible." 86

The initiative for maintaining the Taylor mission is pictured as coming from the Vatican. "After the death of Mr. Roosevelt, it was hoped that this illegal relationship would be quietly allowed to lapse. But the Vatican and the American hierarchy has other thoughts." 87

85 TCC, LXIII (June 19, 1946), 774.
86 TCC, LXIII (December 4, 1946), 1460.
87 TCC, LXIII (May 8, 1946), 586.
The reasons for the ascribed interest of the Vatican are indicated in another editorial which stated:

...Myron C. Taylor has been welcomed back to the Vatican with unusual honors which show how keenly aware the pontifical authorities are of the importance of his mission. On the morning he arrived the press announced that he had arranged for the shipment of 3,500,000 pounds of flour to Italy, where it will be distributed in areas threatened by famine. Why is this American relief being sent through the ambassador to the Vatican? Why not through UNRRA?...Why through the Vatican? Could there be any political significance in a move to make the Italian peasants believe at this time that their most likely source of aid lies in the close connection of the American government with the papal headquarters? 88

How effective this editorializing was and how well the symbolization of the Vatican was assimilated by the readers of The Christian Century can be judged from the letters received by the periodical. All the letters appeared under the title "The Vatican Embassy Fraud." They will be quoted here in succession:

Protestantism can win America if the Protestants quit their bickering and realize that Rome has not changed and will do again what it has done in the past if it becomes ascendant. 89

In thankful appreciation of your editorial, "The Vatican Fraud," I have written the President expressing my vigorous disapproval of this fraudulent act... 90

Let me commend you for the courage evidenced in your discerning editorial on "The Vatican Embassy Fraud." In this leadership you merit the support of the whole

88 TCC, LXIII (May 22, 1946), 643.
89 TCC, LXIII (April 17, 1946), 499. Omissions are noted in the texts.
90 Ibid.
of American Protestantism. I believe if we are heard frequently enough and loudly enough this unholy alliance with the Vatican may be terminated. 91

YOUR EDITORIAL VATICAN EMBASSY FRAUD IS SPLENDIDLY DONE. WHAT CAN WE DO? 92

After I read the editorial on "The Vatican Embassy Fraud," I agreed with it but asked myself, "What can I do?" The Christian Century should take the lead in presenting this matter to the religious press... 93

You are to be congratulated for that scholarly and fearless article on "The Vatican Embassy Fraud." In reading the article the question that came to my mind was, "Why don't we do something about it?"

I would suggest that The Christian Century establish headquarters for a pressure group which will have the one objective of forcing this matter to an absolute showdown. You have done a splendid job crusading. Now is the time to organize for action. If you are willing to form the nucleus, I am sure that you will hear the welkin ring you hope for. 94

I have just finished reading your editorial "The Vatican Embassy Fraud." Let me heartily commend you on your consistent and courageous stand on this most deplorable situation...Perhaps if we had more editors who would attack the problem with the same frankness and force they might get some action from Washington. That would relieve "Count Taylor" and his aides at the Vatican of their jobs. 95

Your editorial on the Vatican embassy certainly should awaken the non-Catholic American world...The Vatican was always pro-fascist and pro-nazi until it saw that the Allies would win...

91 Ibid.
92 Ibid. This was a telegram.
93 Ibid., 499-500.
94 Ibid., 500.
95 Ibid., 499.
In my opinion it has been through Myron Taylor's affection for the Vatican that the Roman curia, which is detested by all patriotic Italians as the enemy of Italy, has been placed on a pedestal and worshipped. As I understand this question, big business, American and English, is against Russia. The Roman Church is against Russia. Therefore let us battle the Roman Church to the limit to avert another war.96

This is the picture for 1946. The study now turns to the material published by The Christian Century on the Papacy and the Vatican in 1949.

1949. A brief glance at the titles of the editorials and articles that dealt with the Papacy and the Vatican will give some indication of the material that the periodical offered to the attention of its readers. The various titles that had to do with the Papacy read thus: "When is a Red Voter Excommunicated?"97 "Tomb of Apostle Discovered--Maybe,"98 "Canon Law versus Civil Law,"99 "Conscience and the Law,"100 "Papal Law for Judges is 'Standard Doctrine,'"101 "Can a 'Truly Catholic Judge' be a Judge?"102

The two articles in which something of the

96 Ibid.
97 TCC, LXVI (October 10, 1949), 932.
98 TCC, LXVI (September 14, 1949), 1059.
99 TCC, LXVI (November 23, 1949), 1380.
100 TCC, LXVI (December 14, 1949), 1478.
101 TCC, LXVI (November 30, 1949), 1413.
102 TCC, LXVI (December 21, 1949), 1509.
Papal profile was sketched bore the titles, "If the Pope Defines the Assumption,"103 and "Innocent III."104 With the possible exception of "Conscience and the Law," the titles give a positive clue to the theme contained within the body of the editorial or article. If one turns to the content, what is the image of the Papal profile that one gets?

One thing to be noticed almost at once is that the majority of the content for 1949 that will provide something of the Papal profile deals with doctrinal matters, particularly moral questions. The area of controversy centered around the Pope's allocution to Catholic judges. This allocution was taken as another example of Rome's grasping for control. "It was clear enough, but the pope's address to Roman Catholic judges throughout the world on November 7 makes it unmistakably clear, that the Vatican is determined to extend its control of marriage and divorce to cover Protestants and secularists as well as Roman Catholics in the United States and every other country regardless of any provisions of the civil law...The New York Herald Tribune's Rome correspondent quotes 'competent observers' [sic] (which must mean

103 TCC, LXVI (October 3, 1949), 912. By Georges A. Barrois, former theologian at Catholic University of America and a religious.

104 TCC, LXVI (December 28, 1949), 1537. By Oscar F. Green, church historian.
Vatican spokesmen) as saying that this applies to Protestant as well as to Catholic marriages."\textsuperscript{105}

The same editorial brings out another interesting feature. This is the implication that loyalty to the Pope must mean disloyalty to the legal code of one's own country. The \textit{Christian Century} stated the divisive quality of the obedience to the Pope in the words "...a Roman Catholic judge who obeys the pope's mandate must administer canon law not civil law."\textsuperscript{106} When an attempt was made by Catholic sources to explain the Catholic position, the editorial columns of the magazine contained this statement:

\begin{quote}
NOTHING NEW \textsuperscript{sic}\ was added to the familiar Roman Catholic claim for the church's superiority to civil law when the pope instructed Catholic judges not to grant divorces, even when the law of the state authorizes them to do so, except under "certain circumstances."...Various high Catholic authorities have commented that this is "standard doctrine." Of course it is. There is nothing new about it. The only thing new is the extraordinary amount of squirming by those spokesmen as they attempt to remove the odious implications of conflict between civil and ecclesiastical law, now that the matter has been given so much publicity...The pope's address, we are told, stated a "fundamental norm," and therefore was only "for guidance," not Catholic law. (Since when has the pope's
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{105} \textit{TCC}, LXVI (November 23, 1949), 1380. The reader will note the interesting use of the technique of 'transfer'—unintentional or subconscious. The words of the \textit{New York Herald Tribune}'s correspondent, who is not named in the entire editorial, are quoted as though they were the Vatican's.

\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Ibid.}
declaration of a fundamental norm been, for the faith-
ful, anything less than law?) ¹⁰⁷

The papal pronouncement is pictured as having established a con-

flict in Catholic consciences, the conflict of deciding one's

loyalties. For The Christian Century, "The explicit purpose of

the pope's address was to resolve these conflicts of conscience.

There ought to be no more such conflicts for those who find

infallibility in the voice of the Vatican." ¹⁰⁸ This same topic

found its way into the editorial columns again. This time, how-

ever, a nuance was added to the argument. The Pope is pictured

as having aimed his allocution at the United States:

Judge Walsh ¹⁰⁷ a New Mexico Catholic is skating on very

thin ice when he makes his own fitness to continue on the

bench as a Catholic conditional upon the correct-

ness of his opinion that the pope did not mean to

include the United States within the scope of his in-

structions. It is true that the pope made some refer-

ences to places where the church is persecuted, and at

that point he doubtless had in mind the Communist-

controlled countries of eastern Europe. But there was

no hint of any geographical limits to his instructions

about divorce laws—except when he said Italy was for-
tunate in having no such laws. In fact, he was probably

pointing to the United States more definitely than to

any other part of the world.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ TCC, LXVI (November 30, 1949), 1413-1414.

¹⁰⁸ TCC, LXVI (December 14, 1949), 1479. There are hints

here also of the "authoritarian" theme. This is indicated in

this same editorial by the statement that "the pope's discourse

on the foundations of jurisprudence and the source and channel

of authority makes it clear which must have the priority in

their minds [i.e., Catholic judges' minds]." Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ TCC, LXVI (December 21, 1949), 1509.
The theme of distrust of the motives of the Papacy appeared again in this year under a few different forms. The Christian Century's comment on the decree of excommunication against pro-communist voters paints a picture of contradictory motivation:

A FEW WEEKS AGO [sic] the announcement that the holy office had decreed that all Roman Catholics who support communism are to be excommunicated excited Europe.... Once the Church had obtained the propagandist effect that it was after, however, it began to "interpret" the ruling until by now it is hard to say whom, besides those in open revolt against the church, it affects.... The whole incident reminds us of the way in which Pius IX and Leo XIII thundered against socialism. But after the socialist tide began to cover western Europe, the Church discovered that it was really only one special brand of "atheistic materialistic" socialism the pope had denounced. Semper idem, of course. But also, tempus fugit.110

When the Vatican issued a release about some archeological excavations under St. Peter's, the excavations in which it was believed that the tomb of the Apostle St. Peter had been found, The Christian Century was wary of this information. "There is no dogmatic necessity for this belief, as there is for the belief that Peter lived in Rome for a while, but there is a great deal of ecclesiastical utility in it. That is what arouses one's suspicions. The Roman Catholic authorities, whether hierarchical or archeological, are not in the position of unprejudiced judges of evidence. They have too much to gain by a favorable decision. The rest of the world may well wait for the verdict of more unbiased research."111

110 TCC, LXVI (August 10, 1949), 932.
111 TCC, LXVI (September 14, 1949), 1059.
In the analysis of the content for the year 1946, the "rigidity of the papal claims"\textsuperscript{112} was pictured as detrimental to the united impact of Christianity upon our modern world. The same theme returns in an article published by The Christian Century about the then imminent definition of the Assumption as a dogma of the Catholic faith. The author of the article remarks that, "Should the pope decide in favor of a dogmatic pronunciation, the chasm between Rome and the other Christian churches would deepen, to no profit."\textsuperscript{113} Variations on this same theme had been expressed before. One occurred in an editorial on the Amsterdam ecumenical meeting. The German theologian Karl Barth had something to say to Fr. Jean Danielou that The Christian Century included in its editorial. Barth said to Danielou, "You say yourself that you Roman Catholics are bound to guard what

\textsuperscript{112}Cf. page 49, note 77.

\textsuperscript{113}TCC, LXVI (September 3, 1949), 914. 'After his historical and theological exposition, the author asks, 'What can we Protestants conclude from this testimony?' His answer and manner of expression give one some idea of how the papal claims are conceived by Protestants. "...we object categorically to the procedure of 'dogmatic definition' as a direct exercise of the pope's alleged infallibility." \textit{Ibid.}

Much the same kind of an idea is held by the prominent theologian Reinhold Niebuhr. "He [Reinhold Niebuhr] suggested that any lingering envy which many Protestants had for Catholic unity 'has recently been dispelled by the consistent effort of the Church to change the very basis of the Gospel message and to exalt the Virgin Mary until she has become a virtual replacement for the Holy Spirit in the Trinity.' This was a commentary on the Catholic celebration of the Marian Year, and the earlier definition of the Assumption..." John A. Hardon, S.J., "Reinhold Niebuhr and Catholicism," \textit{Homiletic and Pastoral Review}, LXII (November, 1961), 136.
has been entrusted to you with an uncompromising loyalty which forbade your participating in our efforts. And this is not your private opinion, but the view of the pope, who has declared it in unmistakable terms again and again. And you know as well as I that he had [sic] to express himself in such terms, and that your church had [sic] to stay away from Amsterdam."114

Another significant article that adds much to the papal profile appeared in 1949 also. After one has read all of the content in the period that this entire study covers, this article (even though it is not an editorial) seems to summarize the attitude of The Christian Century toward the Papacy. The article was entitled, "Innocent III," but the theme was really much different. The actual subject of the article is "the papal ideal." This "ideal" is shown to be impossible of attainment by means of the example of Innocent III, an "ideal pope."

If after the manner of the 18th century, this article had a subtitle, it might well be: "Reflections on the Papal Ideal as Embodied in Its Most Worthy Exponent." For that is what Innocent III was. So often when we judge men, institutions, or ideals, we take them at their worst. So it has been with much criticism of the Roman Church. It is more rewarding for us to consider the ideal and the way it works out in the person of one whom both Roman Catholic and secular historians have agreed to call "the Great."...He was very much of a puritan and as free from pride as a man in his position could be...Best of all, Innocent was a genius, who conceived of himself as God-appointed ruler of the world. And as nearly as any could, he measured up to the requirements of that position.

114 TCC, LXVI (April 6, 1949), 422.
When Innocent came to the throne he set himself the task of clarifying the papal ideal and then taking it out of the realm of theory and demonstrating how it worked... The emperor is to have power in the secular field, but he must realize that this power does not come directly from God, as emperors had proudly boasted in the past, but is mediated to him through Christ's vicar on the throne of Peter.

As long as the emperor behaved himself he was to be left undisturbed in his prerogatives, but when he defied the laws of God or was not submissive to the church, it was the duty of the pope to remove him. A corollary of this proposition was that in the absence of an emperor the pope was himself the head of civil affairs. Another corollary was that, although the emperor was elected, the pope need not abide by the election, for actually it was he who appointed the emperor.....

While he lived, Innocent held the reins of temporal power in western Europe as according to the papal ideal a pope should hold them--but at what a cost! He told his crusaders that if they attacked a Christian city he would excommunicate the lot of them; but he never did. He knew that King John was one of the worst rulers of all time, but when John submitted to him he left John on his throne, and John remained one of the worst rulers of all time. Innocent's pontificate was particularly bloody: that was the price he paid for temporal supremacy. He was so engrossed with affairs of state that he had no time for spiritual leadership. Some will cavil at this statement, for he did much to reform the behavior of the clergy and laity; but it was nearly always from an institutional angle. With him it was always law rather than love.

The failure of Innocent, however, was the failure of his ideal. Christ declared to Pilate that his kingdom was not of this world. The papal ideal declares that it is--and Innocent set out to prove the validity of the papal ideal. Owing to the greatness of his genius, for a few short years he made it work, after a fashion. But the results were not what we should expect when Christ in the person of his vicar is in charge of temporalities...

Few, except those who hoped for preferment, made any pretense of loving Innocent. The people of Rome
drove him into exile and let him return only when they
decided that even his government was better than anar-
chy. The crusades gained no spiritual ends—not even
that against the Albigenses, which had more justifica-
tion than that against Jerusalem. Freedom of any kind
had to be crushed, as in the case of the Magna Carta.
All principles had to be compromised for the sake of
power.

Is it not patent that these weaknesses are inherent
in a totalitarian ideal, whether it be papal or commu-
nistic? The individual must conform....

Innocent was a man of high personal integrity, who
loved justice and mercy and longed to make Christ's will
prevail in the affairs of men. But he failed because he
went about his task in the wrong way. The papal ideal
is an impossible ideal. No mortal man can make it work,
not even a genius like Innocent. The way to the Kingdom
of God is not through temporal power. Jesus saw this
and chose the way of the cross as he spurned Satan's
offer of the kingdoms of the world and the glory thereof.

At its best the Roman Church is conscious of this
fact, for it has never canonized Innocent...And why?
Because the papal ideal has nothing to do with the
spirit of Christ, but is rather the creation of man's
pride and love of power, of what Paul Elmer More would
call the "demon of the absolute."

The career of Innocent fills the sensitive soul
with a deep sense of tragedy...His was a mistaken sense
of values...Instead of loving Christ and his brethren,
he loved the papal ideal.115

It seems fair to this writer to say that the features of
the profile that one finds in the article above are not only
included in The Christian Century's view of the Papacy, but that
they seem to be common to a very great number of Protestants.
Notice the themes that keep occurring: the pride of a man who
would accept such a position; the use of spiritual authority as

a power weapon in the political sphere; the authoritarian and totalitarian nature of the Papacy; the temporal emphasis that the Papacy gives to the Church—all of these seem to be rather permanent features of the papal profile.

The same characteristics are ascribed to the Vatican in the content dealing with it. The question of motivation of Vatican activity, and the surge for a political power position comes again into the editorial columns. Under the title, "Vatican Pressure On the U.N.?" The Christian Century wrote:

BEFORE [sic] the current session of the United Nations Assembly opened it was assumed that one of its first acts would be to approve Israel's application for membership. Instead, to the astonishment of most Americans, when the matter came up the Israeli bid was shunted to a committee, where it may slumber indefinitely. Why?...Whatever mystery surrounded this postponement of Israel's hopes began to disappear the day before Easter when the pope issued an encyclical calling for the internationalization of Jerusalem, the protection of religious shrines in Palestine and the guarantee of traditional Roman Catholic rights there. The encyclical contained a paragraph in which Catholic bishops were instructed to see that "the followers of Christ entrusted to your care...[sic] cause their governments to reaffirm" all these traditional Catholic privileges. Camille M. Cianfarra, the Rome correspondent of the New York Times, reported that the issuance of this encyclical "at this time is linked in Vatican circles to [the pope's] [these words appear thus in the editorial of The Christian Century, they are not inserted by the writer of this thesis] desire that Catholic nations, before voting for admission of Israel to the United Nations when that question comes up again during the present session, obtain what the pope considers necessary guarantees for the 'maintenance of all rights that the Catholics have held for many centuries in Palestine.'" A correspondent of Religious New Service, reporting from Cairo, stated that the papal nuncio there had urged the Vatican to intervene to keep Israel out of the U.N., and Egyptian "official sources" were
quoted as saying that the resulting action by the Vatican "had caused 'Christian nations' to obstruct the sending of Israel's application for U. N. membership to the political committee." This quotation seems to be garbled, for it was by sending the application to the political committee that the Israeli bid was sidetracked. The meaning however is clear: Egypt believes that the Vatican spiked the Israeli hopes. But this revelation that the Vatican is already intervening to control the action in a world body of nations with strong Catholic elements in their populations indicates to what a degree the Roman Church must be regarded as a political, even more than a religious, force.116

On another occasion, the Israeli question again gives the reader a chance to see The Christian Century's definition of the motives of the Vatican:

WHAT CONNECTION (sig.), if any, there may be between this pressure to legalize the Taylor embassy and the Vatican's stepped-up effort to secure concessions in Palestine from the Israeli government, we do not know. Perhaps it is only coincidence that the two questions have come up at the same time. In any case, the papal church has suddenly brought into the open its dissatisfaction with the treatment it has been accorded by the Zionist state. The Vatican's attack opened when its radio station broadcast that the Fides news agency, operated by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, has reported from Jerusalem that Catholic communities and missionaries in Palestine are being hamstring and called Zionism "the new nazism."117

To attempt an amicable settlement of the excitement raging in Palestine, the suggestion came from the Pope and the Vatican that Jerusalem should be internationalized. The Christian Century printed an article by Carl Hermann Voss on "Israel and the

116 TCC, LXVI (May 4, 1949), 548-549.
117 TCC, LXVI (June 22, 1949), 755.
Holy Places" that seemed to reflect the editorial views on this question:

In view of all this evidence that Israel is guarding holy places and granting religious freedom to all faiths, it is incongruous for the Roman Catholic Church to ask for the internationalization of Jerusalem as a safeguard to religious institution and sacred shrines. In the light of the facts that restitution and repairs have been made, that agreements have been faithfully kept and that no persecution has been allowed, the Vatican has no solid case when it insists on complete internationalization of the entire area.

The Vatican asks for the internationalization of Jerusalem and control by a "Christian commission." Roman Catholics, accustomed to such an enclave in the case of Vatican City in Rome, put on an ever increasing pressure for "internationalization," but they leave a convenient loophole should they fail in this campaign. Monsignor Vergani makes it quite clear that internationalization seems to the pope to be the most constructive, hopeful solution, but "if the United Nations should not adopt the scheme, then the Holy Father would welcome a solution suitable to and agreed upon by the interested parties, Jews and Arabs."

When Monsignor Vergani's attention is directed to statements of the Vatican radio and the Osservatore Romano, in which Israel is accused of religious persecution and desecration of holy places, he tells his inquirer to ignore these broadcasts and editorials, for they are unofficial. "Only the pope's statements are official," he insists, and the suggestion of internationalization is made solely, "to insure safety for the holy places." But an alternative solution, says Vergani, is also acceptable for consideration should one be found by Israelis and Arabs. 118

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118 TCC, LXVI (November 23, 1949), 1390-1392. In connection with the editorials and their quotes and the article cited above, one may find it interesting to confer Acta Apostolicae Sedis, XLI (April, 1949), 161-6. This is the encyclical Redemptoris Nostri on Palestine. The official translation is given in the Catholic Mind, XLVII (June, 1949), 569-71. These texts reveal another case of misquotation.

Of interest too is a statement by Most Rev. Michael Assaf, Melchite Archbishop of Transjordan, "Refugees from Palestine," The Catholic Mind, XLVII (June, 1949), 372-3. The statement was issued on January 27, 1949.
The Vatican Embassy issue continued to be an area of controversy in 1949 also. When President Truman conferred the Medal of Merit on Myron C. Taylor, the editorial columns of The Christian Century had this to say:

We do not begrudge Mr. Taylor any distinction he may have earned, although remembering the mess he made of his efforts to deal with the World Council at Geneva we have our reservations as to his diplomatic skill. Yet we would like to know a lot more about what his "manifold and arduous duties" at the Vatican have been. Mr. Taylor himself once tried to enlighten a skeptical public on that point when he published the letters he had carried back and forth between President Roosevelt and Pius XII. But that slim volume served only to mystify, since all it disclosed was that Mr. Roosevelt told the pope he was for peace and was glad to learn that the pope was for peace, and the pope told Mr. Roosevelt that he (the pope) was for peace and was glad to learn that Mr. Roosevelt was for peace, and then both agreed that everybody should be for peace.119

The Christian Century called for an end to the "anomalous mission" of Mr. Taylor "without further delay," not only because it "costs the country around $40,000 a year," but also because "the embassy has exacerbated relations between Roman Catholics and members of other faiths, since it is by nature discriminatory between churches."120 Besides, the Vatican embassy was simply "a presidential subterfuge whose main purpose was to garner Catholic votes."121

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120 Ibid.

121 TCC, LXVI (March 23, 1949), 357.
The "intrigues" of the Vatican were brought out again in an article that proposed to deal with the "Vatican question" from an historical point of view. In speaking of the nineteenth century representatives, the author of the article gives a few lines on the Vatican profile:

Two things should be remembered about these men and their position. In the first place, they served only in the capacity of consuls. The post of consul is not a diplomatic post. A consul is not a member of the diplomatic corps, nor is he invested with any of the character, power or privileges of a diplomat. A consul is a commercial agent whose duty is to look after the commercial interests of his country in the place where he is resident in the performance of his tasks. Such these men were intended to be. The different character in which the papal court tried to accept them--and here the parallel with what has happened in the case of the Taylor mission is striking--was shown by the Roman Catholic historian Leo F. Stock, who wrote in his United States Ministers to the Papal States (Catholic University Press, 1933): "The American consuls were received at all formal functions on the same footing with full diplomatic representatives of other countries."

A second thing to be noted about these consuls is that they were sent to the Papal States at a time when these constituted a nation of considerable size and political importance. They were not sent to the pope as head of a church, as Mr. Taylor was...Most Americans recognize that Mr. Taylor is not an ambassador of the United States and that he is not connected with the department of state. Unfortunately, this is not recognized by the court of the pope. The Pontifical Directory lists Mr. Taylor as an accredited ambassador along with other ambassadors...Why did Mr. Roosevelt send Mr. Taylor to the papal court, and has Mr. Truman kept him there despite all remonstrances? Without regard to the relation such an appointment may have to the way votes are cast in American elections, it should be noted that the reason most often given is that the Vatican provides a center where information is gathered from all parts of the world. This is the "listening post" argument which Mr. Morgan made the title of his book. From the great centers of the world items of otherwise secret
information stream into the Vatican, and the representa-
tive of any country there may communicate these to his
superiors so that his country may profit thereby.

On the surface, this has a spurious plausability. But
one can be sure that if we are gathering this kind of
secret information about other nations at the Vatican,
other nations are using that same source to gather
secret information about us. Thus, the reason given for
the present unconstitutional embassy is that the Vatican
has become a sort of glorified and respectable spy head-
quarters where your country finds out as much as it can
about my country, and my country finds out as much as it
can about your country. The reader may debate as long
as he pleases whether we gain or lose by taking part in
this kind of thing.122

In the contents for 1949, the Vatican's part in the
struggle with Communism is viewed, as it was in 1946, as a
"struggle for power." In an editorial entitled, "Why Protestants
Can't Join In An Anti-Communist Drive," The Christian Century
seems to make its own the comments of W. A. Visser't Hooft of
the World Council of Churches:

There is an issue that confronts Protestants in every
country. That issue is created by the position in
which they are placed by their refusal to become iden-
tified with Communism or with the anti-Communist crusade
which has its origins in Roman clericalism....The church
must stand guard against being identified with a general
anti-Communist crusade, which "leads to self-righteous-
ness and to war psychology." "We cannot," he /i.e., Mr.
Visser't Hooft/ said, "accept a clericalism which
identifies itself with the defense of the established
order in the West and does not bring into its message

122 TCC, LXVI (October 19, 1949), 1228-1231. "Behind the
that note of repentance and self-criticism which alone can save the struggle against Communism from becoming a pure struggle for power."\textsuperscript{123}

A Roman Catholic and a Russian Orthodox request for guaranteed access to the shrines of Palestine was put into the context of what The Christian Century called "a cold holy war." Israel guaranteed that the shrines would be open. The periodical commented, "If next year's mass pilgrimages should turn out to be only a thinly disguised maneuver to give the principal protagonists in the cold war--the Vatican and the Kremlin--possession of key shrines, Israel's policy is likely to change in a hurry.

The young Zionist state has already shown that it has no desire to be caught between the contending forces in the cold war. To be caught between the lines in a cold holy war would be even more disastrous to its inner peace and outer security."\textsuperscript{124}

\textsuperscript{123} TCC, LXVI (April 20, 1949), 485. On the subject of Protestantism and Communism, one may find it interesting to confer John A. Hardon, S.J., Christianity in Conflict (Westminster, 1959), pp. 159-170.

\textsuperscript{124} TCC, LXVI (September 14, 1949), 1081. It is interesting to note that for the layman the "cold war" signifies the struggle between Communist Russia and the United States. For The Christian Century, the "contending forces" are the Vatican and the Kremlin. It seems that a certain identification was effected which placed both the Vatican and Russia in the "equal evils" columns. A correspondent whose name was withheld wrote to thank the periodical for the clarion note it was "insistently sounding to apprise Protestants of a menace to liberty...the Charybdis of communism and the Scylla of Vaticanism, equally totalitarian, equally ominous and inimical..." Ibid., 1075.
In the light of The Christian Century's identification of Russia and the Vatican as the principal protagonists in the cold war it is difficult to understand the following statement: "Fides, the international news agency maintained by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith with its headquarters in the Vatican, has released a report which says that any nation interested in the political, economic or religious future of the Pacific area should immediately recognize the Chinese Communist government. The British government appears to be about to make this move."125

Thus far an analysis of the contents on the Papacy and the Vatican for 1949 lends evidence to the existence of a certain pattern of characterization which has tended to remain rather constant. For more information the study turns now to the analysis of the contents on the Papacy and the Vatican that appeared in 1952.

1952. The theme of the "unbending rigidity of the papal claims" appears again before the year gets very far under way. On the occasion of the ordination of a former Protestant pastor

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125 TCC, LXVI (November 11, 1949), 1414. Fides actually never made any such statement. When in Rome while on his way to India, this writer went to the offices of Fides, conferred with the international editor and the English branch editor, but was unable to track down this reference. For years prior to the take-over of the Communist regime in China, Fides tried to warn the world of the dangers of the communist element in China. As regards Red China, the editorial policy of Fides is contrary to what the quote in the above cited editorial suggests.
to the priesthood in Germany, The Christian Century told its readers: "The world press has shown great interest in the ordination of a married man, a former Protestant pastor, as a Roman Catholic priest in Germany. The papal dispensation to permit this was not, however, as unprecedented as news reports suggested... The thing for Protestants to note in this ordination, and in others similar said to be pending, is that the one immutable demand by the Church of Rome in its pursuit of Christian unity is recognition of the papal claim. Everything else can be compromised." 126

In the previous years of this sample, the writer has noted that The Christian Century frequently ascribes motives to the Papacy and the Vatican. One finds a repetition of the same procedure in 1952. Under the title, "Why Then an Ambassador?" the periodical went into an analysis of the Pope's motives:

The papal allocution last Christmas Eve deserves particular attention from Americans at this time when the President of the United States is proposing that, as a reinforcement in its cold war against communism, this nation shall establish official diplomatic relations with the Vatican. It certainly had a direct bearing on that proposal, although perhaps this was not apparent to members of the papal entourage....

"The heart of the problem of peace," Pope Pius truly said, "is now of the spiritual order. The problem is a spiritual deficiency. Too rare in the world today is the deeply Christian sense of values...[sic] In this way men set obstacles in the way of actuating the order willed by God." The context suggests that

126 TCC, LXIX (January 16, 1952), 62.
at this point the pope was referring to an order of
peaceful and mutually helpful relations among men on
the basis of a recognition of the primacy of spiritual
values, not specifically to a Roman Catholic order
centered upon the recognition of his own primacy as
the arbiter of values.

"The church is not a political but a religious
society." Since this is true, the papal reminder con-
tinues, the church cannot become the "ally or instrument"
of either party in the struggle between the communist
powers and the "free world." "Statesmen, and at times
even churchmen, who want to make the Spouse of Christ
their ally or the instrument of their political alli-
ances, either national or international, would do
injury to the very essence of the church and would
inflict damage on the life which is proper to her. In
a word, they would bring her down to the same level on
which conflicting temporal interests are locked in
struggle."

That, if one ponders its implications, ought to
bring to an abrupt end all thought of employing the
apparatus of secular diplomacy in order to win colla-
boration between the Vatican and national govern-
ments, our own or any others, in the campaign for peace which
is now being waged. The pope has served notice in
unmistakable terms that Vatican diplomacy has no such
object in view. If President Truman stubbornly pursues
his mistaken policy of sending an ambassador to the
Vatican, he cannot say that he was not warned in advance
and by a source which ought to know--the pope himself.
You will get nothing from us, the pope says in substance;
we do not take sides in temporal struggles; our business,
as protagonist of peace, is to declare the word of the
Lord in regard to the spiritual values upon which the
issue must ultimately be decided....

But the words that have been quoted directly and
indirectly from the Christmas Eve message do not give
the full picture of the Roman curia's interests and
procedures. If they did, one would wonder why there
should be a papal secretariat of state, an elaborate
system of Vatican diplomacy, and an exchange of nuncios
and ambassadors with nations throughout the world. The
reason for this is twofold. First, the curia has other
interests besides the inculcation of spiritual ideals
and the promotion of peace. Second, the pope's state-
ment that "the church is not a political but a religious
"society" is only half true. The other interests are the power, prestige, property and prerogatives of the Roman Catholic Church, to the defense and enhancement of which the entire diplomatic machinery of the Vatican is devoted exclusively [sic]. The other half of the half-truth is that the church is both [sic] a political and a religious society... There is scarcely any "instrument" that was ever used by secular governments and political states which has not also been used by the Roman Catholic Church. The principal one which it now uses are the pomp and prestige of political sovereignty (though over a microscopic territory) and the apparatus of diplomacy. Neither of these is used now, or has ever been used, for any purpose except to glorify and strengthen the Roman Catholic Church. 127

This theme of political maneuvering for a power position recurs constantly. In an editorial on Marshal Tito's break with the Vatican because of the elevation of Archbishop Stepinac to the cardinalate, The Christian Century refers to "the provocative character of the pope's act in making this man... 'a prince of the church'" and then comments further, "Why did the pope do it? It cannot be simply as part of the papal church's war against communism... The appointment may make trouble for the western nations that are trying to use Tito as a link in their chain containing the Soviet Union, and it was probably intended as a threat to Tito that he would find himself in trouble with those nations if he did not restore Roman Catholicism's former privileges in this country." 128

127 TCC, LXIX (January 23, 1952), 94-95.

128 TCC, LXIX (December 31, 1952), 1516-1517. The first part of this same editorial has some interesting comments. "Marshal Tito has broken diplomatic relations with the Vatican because of Archbishop Stepinac's elevation to the college of
Politics is not the only area of the papal quest for power. In an article on what is styled, "The Vatican's Economic Triangle," Conrad Henry Moehlman reveals for The Christian Century's readers the threat of possible papal control of economic life.

A DECADE and a half ago the Vatican launched an intensive campaign against communism. Many supporters of free enterprise rejoiced and judged that enthusiastic cooperation was desirable. But in 1950 Pope Pius XII issued a lengthy "exhortation" to clergy and teachers urging refutation of the errors contained in both communism and capitalism... Then having rejected the errors of both communism and the free enterprise system, the pope reached the climax of his exhortation by pointing out that the only economic system which has the full approval of the Vatican and must be restored is that of the medieval Roman Catholic Church... Thus the Vatican's economic triangle is readily discernible. It is medievalism opposing the modern economic ideologies, capitalism and communism....

Leo XIII in 1891 had "urged that the state had a duty to intervene in these matters of capital and labor." Pius XII closed his broadcast La Sullenita della Pentecoste, June 1, 1941 with the hope that the cardinals. A portion of the press comments as though the Yugoslav dictator had committed a breach of good manners. How? George Weller of the Chicago Daily News quotes 'Vatican quarters' as saying the break is 'the opening shot in a coming effort to justify forbidding Cardinal-designate Stepinac from making a round trip to Rome.' No doubt Tito would never let Stepinac back if he once left Yugoslavia, but there is much more behind this break than that. It must be remembered that Stepinac was found guilty of having worked hand-in-glove during the war with Pavelic's Ustashi. These were the terrorists who... subjected Yugoslavia to some of the most terrible atrocities of that blood-drenched period. When Stepinac was put on trial he submitted no evidence to disprove his support for the Ustashi; the government prosecutor presented stacks of documentary evidence of the most damaging nature." Ibid. Cf. p. 46.
papacy might play a role in the reconstruction of economic life: "We should like to cooperate, as from now on, in the future organization of that New Order [sic/], for the birth of which...[sic/ the world is waiting and wishing." Thus was the medieval Roman Catholic control of economic life offered anew to the 20th century United States of America. And once more in 1950, Pius XII reaffirmed the Vatican's right to direct the economic life of the world...When communism is conquered, if the Vatican remains consistent it must then fight capitalism. But the free enterprise system appears likely to prove a much more formidable antagonist for an ecclesiasticism weakened by its staggering losses in its war against communism. Meanwhile, free enterprise might ponder the warning of Pope Pius XI: "We lay down the principle, long since clearly established by Leo XIII, that it is our right and our duty to deal with social and economic problems."

In 1952, the Vatican embassy controversy raged with an even greater intensity than in past years and once again proved to be a platform for suggesting the type of motivation that was in the mind of the Pope. An analysis of the content sampled is valuable not only in determining the profile of the Papacy and the Vatican in The Christian Century, but also gives one a deeper insight into what might be called "the sociology of the

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129 TCC, LXIX (February 27, 1952), 242-244. As proof that "medievalism" is the only economic theory backed by the Church, the following quotation was used, "The errors of the two economic systems, and the damaging consequences which arise from them, must convince all, particularly priests, to remain faithful to the social doctrine of the church and to spread knowledge of its practical application. This doctrine, in fact, is the only one which can remedy the evils we have denounced and which are so unhappily widespread. It unites and perfects the demands of justice and the duties of charity and promotes a social order which does not oppress individuals or isolate them in blind egoism but draws all together in a harmonious relationship and in a bond of fraternal solidarity." Ibid., 242.
Protestant mind." In striving to evolve the elements of that sociology, the writer found the following editorial very interesting and provocative:

Does the Pope Repudiate Mr. Truman's Hoax?

Of course, Pope Pius XII will never, over his name, say that President Truman is trying to put over a nice piece of political deception in nominating an ambassador to "Vatican City State" and claiming that this is somehow different from sending a U.S. ambassador to the head of the Roman Catholic Church. But the column by Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick which appeared on the editorial page of the New York Times on the day before Christmas said, about as plainly as words can say it, that that is the way the pontiff feels about it. Mrs. McCormick evidently got the materials for her column, as she customarily does, straight from highest sources in the Vatican. She wrote throughout as one fully informed on what is in the mind of the pope. When she said that the Vatican believes it would be better for the church not to have an American ambassador if that is going "to stir up sectarian feeling and religious controversy" in this country, she added the specific assurance: "It is understood that this is the view of the pope himself."
The core of Mrs. McCormick's dispatch from Rome, however, came later, after she said that the Vatican wants no more "personal representatives." To satisfy the papal church, it must be an official U.S. embassy or nothing. Then followed this pregnant paragraph:

...The mission is either to the pope as the head of a worldwide church or it is nothing, it is pointed out; to pretend anything else is to make the appointment useless or reduce it to absurdity...

Perhaps the words would jump out of the page to challenge the reader without any typographical assistance. They certainly should. Nevertheless, we have italicized them because we want to make sure that no member of the Senate foreign relations committee fails to read them. This, remember, is the foreign affairs expert of our leading newspaper writing direct from
the Vatican. What she reports is that the pope himself holds that any United States ambassador will be sent to him "as the head of a worldwide church" or the appointment will be "nothing," an "absurdity."\[130\]

It would seem that the members of the foreign relations committee had read The Christian Century's editorial. Two weeks later, the editorial columns reported, "Drop Nomination of Clark to Vatican." Mrs. McCormick's report is credited with having helped the undecided senators to make up their minds. "Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick's by now famous dispatch from Rome to the New York Times, commented on in these columns on January 9, saying that the Vatican is interested only in a U. S. ambassador sent to the pope 'as the head of a worldwide church,' has made many hitherto undecided senators realize that the church-state implications of the embassy proposal cannot be evaded. Moreover, the pope's own Christmas Eve allocution...has cut the ground from under President Truman's principal arguments for establishing such an embassy..."\[131\] The purpose of the Pope's allocution, Soave Festivita, is a matter for discussion. It is important

\[130\]TCC, LXIX (January 9, 1952), 35-36. What happened to Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick's report from the Vatican is so interesting that this writer has decided to treat the matter in an appendix. In the appendix the entire report will be given.

\[131\]TCC, LXIX (January 23, 1952), 91. The allocution does not seem to really affect the President's arguments. But it is a refusal to be pulled into the struggle between the two camps that exist in the world on a purely political line. Cf. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, XIX (January, 1952), 5-15. The political neutrality of the Church is treated especially on pp. 5, 6, and 7.
to note, however, the interpretation that the editorial opinion of The Christian Century gives to this speech of the Pope.

When the White House later confirmed that the President would not renew the nomination of an ambassador to the Vatican, the magazine editorialized on the "lesson" that the embassy controversy should have taught the country. The editorial, which was entitled, "The Vatican Lesson," is important also as another example of the conception of the motives of the Pope and the Church as The Christian Century sees those motives:

All over the nation a feeling of relief has followed the announcement from the White House that General Clark's nomination as ambassador to the Vatican would not be renewed. The pressure on the President from political Romanism to get some sort of U.S. representative at the Vatican continues to be very strong...

...the nation has been shown that political Romanism is a tremendous and dangerous power. The pressure which developed to establish official connections between the government of the United States and the court of the pope is something no American should forget. As a matter of fact, no one can be sure what the members of Congress would have done had this proposal come to a vote. Whether the influence of the city party machine could have swung Congress remains a subject for debate...It has been proved that those who would defend such an American principle as the separation of church and state cannot depend on the secular press for either a full or fair account of the struggle...the daily press has reflected the urban power of the papal church by a news treatment which as frequently seemed intent on allotting to the Protestant side only the absolute minimum of presentation and an editorial treatment which has either favored the establishment of relations with the Vatican or tried to persuade the American people that the issue was without importance...this effort to establish an official link at the Vatican and in the state department
between the U.S. government and the papacy has been a reminder that the campaign to promote the political interests of the Roman Catholic Church never ceases. The fight which entered on a lull with the dropping of the Clark nomination will be renewed. What form it will next take cannot be foretold. Perhaps a new effort to establish an embassy. Perhaps a new effort to obtain tax money for church schools. Perhaps something else. But in some form the fight will be renewed because the Roman Catholic Church now thinks of itself as the majority church in this country. As Ryan and Boland, in their Catholic Principles of Politics, made clear, in a majority status Rome will not be content to abide by the constitutional provisions on which the American separation of church and state rests.132

132 TCC, LXIX (January 30, 1952), 118-119. The reference in the editorial to Ryan and Boland seems to be to the passage in the book in which the authors comment on the statement of Leo XIII that the State must not only have a care for religion, but must recognize the true religion, which would mean the Roman Catholic religion. So far as this writer can make out the comment of The Christian Century was inspired by the following sentences from Ryan and Boland: "In his encyclical on 'Catholicity in the United States,' the same Pope (Leo XII) gave generous praise to the attitude of our government and laws toward religion, but immediately added: 'Yet, though all this is true, it would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought the type of the most desirable status of the Church, or that it would be universally lawful or expedient for State and Church, to be, as in America, disjoined and divorced." John A. Ryan, D.D., Ll.D., and Francis J. Boland, C.S.C., Ph.D., Catholic Principles of Politics (New York, 1943), p. 315. It seems to this writer that it must be admitted Ryan and Boland set forth their ideas in a crusading way. If the above quoted remarks must give "tense Protestants" a few moments hesitation, the following would cause positive heart flurries: "It is true, indeed, that some zealots and bigots will continue to attack the Church because they fear that some five thousand years hence the United States may become overwhelmingly Catholic and may then restrict the freedom of non-Catholic denominations. Nevertheless, we cannot yield up the principles of eternal and unchangeable truth in order to avoid the enmity of such unreasonable persons. Moreover, it would be a futile policy; for they would not think us sincere. Therefore we shall continue to profess the true principles of the relations between Church and State, confident that the great majority of our fellow citizens will be
It seems to this writer that this whole question of the Vatican embassy provides a good example of Thomas' familiar dictum that situations defined as real are real in their consequences. The religious or political nature of this issue would seem to be a matter for debate. It is important to note, however, for the purposes of this study that The Christian Century defined the issue as religious.

CLEAR WARNING [sic] that President Truman may appoint an ambassador to the Vatican after Congress adjourns is served by the Senate appropriations committee. This group eliminated from the appropriation bill for funds for the state department a prohibition voted by the House of Representatives...Senator Pat McCarran, chairman of the subcommittee which deleted the House prohibition, said it had been stricken out because "the subcommittee saw no occasion to raise a religious issue in an appropriations bill." The point is good, but irrelevant. The religious issue was raised by the President last fall when he appointed General Mark Clark as ambassador to the Vatican.133

As the voting day drew near, The Christian Century kept the issue before the minds of its readers. Editorials asking, "How Do the Candidates Differ on the Embassy Question?"134 helped readers to remember "Vatican Embassy Issue Enters Campaign."135

sufficiently realistic to see that the danger of religious intolerance toward non-Catholics in the United States is so improbable and so far in the future that it should not occupy their time or attention." Ibid., pp. 320-321. In all honesty, such remarks can hardly be called reassuring.

133TCC, LXIX (July 9, 1952), 795-796.
134TCC, LXIX (October 1, 1952), 1115.
135Ibid.
These editorials repeated again just what the Vatican wanted. "What the Vatican is after is official representation, sent not to the Vatican as a state...but to the pope as head of the Roman Catholic Church. Neither Rome nor the majority of Americans have any use for the 'personal representative' fakery. So why not drop it?"\(^{136}\)

Even when *The Christian Century* commends the Pope or the Vatican, certain overtones of suspicion linger on. In an editorial which praised the Pope and Catholics for being aware of the needs of migrants in this "century of the homeless man," one finds these expressions, "Early this month Pope Pius XII issued an 'apostolic constitution' setting up a 'Supreme Council of Emigration' for the papal church. An 'apostolic constitution' according to explanatory dispatches from the Vatican, is a fancy name for a papal bull. The same document established an 'International Secretariat [sic] of the Apostleship of the Sea' and a 'Papal Delegate for Emigration.' There is no point in trying to describe how all these new organizations will mesh together to gear into the huge bureaucracy of the Vatican..."\(^{137}\)

\(^{136}\)Ibid., 1115-1116. It is interesting to note that not everyone agreed with *The Christian Century*. So prominent a Protestant as F.E. Johnson, editor of the National Council of Churches' periodical, *Information Service* explained in a letter that legal scholars were expressing grave doubt on the proposition that the First Amendment could be invoked against the appointment of diplomatic representatives by the President, who, under the Constitution, is charged with responsibility for determination of foreign policy." *TCC*, LXIX (January 16, 1952), 74.

\(^{137}\)*TCC*, LXIX (August 27, 1952), 964-965.
1955. On coming to the year 1955, one notices at once that the number of items that deal with the Papacy and the Vatican is not very large. Nevertheless, many of the themes that have been seen before are still manifest in the content on the Papacy and the Vatican. One still finds, for example, the questioning of motives:

Especially in the case of the present pope do we know that an able and alert intelligence is involved in all policy decisions. It is just because we are so convinced of his reverent caniness that we wonder at the sudden announcement of an "extraordinary Holy Year" which will begin February 1957 and end February 1958... The new extraordinary holy year will mark the first centenary of the apparitions of the Blessed Virgin to St. Bernadette at Lourdes....There is, of course, a strong Protestant temptation to laugh this all off. This once, though, we might try holding it to a smile, and a gentle one at that. Holy years are a natural and appropriate part of Roman Catholic devotions. Given that church's mariology, its belief in apparitions and its tendency toward objectification, this holy year is a logical and perhaps inevitable consequence. Let Protestants argue those Roman presuppositions day in day out as we ought, but let us not deride other Christians for being consistent. Even so, one must wonder about this new holy year. Why just now?...138

The papal claims remain the obstacles to understanding that they were before. Sometimes it is the pride that these claims seem to contain and exhibit to which The Christian Century calls attention. This is true in an editorial entitled, "Two Views on Hell: Roman and Norwegian." The editorial states, "Never has a Roman pontiff made heavier demands on his claimed infallibility

138 TCC, LXXII (September 28, 1955), 1108.
in matters of faith and morals than Pius XII did recently when he pronounced on the eternal punishment of sinners in hell....It is of interest to set over against this mortal penetration of the intentions of the Divine for all coming eons the recent statement of the bishops of the Church of Norway....The Norwegian bishops are much more humble than the Roman pontiff when dealing with what lies beyond death...We prefer the humility of the Norwegian bishops. It is a dreadful thing to say 'never' to the mercy of God."139

At other times the disorganizing effect of the papal claims is highlighted. An example of this theme is found in the editorial, "The Pope Calls for Bridge-Building," in which The Christian Century comments, "Men of good will who share the pope's faith that the world exists as a creation of the God of love revealed by Jesus Christ will want to respond to his plea to collaborate toward a new basis of unity for the human race.' Will they discover, however, that before bridge-building as a common task of Christians can begin they will be expected to accept a papal claim which is itself one of the great disrupters of human unity?"140 This "disunifying" theme found expression in another editorial that supplies many features of the papal profile. Under the title, "To Make the Widening Gulf Wider," The Christian Century wrote:

139 TCC, LXXII (March 9, 1955), 292-293.
140 TCC, LXXII (January 19, 1955), 67.
To any church historian, Pius XII is bound to be one of the most intriguing of the modern popes, almost all of whom have been remarkable men. But to a Protestant church historian, the present occupant of the papal throne probably seems one of the most enigmatic and contradictory pontiffs. On many issues, Pius XII has taken positions of advanced social significance...Yet at the same time, in his rebuff to the ecumenical spirit which was developing in the French priesthood, in his narrow interpretation of scholarly freedom in *Humani Generis*, and most of all in his determined promotion of the Marian cult, the pope has often seemed to be deliberately widening the gulf between the papal church and the rest of Christendom, while attempting to seal off the Roman Catholic community from the culture and outlook of our times...Late in June he took another step in that direction...the beatification cause of Pope Pius IX was formally introduced...Pius IX was one of the most tragic figures of the 19th century. If he is made a saint, the Vatican is spreading the idea that it will be because of his proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. But Pius IX was also the pope who forced through the dogma of papal infallibility and issued *the Syllabus of Errors*. That document (i.e., *the Syllabus*), a dedication of the Roman church to virtually every reactionary and anti-democratic tenet held by the monarchs who fought the rise of Western liberal democracy, has never been repudiated. Canonization of its author would be nearly equivalent to a renewed endorsement. The gulf is widening, and from the papal side.\(^{141}\)

The political power and motives of the Papacy were kept under close scrutiny once again this year. The power of Rome manifested itself in its ability to make the South American dictator, Juan Peron, capitulate to the demands of the Church:

The capitulation of Peron to Rome becomes more complete with each pressing week. A new step was the indefinite postponement of the convention called to take the constitutional steps necessary to separate church and state. Since the church demonstrated its power in the recent revolt, it seems safe to predict that the

\(^{141}\) *TCC*, LXXII (July 20, 1955), 836-837.
postponement will be a long one. Now the Argentinian foreign ministry has announced that Argentina's ambassador to the Vatican will soon resume his post in Rome. He was withdrawn last May when Peron believed he had power to unseat the church. His return under these circumstances is one more evidence of the subjection of a great state to papal authority.142

The need for vigilance lest this power become too great was stressed somewhat in a lengthy editorial on "Western Europe and Catholic Politics." One sees again the old and oft repeated suspicion of the motives of the Papacy and the Vatican.

Most thoughtful Europeans will join the pope in regret that the movements toward integration of its western states have recently lost ground. Formation of anything approximating a United States of Europe today seems a much more distant and illusory dream than it did two or three years ago...In principle, therefore, almost all responsible Europeans will agree with the pope. Great numbers of them, however, with regard to the specific international development of which he complains will ask whether the ill-fated European Defense Community scheme was supported by Roman Catholic forces simply as a step toward submergence of western European nationalism in a future United States of Europe, or as something more....

A united Roman Catholic western Europe has been a dream of the Vatican for years. In this country this has been regarded as a harmless sort of fantasy, doing no ill when indulged in by faithful Catholics, because not a factor in practical politics. Since the war, however, it has grown to seem less and less fanciful, more and more a definite aim which powerful forces are at work to accomplish. Such a Catholic West Europe has been the dominant interest of the man closest to the pope--his deputy secretary of state, Archbishop Montini, who is frequently named as the most likely successor to Pius XII. To what extent this is the ultimate goal of the Catholic political parties which have risen to such

142 *TCC*, LXXII (September 21, 1955), 1077-1078.
prominence in France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Austria since the war (as well as of the Catholic dictatorships in Spain and Portugal), one can only speculate. Certainly, however, many Roman Catholic political leaders have shown their friendliness for the idea.

European Protestants, especially Protestants in West Germany, have watched this movement to unify western Europe as a Roman Catholic state with mounting misgiving....

Most Americans, we expect, will find it hard to take such apprehensions seriously. But they had better learn to take seriously the Europeans who take them seriously. For them, every move being made today on the chess board of European politics is weighed against what they believe to be the very lively and far-reaching ambitions of the Roman Catholic Church. How to deal with the Catholic question in European politics is something for Europeans to decide. But as Europe works toward this decision, the United States needs to exercise great care to insure that its own policies embody a strict and informed neutrality.143

A move among Greek Orthodox churches to establish a kind of "Vatican City" for their Patriarch drew the following comment from The Christian Century:

In Greece and in Orthodox circles in the United States, a movement has started and is rapidly picking up momentum to call on the U. N. to ask Turkey to cede the Phener district to Istanbul, where the buildings of the Ecumenical patriarchate stand, to the Ecumenical Patriarch, who would then live in and rule over an independent secular state like Vatican City.... The medieval reasons why the popes, after their virtual kidnapping to Avignon, thought that their safety required the sovereignty of the Papal States, have no parallel in Istanbul.... Making a secular monarch of its popes has been a blunder which we are confident the Roman Catholic Church one day will rectify. We trust that its reaction to recent outrages will not trap Eastern Orthodoxy in the same blunder.144

143 TCC, LXXII (January 26, 1955), 104-105.
144 TCC, LXXII (November 16, 1955), 1324-1325.
Analyzing the contents for 1958, one finds three editorials and one article on the Papacy and the Vatican. The two topics to which The Christian Century devoted its attention were the death of Pius XII and the coronation of John XXIII. Though there was not much material on the Papacy and the Vatican in 1958, many of the familiar features of the periodical's profile of the Papacy were still present. In "The World Mourns Pope Pius XII," for example, The Christian Century remarks, "So...death came to Pope Pius XII, establishing his bond with all who are mortal...In his humanity and his fatherly concern for all sorts and conditions of men, Pope Pius XII came closer to establishing the reality of the church universal than had any of his modern predecessors through other means."145

Not long after Christendom had another Pope, and The Christian Century turned its attention toward him. Under the title, "New Pope May Present Some Surprises," the periodical editorialized:

We who are neither of his city nor of his world watch with interest his interpretation of the demands of the office...What must be going through the mind of an Italian sharecropper's son elevated to the most publicized office in Christendom!...An aged though lively man, he is expected to shore up the pastoral and organizational side of Catholicism, which had fallen into disrepair under political Pius XIII.... His [Pope John's] message on world peace revealed his eagerness

145 TCC, LXXV (October 22, 1958), 1196.
to assume Pius XII's political mantle too. Roncalli—rotund, folksy, jolly, in so many ways the opposite of thin, distant, austere Pacelli may be, inclined to turn some tables as he turns his phrases. 146

When John XXIII was crowned, The Christian Century repeated what it had said when Pius XII had been crowned Pope. "We repeat what we said in 1939 when Pope Pius XII was crowned: 'We salute the new pope with the highest respect for his admirable qualities of mind and heart and with good wishes for a long pontificate filled with spiritual blessings. But as to the formula of his coronation, which expressed the central idea underlying all the pomp and ceremony by which he is surrounded and which so vividly impresses the imagination of the beholder, we take this opportunity of saying, in order that there may be no misunderstanding, that to us as to many millions of Protestants the world around who are joining their felicitations to ours, it is blasphemous arrogance." 147

Throughout the analysis of the contents of the sample for this study, the reader will have noticed that there are certain themes which The Christian Century repeats for its readers time and time again when treating of the Papacy and the Vatican. One of these themes is that in the different activities of the Pope himself and the Vatican as his agency a dominant motive is the

146 TCC, LXXV (November 12, 1958), 1293.
147 TCC, LXXV (November 26, 1958), 1358.
aim of securing a political power position for the Church in the world today. This drive for political power is seen as a function of the authoritarian and monarchical structure of the Roman Church. It is this structure which highlights the second theme: that of the arrogant, rigid, and divisively reactionary claims of the Pope and the Papacy. Content-analysis seems to reveal that the profile of the Papacy and the Vatican that emerges from the pages of The Christian Century in the sample selected for study is that of an astute, authoritarian structure whose main concern is the attainment and maintenance of a politically dominant power position.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

At the end of the last chapter, it was noted that the content analyzed in this study shows that *The Christian Century*'s conception of the Papacy and the Vatican is that of an astute, authoritarian structure whose main concern is the attainment and maintenance of a politically dominant power position. The elaboration of this picture, arrived at by an objective analysis of the contents, answers the main question posed at the beginning of this research effort, namely, "What does the magazine say about the Papacy and the Vatican?" So much, at least, the study has discovered. However, it seems to this writer, that one may pose the question as to just what is the meaning or the significance of the findings of this study. In effect, this is the same thing as asking if the contents that have been analyzed do not reveal more than just the profile of the Papacy and the Vatican in the selected sample.

What more can be discovered from the contents, and what is the meaning of *The Christian Century*'s profile of the Papacy and the Vatican?
The facts that the present study has brought to light corroborate the former studies of Kane, Fahey, and Zahn as to the existence of Protestant tensions regarding Catholicism. The study reveals that the supposed "known facts" about the Papacy and the Vatican constitute one of the "tension areas." Not only is the Papacy and the Vatican a tension area, but it would seem that for The Christian Century the "known facts" and its fears of the aims and methods of the Papacy and the Vatican constitute an extreme tension area. The present study tends to corroborate the findings of Dr. Zahn that situational factors as such do not necessarily play a preponderant role in the expression of tensions. In fact, this research effort seems to provide empirical evidence that there is indeed a "continuing undercurrent of suspicions, resentment, and fears which need not have situational support." This does not deny the fact that tensions break forth in certain definite situations. What the empirical evidence of this study seems to say is that whether or not a situation to manifest tension presents itself the suspicions, the resentment, the fears are still there.

These findings are provocative and lead this writer to make some observations. First of all, this research effort would seem to support the view that for The Christian Century this

undercurrent of suspicions, resentment, and fears constitutes a kind of attitudinal structure. The analysis of the content sampled in the present study seems to point to the fact that as regards the Papacy and the Vatican the attitudes of *The Christian Century* are long and firmly established, have an emotional color, and are related to things that that periodical values very highly.

Another thing that the analysis performed in this study reveals is that there exists a certain amount of distortion in the content dealing with the Papacy and the Vatican, as that content was encoded by *The Christian Century*.

The question arises as to whether *The Christian Century's* distortion of content on the Papacy and the Vatican is connected with its attitudinal structure. Mass communications research tells us that "In things that matter, the individual and his social organization are generally inclined to resist change. On any subject where his attitudes are long and firmly established, where they have an emotional content, where they relate to things he deeply values, the individual is highly resistant to change, whether it is suggested by mass communication or any other source. Indeed, he will often reject or ignore messages that challenge his firm attitudinal structure, or will distort them so that they seem to agree with him."\(^{149}\) Following this

observation, it would seem that one could answer affirmatively that the distortion of *The Christian Century* flows from its "firm attitudinal structure." There is something, however, which makes one hesitate to accept such an explanation right off. Distortion which flows from a "firm attitudinal structure" would seem to be more a subconscious and indeliberate process—one might call it "automatic" distortion. What is distorted in this process is the intended meaning of the message as sent by the original communicator.

There seems to be another kind of distortion, however, which, although proceeding from a "firm attitudinal structure," is effected by a conscious manipulation of the content received from another communicator or communication network. This one might call "manipulative" distortion. Manipulative distortion also vitiates the intended meaning of the message as sent by the original communicator. But the process by which "automatic" and "manipulative" distortion affect the content differs.

"Automatic" distortion takes the content of a sent message and, as it were, misreads the meaning of the whole. Put colloquially, one might say, "It gets the whole thing all wrong." "Manipulative" distortion functions in a different manner. Not infrequently, the manipulative distorser actually reads (i.e., understands) the intended meaning of the communicator's message, but because of his attitudinal structure or for some other reason, his response is unfavorable in direction. Not infrequently the
intended meaning of a communicator's message is not hostile or unfavorable to the recipient. In other words, it may frequently be that a communicated message does not challenge the values of the recipient. If the recipient relayed such a message without changing its content, it might well happen that the recipients of his message would react favorably or at least neutrally to the message content as it was encoded by the first communicator. 

But for some reason, the original recipient does not pass on the message as he received it. He manipulates the content—by removing pertinent sections, by misquoting, by leaving out completing phrases, sentences, or paragraphs, perhaps even by giving false information. The result is that the recoded messages appear dangerous to the values of the group to which the manipulating communicator belongs or which he represents. In the language of communications research, manipulative distortion is a manifestation of propaganda. 151

150 Some years ago, the writer remembers receiving a letter from his sister concerning the preaching of Billy Graham. She made the comment, "With all my Catholic philosophy, I can't find anything wrong in what he says." The reason that she could find nothing wrong with what Billy Graham had to say is that, as a matter of fact, there was nothing wrong with what Billy Graham had to say. As far as moral questions, racial difficulties, and problems of married life go, the position of Billy Graham is very much the same as that of the Roman Catholic Church. If each party in the Catholic-Protestant dialogue listened fully to what the other had to say, this writer feels that relations would be far more amicable.

The determination of the nature of the distortion affected by *The Christian Century* is not an easy question. This much, however, can be said: on the basis of the data obtained in this study of the contents on the Papacy and the Vatican in *The Christian Century*, one can point to definite instances of the manipulation of content. The present study cannot go much beyond noting the fact that some manipulation of content has taken place in the selected sample. The dynamics of distortion, the value syndrome to which it might be aligned, a sketch of the values and attitudes of the staff of *The Christian Century* are topics that this research effort provokes thought upon, but their investigation must be put aside for separate study. The topics for further research suggested by the present study might terms, we may say that it involves the presentation of an object in a culture in such a manner that certain cultural attitudes will be organized toward it. The problem of the propagandist is to intensify the attitudes favorable to his purpose, to reverse the attitudes hostile to it, and to attract the indifferent, or, at the worst, to prevent them from assuming a hostile bent."

152 Most of these instances have been treated in the footnotes of chapter four when dealing with the pertinent passages. Cf. Chapter Four, esp. pp. 41, 42, 43 on the address of the Pope on the eve of the French and Italian elections; pp. 44, 45, 46 on the allocation to the Sacred Roman Rota; p. 48 on the allocation against imperialism; pp. 49, 50 on the allocation to the Cardinals; p. 73 on *Fides*’ news release concerning Red China; pp. 79, 80, and the appendix on Mrs. Anne O’Hare McCormick’s communique on the Vatican Embassy. These references are to the specific cases of distortion by manipulation. The factual distortions are more numerous, but need not be given here since they stand out rather obviously in the reading of the editorials, articles, and letters.
constitute an illustration of the point made earlier in this research effort that the hypothesis is the fruit and not the burden of research.

It was also mentioned in an earlier part of this study that content analysis may provide a clue to the nature of an ongoing process of interaction. In the present instance, this means that the content encoded by The Christian Century on the Papacy and the Vatican might furnish some information on the nature of the Catholic-Protestant dialogue going on in our day. No single study, however, can hope to air more than a few sentences of this vast dialogue. This study may not tell one much about the broad aspects of the Catholic-Protestant dialogue, but it should supply some facts as to what the nature of the interaction between Catholicism and The Christian Century is as that interaction expresses itself in the content encoded by that periodical from communications received by it from or about the Papacy and the Vatican.

Similarly, the present study may not allow one to predict exactly the future treatment of the Papacy and the Vatican, but it should furnish the factual foundation on which one might base a few suggestions. It does not take a great deal of reading, for example, to notice the unfavorable direction of the content on the Papacy and the Vatican. The writer would like to suggest that this may be a significant factor in Catholic-Protestant
relations and tensions. If one remembers Berelson's remarks on
the specialized journal, one perceives at once the importance
of The Christian Century. This periodical is one of the most
influential Protestant religious journals in the world. Most of
the people who read it may have neither the time nor the inclin-
ation to confer a papal allocution to see if The Christian
Century has reported it aright or not. Most people who read the
periodical probably take its word for what it says because they
consider it a reliable agent in the field of religious journa-
ism. It is here that the rub comes, at least as far as Roman
Catholics are concerned. Why does a journal of such high
literary merit, staffed by people with such obvious journalistic
talent, espousing such noble ideals—why does such a periodical
fill its pages with so much emotionally colored misinformation
about the Roman Catholic Church? This writer is quite aware of
the dark pages of the history of the Roman Catholic Church. But
one of the lessons that history teaches is that one can learn

153 Bernard Berelson, "Communications and Public Opinion," 
Reader in Public Opinion and Communication, ed. by Bernard Berel-
son and Morris Janowitz, enlarged edition (Glencoe, 1953), 
p. 453: "Within a medium of communication, the particular chan-
nels specialized to the subject's predispositions are more
effective in converting his opinion than the generalized chan-
nels. 'The specialized magazine already has a foot in the door,
so to speak, because it is accepted by the reader as a reliable
spokesman for some cause or group in which he is greatly inter-
ested and with which he identifies himself.'" The inner refer-
ence is from Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel
Gaudet, The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up His Mind in
a Presidential Campaign (New York, 1944), p. 150.
from his mistakes. Catholics who would carry on an "argument" with Protestants find the Reformation rantings of certain elements of the Protestant community an anachronism.

For a "liberal Christian journal," the attitude of The Christian Century--at least as reflected in the content analyzed in this study--is quite rabidly fundamentalist. It is the opinion of this writer that if that attitude were to change in a favorable direction, one might see the dawn of a new day of amicable relations between Protestants and Catholics who are, after all, brothers in the household of God.

APPENDIX

MRS. McCORMICK'S COMMUNIQUE FROM THE VATICAN

In the heat of the controversy on the Vatican Embassy issue, Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick, the Vatican correspondent of the New York Times, published a column on the "Vatican's Attitude Toward American Relations." The Christian Century recoded this report into a cogent argument in support of its own position against relations with the Vatican on the ground that such relations constitute a violation of the principle of the separation of Church and State.

In the coding of The Christian Century's editorial, the communications researcher will discern the use of certain techniques of propaganda. First of all there is the establishment of the authority: from being in reality the Vatican correspondent of the New York Times, Mrs. McCormick became "the foreign affairs expert...writing directly from the Vatican." Her information comes "straight from highest sources in the Vatican." She writes as "one fully informed on what is in the mind of the pope." 155

155 Cf. Chapter Four, page 79.
Once the authority has been established, the words of that
authority are quoted. But whether the words are quoted in a
context which assures the reading of the meaning of the message
as encoded by the original communicator is a question that may
be answered by comparing the original column with the editorial
comment made upon it. On pages 79 and 80 of this thesis, the
reader will find the editorial comment of The Christian Century
on Mrs. McCormick's column. The text of the column will be
found below:

Vatican's Attitude Toward American Relations

December 24, 1951

The proposal to appoint an American Ambassador to the
Holy See causes much less excitement at the Vatican
than in the United States. Announcement that Presi-
dent Truman will proceed with his intention of submit-
ting the name of General Mark Clark for the new post
when the Senate reconvenes next month evoked no com-
ment in Vatican City. Outside the narrow limits of
the Papal domain, astir with preparations for the
joyous pageantry of Christmas, some Romans question
the choice of an active general as envoy to the Holy
See. But church officials have nothing to say on this
or any other aspect of the matter. The Vatican was
not advised in advance or consulted on the appointment,
and its attitude is that it is strictly the business of
the United States.

It is clear, however, that under this discreet
silence there is surprise at the amount and violence
of American opposition to the President's move. Church
officials say emphatically that it would be better not
to have an Ambassador than to stir up sectarian feeling
and religious controversy in the United States. It is
understood that this is the view of the Pope himself.
From the church's standpoint it is logical. The position of the Catholic Church in the United States and the relations of Catholic Americans with their fellow citizens of other faiths are more important to the Holy See than the presence here of a representative of the American Government. The establishment of official diplomatic relations would certainly be welcome—but as a favor to the church. In Vatican circles the idea prevails that the chief advantages of the mission would fall on the American side.

They feel that the appointment of Myron Taylor as the President's personal representative to the Pope was motivated by Roosevelt's interest in maintaining a listening post in Rome in wartime. The mission proved valuable in keeping the Holy See in touch with American policy and public opinion and in opening to Washington sources of information not otherwise available at that time.

When the war was over thousands of American officials, soldiers, officials and visitors of all faiths were received by the Pope, largely because it was easy for an American representative accredited to the Vatican to arrange the audiences. This was the period of "open house" at the Vatican, when Pius XII met more Americans than any other Pontiff in history or any living ruler.

Audiences are not so easy now. Catholics usually apply through the American College, but other visitors miss the good offices of Mr. Taylor and his State Department aide, Franklin Gowen. This is particularly true of officials who desire to see the Holy Father for one reason or another. Our Embassy to the Italian Government is not a channel of communication with the Vatican and in several instances American officials have either refrained from asking for an audience or their indirect request has been courteously turned down because there is no diplomatic officer to present them.

In any event, the day of the "personal representative" is past. The abrupt manner in which the Taylor mission was ended, without previous notification to the Vatican, shocked a Pontiff who is himself a diplomat, and of the old school that sets great store on good manners. Since then he has made it plain that if Washington finds it useful to send an envoy to the Vatican, he must come as a representative of the Government with the confirmation of the Senate.
Advocates who argue that the appointment is not to a religious leader but to the ruler of the scrap of real estate called Vatican City do not get much support here. The mission is either to the Pope as the head of a worldwide church or it is nothing, it is pointed out; to pretend anything else is to make the appointment useless or reduce it to absurdity. All other countries sending representatives to the Vatican accredit them to the Holy See, and if the United States decides to send one at all it will follow the regular formula.

At present forty-six countries are listed in the Vatican. Some of the Embassies are now dormant—the iron curtain countries with the exception of representatives from the exiled Polish government, Guatemala, and two or three small Latin-American states—but at least thirty-six are active. The latest to join the circle are Finland, Indonesia, India and Egypt. Arrangements are in process for sending representatives from Turkey and Pakistan. West Germany is about to renew relations and Japan intends to do so as soon as her independent status is established. Lebanon has a Minister and Syria and Iraq are expected to follow suit. Yugoslavia withdrew her Minister after Tito took over, but through all the troubles with the church she has kept her Vatican Legation open with a secretary in charge.

On Christmas eve the whole diplomatic corps attends a midnight mass celebrated by the Pope in a private chapel in the Vatican. It is a strange and truly colorful congregation—the Ambassadors, Black, White, Yellow, and Brown, wear full dress and yards of decorations, and the women long black gowns with lace mantillas. The number of Moslems is surprising and in general the variety of religious beliefs. Of the Big Powers, only the United States, Russia and Communist China are unrepresented. 156

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