

July, 1949

THE BARDEN BILL, ITS FRIENDS AND ITS FOES

Representative Graham Arthur Barden, Democrat, Presbyterian, New Bern, Third District, North Carolina, Chairman of the Education Sub-Committee of the larger Committee on Education and Labor offered a bill, H.R. 4643, which was approved by the Education Sub-Committee by a vote of ten to three. Notwithstanding this adoption by the Sub-Committee, the bill remains in the full Committee of which Representative John Lesinski, Democrat, Roman Catholic, Dearborn, Sixteenth District, Michigan, is Chairman. As stated in a telegram by this office addressed to every Baptist editor in the United States, the Barden Bill "is a straight out American measure in no way discriminating against anybody, but providing definitely and exclusively for public elementary and secondary tax-supported schools under local and state control".

As soon as the press announced that the Barden Bill had been approved by the Sub-Committee, Francis Cardinal Spellman denounced the measure in the following words:

"Now in America new apostles of bigotry brazenly come forward from out the halls of our own Congress and, either through ignorance or malice, father the Barden Bill, a Bill that urges and tries to justify unjust discrimination against our parochial school children. Advocates of the Barden Bill, pitting class against class, seeking votes to enforce and sustain it are today conducting a craven crusade of religious prejudice against Catholic children and their inalienable rights....Therefore do I beg your prayers for Congressman Barden and all who lend their names and their efforts to provoke and promote prejudice against children of any one religious faith....For any man to vent his venom upon children is a sin shocking as it is incomprehensible. Yet Congressman Barden and his associates shamefully fostering discrimination against parochial school children are urging Congress to vote for a Bill that explicitly declares that all expenditures of Federal money for educational purposes shall be restricted to benefit only those children who attend public schools."

Posters appeared in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York and elsewhere throughout the Nation on which were printed these words:

"Catholic school children deserve their share of Federal aid to education. The Barden Bill will impose tax without participation. It will tax Catholics their share of \$300,000,000 but exclude Catholic schools from sharing one penny. Such discrimination will destroy America:

"The Barden Bill is unjust, un-American, divisive. Demand that it be killed in Congress. Write letters to your own Congressman and to Representative John Lesinski, chairman, Committee on Education and Labor, Office Building, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Senator George D. Aiken, Republican, Vermont, and Senator Brian McMahon, Democrat, Connecticut, together with Representatives Lesinski, Forgarty, Touriello, and other Roman Catholic members of Congress expressed loyalty to the Catholic Church position.

Immediately the Joint Conference Committee on Public Relations for the Baptists of the United States and Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State went into action to inform their constituencies and the public in general of the critical situation. Mr. Archer of POAU declared:

"The founders of this republic were not bigots. They provided for the separation of church and state because their collective experience had shown them that it was the only way to avoid the internecine religious warfare, the cancerous group hatreds, of the Old World. The moral ground on which they stood was aptly defined by Thomas Jefferson, who, in drawing up the model Virginia statute of religious freedom, said: 'To compel a man to furnish contributions of money for propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical'".

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam at Wellesley, Massachusetts, addressing the Sixth International Council of Congregational Churches, commented:

"Congressman Graham Barden of North Carolina deserves the commendation of the country rather than the condemnation of a Cardinal. As a loyal and wise legislator Representative Barden insists upon the American principle that public funds shall be used solely for public education. The President's Commission on Higher Education made the same recommendation.

"Cardinal Spellman has used the term 'bigot' freely of late. Now we know what he means by it. Anyone who disagrees with the Cardinal or who objects to the hierarchy putting its hands in the public treasury is a bigot.

"Cardinal Spellman belittles himself when he refers to Representative Barden as 'un-American and anti-Catholic', or as venting 'his venom upon children', or 'as guilty of disservice to our country'. This is bearing false witness and to describe the bill as 'conducting a craven crusade of religious prejudice is to lie."

In a powerful editorial entitled, "Federal Aid Minus Jokers", The Christian Century came valiantly to the support of Representative Barden as has the religious press of all Protestant bodies, and that of many other groups, as well as some of the most prominent daily newspapers.

\* \* \*

TESTIMONY ADDRESSED TO MEMBERS OF THE EDUCATION  
SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

In deep appreciation of the privilege of submitting a formal statement on behalf of the Joint Conference Committee on Public Relations for the Baptists of the United States, I beg to offer our testimony concerning H.R. 4643. May I state this Committee was established by the four national bodies of Baptists, North and South, white and colored, which according to the Federal Council of Churches Yearbook comprise a total membership in excess of fourteen million.

The Committee has gone on record in support of the general principle of Federal Aid to Education, believing that such aid is necessary to the equalizing of educational opportunity for all the people of the Nation, and feeling that adequate universal education is imperative in a democracy. I will not burden you with detailed arguments, already familiar to you, which have induced official declarations from Baptists in favor of Federal Aid to public education.

I should like to emphasize that our great concern as Baptists has been to limit this aid to public, tax-supported schools, under local and state government control. This will explain the volume of protests from the Baptist people in respect to the bill, S. 246, which recently passed the Senate. It will explain the resolution adopted by the recent Southern Baptist Convention in Oklahoma City and a similar one passed by the Northern Baptist Convention a week later in San Francisco as follows:

THIS CONVENTION WOULD CONVEY TO THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS OUR HEARTY APPROVAL OF THESE PROVISIONS IN H.R. 4643, AND OUR STRONG DISAPPROVAL OF THE OMISSION IN SECTION 6 OF S. 246 OF THE WORD "PUBLIC" BEFORE THE WORDS "ELEMENTARY OR SECONDARY SCHOOL PURPOSES."

It was felt by them that inasmuch as the Senate bill used the word "public" in every instance except in section 6 where actual distribution of the allotted funds was provided for, it should not have been omitted there.

While it is true that a minority of the states permit use of tax funds for bus transportation and certain other services, the permission of the Congress as allowed in section 6 of the Senate bill 246 is in effect an act of invitation and encouragement, if not a mandate, to the other states, which constitute a majority, under pressure to change their constitutional prohibitions forbidding such bus aid. In order to conform to the minority of states for such use of tax funds with Congressional approval, tremendous pressures from interested sources might be expected. This, we are convinced, would tend to weaken, if not ultimately destroy, the cherished historic, Constitutional American principle of separation of church and state, which is the sole guarantee of religious liberty for all in this country. Baptists accept Thomas Jefferson's statement that to compel one to pay taxes in support of a religion he does not believe in is "sinful and tyrannical"--such an intolerable burden as once endured in Europe caused the founders of America to repudiate it and impelled them to embody in our Constitution the principle of separation of church and state, which is our chief contribution to political philosophy and action, and which the United States Supreme Court has declared in the outworking has proved best for the state and best for the church. We should greatly lament any action by the Congress which would tend to impair this vital principle in the American system.

Baptists are convinced that all these difficulties are removed in H.R. 4643. It is a bill as enables all advocates of Federal Aid to Education to support with assurance, and that will in no wise imperil the essential basis of American government. We are especially gratified that the bill bears the name of a gentleman from North Carolina, a state and district which produced Governor Aycock and others who made such notable contributions in leadership to public education in this country. We sincerely believe that the passage of the bill in substantially this form will prove a landmark in the history of public education in the United States. We, therefore, extend a wholehearted appeal for adoption by both branches of the Congress.

Respectfully,

Joseph M. Dawson, Executive Director  
Joint Conference Committee on Public  
Relations Baptists of the United States

NORTHERN BAPTISTS ACT ON BARDEN BILL

"Your telegram came and was read to the Executive Committee at its meeting June 24. The Executive Committee took the following action:

On motion, it was VOTED that we as Executive Committee in response to this wire have a copy of the resolution which was adopted at San Francisco on Federal Aid to Education, sent to Dr. Dawson calling attention to this motion of the Committee". (The resolution was similar to the one adopted by the Southern Baptist Convention in support of the Barden bill and opposing Federal Aid to sectarian institutions). Cordially yours, Joseph C. Hazen, Corresponding Secretary.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS SHOULDN'T SHARE IN FEDERAL AID

By Eleanor Roosevelt

(Mrs. Roosevelt writes: "Dear Dr. Dawson: Thank you very much for writing me about my column and for the material you enclosed which I read with interest. I am very glad you approve of what I wrote". Indeed, we approve so heartily that we take the liberty of republishing her King Features column as carried in scores of American newspapers.)

The controversy brought about by the request by Cardinal Spellman that Roman Catholic schools should share in Federal aid funds forces upon the citizens of the country the kind of decision that is going to be very difficult to make.

Those of us who believe in the right of any human being to belong to whatever church he sees fit, and to worship God in his own way, cannot be accused of prejudice when we do not want to see public education connected with religious control of the schools, which are paid for by tax-payers' money.

If we desire our children to go to schools of any particular kind, be it because we think they should have religious instruction or for any other reason, we are entirely free to set up those schools and to pay for them. Thus, our children would receive the kind of education we feel would best fit them for life.

Many years ago it was decided that the public schools of our country should be entirely separated from any kind of denominational control. And these are the only schools that are free, tax-supported schools. The greatest number of our children attend these schools. They receive free material and free books and when necessary, transportation is arranged for them. That is because in this nation we believe that free education should be available, according to the means available to the nation on a constantly improving basis.

In the early days elementary schools alone were provided. Today an increasing number of children go thru high school. I believe that the time will come when free higher education will be available, even thru professional courses, to such students as show the ability to use such education well.

It is quite impossible that private schools, whether they are denominational schools--Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, or whatever--or whether they are purely academic, may make a great contribution to the public school systems, both on the lower levels and on the higher levels. They will be somewhat freer to develop new methods and to try experiments, and they will serve as yardsticks in the competitive area of creating better methods of imparting knowledge.

This, however, is the very reason why they should not receive Federal funds; in fact, no tax funds of any kind.

The separation of church and state is extremely important to any of us who hold to the original traditions of our nation. To change these traditions by changing our traditional attitude toward public education would be harmful, I think, to our whole attitude

of tolerance in the religious area. If we look at situations which have arisen in the past in Europe and other world area, I think we will see the reasons why it is wise to hold to our early traditions.

\* \*

NORTH CAROLINA LOYAL TO BARDEN

The following telegram, dated June 22, reached the Baptist Public Relations Office: NORTH CAROLINA BAPTIST PASTORS CONFERENCE IS SENDING TELEGRAM TO REPRESENTATIVE BARDEN COMMENDING HIM STRONGLY FOR HIS BILL ALSO A TELEGRAM TO BISHOP OXNAM THANKING HIM FOR HIS UTTERANCE OF YESTERDAY...WE FEEL IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL IF YOU GOT IN TOUCH WITH NUMEROUS BAPTISTS AND OTHER BODIES THROUGHOUT THE NATION TO URGE THAT THEY SEND SIMILAR MESSAGES IN THIS TIME OF CRISIS.

BAPTIST PASTORS CONFERENCE SEASIDE BAPTIST ASSEMBLY

\* \* \*

ROMAN CATHOLICS DIVIDED

To the Editor of The Washington Post:

Having devoted much of my life to the promotion of good will among religious groups, and served as a former speaker for the National Catholic, Protestant and Jewish Brotherhood, I am greatly enheartened by the statements of Representative Andrew Jacobs, A Roman Catholic, as reported by Drew Pearson in the Washington Post.

Contrary to the statements of Cardinal Spellman, which he deplores, Mr. Jacobs insists that government aid for church schools creates a divisive issue. He lends particular satisfaction to those whose efforts are dedicated to the preservation of cordial and cooperative church-state relations. Nothing could be more disastrous to national unity than for a religious group to secure government aid for its institutions. This is not to depreciate the emphasis which the Roman Catholics put upon religion in education. All of us rejoice in the American Constitutional right of every religious group to conduct its own schools, and in every parent's right to select any school preferred. Religious denominations thus are absolutely free to provide schools, and they all do. Protestants, doubtless, in the aggregate have more schools than our Roman Catholic brethren, but so far as I know, none of the Protestant groups is asking for any government aid. On the contrary, each has gone on record as opposing any government grants directly or indirectly to church or private schools. Such grants would in their judgment constitute an encroachment upon the Constitutional principle of separation of church and state which alone safeguards or guarantees the religious rights for every individual and group.

It has required unbiased thinking and high courage on Mr. Jacob's part to make such an utterance as he has made. He should be hailed by all Americans as an honest, broad-minded patriot and statesman sincerely engaged in working for what is best for the state and what is best for the churches.

In this connection, in common with many, I must say I lament the tendency of certain members of Congress to impose frequent lengthy sectarian reproductions from their clergy on the Appendix to the Congressional Record. As a constant reader of that valuable publication, I note that it is a rare day when certain well-known zealots among the Congressmen fail to burden the Record with partisan pieces. Not that I object to debate. In a democracy public issues should be argued until all the merits have been exposed and evaluated. As a churchman I do not believe mine or any church is so sacrosanct that its policies shall be held exempt from examination and criticism. Least of all do I feel that our

representatives should be deprived of open declarations as to their conceptions of Constitutional legislation. But if the Record's Appendix is to permit unlimited debate on controversial issues, one side should at no time be allowed to monopolize its pages.

Joseph M. Dawson, Executive Director  
Joint Conference Committee on Public Relations  
Baptists of United States.

\* \* \*

#### CONGRESSMAN BROOKS HAYS DEFENDS BARDEN

In a speech in the House of Representatives on June 24, Congressman Brooks Hays of Little Rock said:

"I have observed for a long time the actions of the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Barden), who has worked diligently to contribute to the devising of a sound and workable policy by the Federal Government in equalizing educational opportunities. He has devoted years of study to the problem. He has adhered to the basic principles of this Government as he interprets them....One thing we can be sure of is that there is no venom in his system and no desire to withhold from any child, whatever his religious background, the privileges and rights of American citizenship. Mr. Barden opposes the allocation of funds for health and transportation services for public as well as private schools. His conviction bears no relation whatever to religious affiliation."

\* \* \*

#### ATTENTION STATE SECRETARIES

The office of the Joint Conference Committee on Public Relations is in much need of copies of the annual issued by each state convention. Inquiries constantly come to this office for information obtainable in no other publications. Will the state secretaries be kind enough to mail their annualse to this office? We will gratefully appreciate this courtesy.

\* \* \*

#### CATHOLIC PRESSURES ON PUBLIC OFFICERS

"Members of Truman's Cabinet now have all their speeches read by experts on Catholic doctrine. Reason: A series of unintentional miscues that brought a shower of mail on the White House."---Quick, page 13, June 13, 1949.

\* \* \*

#### ROMAN CATHOLIC NAME CALLING

The Jesuit Weekly, America, in an editorial, indicates the Roman Catholic Church which supported the Thomas Bill, S. 246, for Federal Aid to Education, that the Church now is about to oppose all bills for Federal Aid. It especially laments the provision in the Barden Bill whereby any tax-payer may get an injunction against a local school board suspected of spending Federal money for non-public school purposes.

The Jesuit Weekly also says: "It looks as if politicians like Graham A. Barden are afraid of a better-educated electorate in their districts. Considering the caliber of some of the Southern Democrats, we think this fear is well founded."

\* \* \*

SHALL SOCIAL SECURITY BE EXTENDED TO NON-PROFIT AGENCIES?

Dr. Bruce K. Blunt, Pastor, Broadway Baptist Church, Kansas City, Missouri, writes to the Executive Director of Public Relations:

"Few Baptists appreciate more than I the importance of the work you are doing in Washington. This letter is simply a reinforcement for your work and a word of encouragement for you.

"If my information is correct the Social Securityites are again trying to include churches and their employees under their alleged security program. Newspaper mention studiously avoids mention of such inclusion, but a letter from Senator Cole of Kansas informs me that it is intended.

"For ten years this group has attempted to wreck the separation of church and state in America by using Social Security as an opening wedge. Public opinion has defeated them at every turn. Apparently they intend now to follow the Trojan Horse principle.

"I urge you to make careful investigation of this matter, and if my information is correct, to see that proper warning is widely disseminated."

This matter is under full investigation by this Committee with a view to ascertaining: first, what the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives decides to do in regard to bringing it into Congress for consideration; second, what is the desire of the Baptist constituencies represented in the Conventions which control this Committee? The bi-weekly journal, Christianity and Crisis, of New York is pleading for the passage of an act which would accomplish this. Southern Baptists some years ago took strong action against it as did many other religious bodies.

Christianity and Crisis complains that the group which defeated it before was small but strongly vocal. "Even the Catholic Church", it says, "has become less vehement in its opposition and would probably go along provided the clergy are excluded....In the last Congress a bill passed the House by an almost unanimous vote but died in the Senate. It was generally agreed that the matter would have clear sailing in this Congress, but five months have elapsed and the Ways and Means Committee is still holding hearings, and the Senate is yet to consider it."

IMPORTANT BOOKS RECOMMENDED

"YOUNG HICKORY", The Life and Times of President James K. Polk. By Martha McBride Morrel. E. P. Dutton & Company, New York, clothbound, 373 pages.

Lovers of biography will enjoy this excellent account of a President about whom all too little is known. In the interest of intimate acquaintance with American history we earnestly commend this volume.



**RELIGION AND EDUCATION UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.** By J. M. O'Neill. Harper & Brothers, New York, clothbound, 317 pages, \$4.00.

We can give only a qualified approval of this book. It has some merit, but its essence is revealed in those persons who most enthusiastically praise it. It does, however, contain certain valuable material. Aside from the opinions of the author, including those condemned by him in FOAU and Dr. Dawson, the book contains several appendices.

**CHIEF JUSTICE, John Marshall and the Growth of the Republic.** By David Loth. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, clothbound, 382 pages, \$5.00.

This is a must book for those who would know American jurisprudence. It is by a competent author and appears in a most attractive form. Those who would understand the United States Supreme Court should read it avidly.

**THE VATICAN IN WORLD POLITICS.** By Avro Manhattan. Gaer Associates, New York, clothbound, 444 pages, \$3.75.

Among many commanding books currently offered concerning church-state relations, this one, to appear early in September, gives evidence of being the most complete and challenging. This office, under demand for authentic and accurate statements in discussion of church-state relations, and frequently appealed to for data by graduate students in the universities, research librarians, and the public in general, would place it at the top of the list. Its scientific attitude, unbiased and devoted to factual materials, would justify this high rating.

For the first time the rays of pitiless, unprejudiced white light are focused on the Vatican to reveal its real nature and political significance. Until this book by an Englishman has been carefully read and fully comprehended, the relation of the United States in particular will not be realized, nor will the importance of that relations be adequately discerned by a Nation whose chief contribution to political philosophy and action is the principle of separation of church and state with religious liberty for all individuals and groups.

N.B. We still have some autographed clothbound copies of **SEPARATE CHURCH AND STATE NOW**, by Joseph Martin Dawson, which can be obtained by remittance of \$2.50 to this office.