

President's Secretary's File  
Diplomatic Correspondence  
Vatican: Taylor, Myron C. 1939-40  
Box 51

COPY

Memo by M.C.T.

I dictated these reports in Paris and delivered them to Secstate, Ambassador Bullitt. M.C.T.

Paris Mar 11 1939

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PSF  
J. H. ...

On Myron Taylor's visit with me before he left for Italy, I suggested that I would be very much interested to learn as much as possible of the Italian situation upon his return and he has now given me the following impressions.

He visited Rome after being in Florence a few days, and talked with friends and acquaintances who represented both the official point of view, the view of the intelligentsia and Capitalistic groups, and also gained an impression of the attitude of the public generally. In official circles there is a well defined feeling that Italy was very badly treated at the conclusion of the peace, and needs expansion to care for its over-populated country with a growing population. Their attitude was not warlike and expressed the view that the demands which had been made of France had gone too far, especially in respect to Nice, Corsica and Tunis. The view of the intelligentsia and Capitalistic groups was one of very great fear that some event might precipitate trouble; that the influence of the United States was very great, and that the record which had been made of her attitude through the statements of the President, the Secretary of State, and others, had been extremely helpful and was welcomed by the Italian people. The public attitude is against war except in respect to a group of younger men limited in number who were carried away with enthusiasm attendant upon prospective action not based on thoughtful analysis or the dangerous consequences to themselves or to their country if their aims were not achieved.

He called at the Vatican to present his compliments to Cardinal Pacelli, whom he saw a number of times in America and whom he had entertained during his visit there, and was received by a member of the Cardinal's entourage, Monsignor Hurley, who indicated very great interest in the American attitude as above expressed, and a fear that some ill advised act might precipitate real trouble and the hope that wherever a word could be spoken that would slow down the action, that it was wise to speak it, especially if it came from America. This same view was expressed by Bishop Hayes, formerly of Pittsburgh, now head of the American Catholic College in Rome. Bishop Hayes had enlarged on the spontaneousness of the reception given Chamberlain on his visit to Rome, and indicated that the Italians had contrasted it with the organized reception given Hitler on his visit.

In Florence he entertained one of the Italian Royal Fam-

- 2 -

ily, the Duke of Spoleto, Admiral in the Italian Navy, nephew of the King, at luncheon. The Duke of Spoleto, who is realistic and more moderate than others in official positions, believed that some adjustment of the present demands can be made, and advised an early conference to bring about a solution. He weighed more deliberately the economic side of these problems and the resultant dangers if war ensued than did many of those with whom Taylor had talked who had political affiliations. Taylor discussed with others in Florence, including the lately returned Italian Ambassador to China, who is very well known to Ambassador Johnson, now in Washington, the feeling of Italians towards Germans generally of one of hatred. He was informed that in certain public offices in Rome itself German officers are now cooperating with Italian officials and this applies particularly with respect to refugee matters. It was stated to him that a number of German officers have been transported to Libya and are now there, and also that there are German officers on the Italian front back of Ventimiglia where great military preparations have been under way.

On a personal matter, the medical advisor of both Goering and Hitler came to his villa in Florence accompanied by a mutual friend. He indicated that he was enroute to Monte Carlo and found that the doctor was enroute to San Remo to join Goering who arrived there on Sunday. He invited the doctor to motor to Monte Carlo for luncheon. He came on Tuesday. The doctor advised him that Goering had that day gone to Milan to meet Mussolini and would return on Sunday and would be glad to see Taylor some time the following week, if he cared to call. Taylor indicated that it was necessary for him to return to Paris and London and sail on the 18th of March for the United States. The doctor also advised Taylor that Goering, at the end of the following week, was going to Libya, and that he, the doctor, was going with him. He indicated that the health of both of these leaders (Goering and Hitler) was excellent and that the many rumors about the health of Hitler are without foundation.

The doctor indicated that Goering's interview with Mussolini in Milan was intended to moderate the situation.

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Paris Mar 11 1939

The Intergovernmental meeting concluded its sessions on February 13 1939. Thereafter I brought to the attention of the Jewish societies and to a group of leaders, including Anthony Rothschild, Lord Bearstead and others, the importance of promptly acting, first, on the suggestion of the third trustee for the internal German Trust, and second, the formation of a plan to create an outside corporation or foundation to carry out in both instances the terms of the German unilateral proposals first proposed by Schacht, later modified by Wohlthat. I believe it best for many reasons to characterize as German proposals the memorandum which, while it contains many of the points that the committee had evolved at and since Evian, is not, of course, an Inter-Governmental Committee proposal. Embarrassment might ultimately flow from it if it were so styled.

On arrival in Paris on February 16th, I conferred with Ambassador Bullitt and gave him in detail all events and memoranda affecting refugees, so that he would be able intelligently to discuss the matter when and as occasion required. I then left for Florence.

From Florence I telephoned Ambassador Phillips that I would come to Rome Thursday, February 23d, to discuss the refugee situation with him, and suggested that if he thought well of it, it might be advisable first to visit Mussolini together and to acquaint him with preliminaries of the present German situation, and, if the opportunity occurred, to express to him the hope that in view of the progress made with Germany, he might find it possible to postpone the date of exodus in Italy from March 12th for a period of six months or a year, giving those affected a better opportunity to locate elsewhere and the avoiding of a revival of a general world discussion on the subject, with its possible injurious effect on the German refugee situation, which, in its present early stages under the memorandum, might be seriously impaired if the subject were renewed in a world-wide sense.

For his further information, I submitted to him, first, a copy of Sir Andrew MacFadden's report on the Italian situation; second, a copy of a memorandum which had been prepared by the Jewish leaders in London and Paris; third, a copy of Sir Herbert Emerson's memorandum regarding settlement projects; and fourth, minutes of the Inter-Governmental Committee which contained the German memorandum, of which memorandum he kept a copy. This will be helpful to him in the discussions which may take place with Italian officials.

- 2 -

Mussolini was not in Rome when I was there, but was understood to be in the Italian Alps on vacation. Ciano left Rome about the time I arrived. The Ambassador had inquired if I should be received by Mussolini a week later when he returned. The answer was, I believe, that it was not then convenient. My Italian friends in London and Paris had suggested contact with Mussolini and not Ciano, who was reported as violently anti-Jewish and not fully friendly toward America. I suggested to the Ambassador that I should not create an issue over the question of a visit to Mussolini.

I returned to Florence the following day, February 24th. The Ambassador to Rome, has, I believe, asked your instructions whether he should proceed through the usual channel, Ciano, to discuss the subject along the lines indicated. I am not aware of your reply.

I left Florence for Monte Carlo on Saturday last, to visit a few friends who were there ill. It is likely that Mr. Bullitt will in another telegram recite other incidents which may be of interest.

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pres mail*

*BF Vatican  
Taylor*

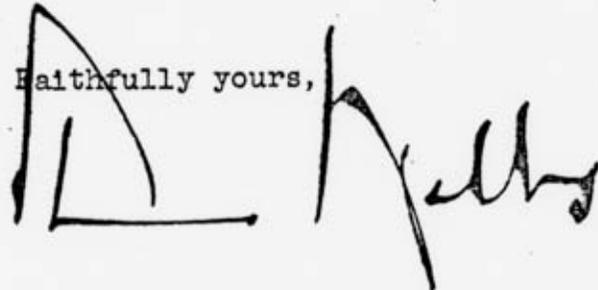
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

August 2, 1939

My dear Mr. President:

I enclose a copy of a long letter from Representative Celler urging the establishment by this Government of diplomatic relations with the Holy See. I have acknowledged the receipt of this letter but did not indicate that I was sending you a copy.

Faithfully yours,



Enclosure:

Copy of letter from  
Representative Celler.

The President,  
The White House.

(COMP. 1110)

PSC  
Veteran  
Taylor

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 24, 1939.

Hon. Cordell Hull,  
Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

At the Coronation Ceremonies of Pope Pius XII, there was present as a representative of President Roosevelt, our present Ambassador to England, the Honorable Joseph P. Kennedy. Mr. Kennedy's presence served to emphasize the very friendly relations that have always existed between our Government and the Papal See.

An examination of the records will reveal that diplomatic relations with the Holy See were first established on December 15, 1784, when the Papal Nuncio at Paris wrote to the American Commissioners that his Government had agreed to open the ports of Civita Vecchia on the Mediterranean, and Ancona on the Adriatic, to American vessels.

On June 26, 1797, John Baptist Sartori of Rome was commissioned as the first Consul to represent the United States in the Papal Dominions.

The diplomatic relations thus established between our country and the Papal States were maintained for nearly

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-2-

three quarters of a century in a spirit of mutual friendship and respect.

In 1867, the American mission to Rome came to an official end, but through no fault or action of the Holy See. Congress simply refused to continue the appropriation for the American mission. There was question as to whether or not the then Pope Pius had recognized the Confederacy. Congress had merely refused to continue the necessary appropriation, so that as Secretary of State Seward stated, "Legally, the action of Congress left the mission still existing, but without compensation."

In my opinion, the action of our Government was somewhat hasty and ill-advised, and was an ungenerous return for the good-will the Papal See had always manifested towards our Government and our people. I believe the time has now come when these diplomatic relations, thus groundlessly severed, should be restored. That restoration would be a clarion call to the civilized peoples of the world that religious and personal liberties are inherent in our Democracy. In this connection, I quote the interesting language used by Mr. Chief Justice Fuller in the opinion on the Municipality of Ponce v. Roman Catholic Apostolic Church in Porto Rico, decided June 1, 1908:

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-3-

"The corporate existence of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the position occupied by the papacy, has always been recognized by the Government of the United States.

"At one time the United States maintained diplomatic relations with the Papal States, which continued up to the time of the loss of the temporal power of the papacy. (Moore's Digest of Int. Law, vol. 1, pp.130, 131)

"The Holy See still occupies a recognized position in international law, of which the courts must take judicial notice.

"The Pope, though deprived of the territorial dominion which he formerly enjoyed, holds, as sovereign pontiff and head of the Roman Catholic Church, an exceptional position. Though, in default of territory, he is not a temporal sovereign, he is in many respects treated as such. He has the right of active and passive legation, and his envoys of the first class, his apostolic nuncios, are specially privileged ...'" (1 Moore's Dig. 39)

Furthermore, practically all countries send their diplomatic representatives to the Court of the Supreme Pontiff and diplomatic representatives of the Holy See are received with the respect and consideration customarily accorded to diplomatic agents.

A representative of our country residing at the Holy See would do much to bring to the fore the fact that in our country we respect to the full the rights of religious freedom, as we do also those accompanying precious rights of freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom of assemblage.

-4-

A reinstatement of relations with the Holy See would dramatically serve to recall to the world that intolerance and religious hatred and bigotry cannot flourish here. It would enkindle in our own hearts sympathy for the thousands of unfortunates who have been castigated, tortured and ruined because of a dictator's insane hate and venom.

Events abroad indicate in no uncertain terms the great stake which religion must play in the preservation of democracy against the savage and merciless inroads of Fascism, Naziism and Communism. These ideologies exclude the virtues of Christianity - faith, hope and charity, benevolence and brotherly love - those virtues which are the very basis of our moral code.

The unbroken tradition of the Holy See with respect to international peace has been worthily continued to the present by the lamented Supreme Pontiff Pius XI, who, in his allocution on peace in 1930, condemned in strongest terms "hard and selfish nationalism" and to the hour of his death courageously stood firm against every policy that threatened peace by undermining the principles of justice and charity in relations among nations. The present Supreme Pontiff Pius XII, in the brief space that has elapsed since his elevation to the highest office in the Catholic Church, already has given eloquent evidence

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-5-

of his purpose to labor for peace among nations based on justice and charity.

History discloses that democracies value the church and religion; that dictatorships ridicule the church and despise religion. Democracies protect the church, dictatorships destroy it. Thus, our Democracy has always set a high value on religion and on the church.

The Papacy has always placed a high value on justice and charity in relations among men and among nations. The first Popes, for example, said nothing about anti-semitism since they themselves, like their Master Christ, were Jews and subject to all the injustices heaped upon Jews. As early as the sixth century - in the year 538 - Pope Gregory the Great wrote: "We forbid you to molest the Jews or to lay upon them restrictions not imposed by the established laws; we further permit them to live as Romans and to dispose of their property as they will."

Heinrich Graetz, Jewish Historian and author of a monumental work, "History of the Jews", writes: "It is remarkable that the Bishops of Rome, the recognized champions of Christianity, treated the Jews with the utmost toleration and liberality. The occupants of the Papal throne shielded the Jews and exhorted the clergy and the princes against the use of force in converting them to Christianity."

Pope

-6-

Pope Pius XI declared on July 30, 1938, referring to the unscientific racial theories of Naziism: "It is forgotten that humankind, the whole of humankind, is a single, great universal human race. All men are, above all, members of the same great kind. They all belong to the single great family of the living. Humankind is, therefore, a single universal race."

Nazi terror directed the storming of the homes of Cardinals Innitzer and Faulhaber. The Catholic priesthood is held up to ridicule and scorn and shame. Hundreds of Protestant Clergymen of the Confessional Church have been arrested, and Pastor Niemöller still languishes in a Nazi cell!

I believe the nation generally would welcome your courage and understanding in this matter of re-establishing diplomatic relations with the Holy See. A pronouncement to this effect would scatter the termites of bigotry and rodents of irreligion the world over.

No sincere citizen of the United States, familiar with the history of his country and its relations with the Holy See, can reasonably object to the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the government of the United States and the Holy See.

Lastly, there has ascended to the Papal Throne, Pope

Pius

-7-

Pius XII, a religious man of great erudition, wisdom and tolerance. As Anne O'Hara McCormick of the New York Times has written: "He is a spiritual plenipotentiary of great influence, though he has none but moral weapons to impress a world at arms."

For several months, Pope Pius XII has been endeavoring to bring peace to a war-threatened world. He has given instructions to his Papal Nuncios who are accredited to the various capitals of the world to invite the interested governments to consider peacefully and in true religious amity and accord, solutions of the grave issues, confronting the various nations, which are disturbing the world. Let us help him in his glorious mission of Peace by sending our delegate to him.

Pope Pius XII has expressed great admiration and affection for the people of the United States. He has extended his hand of fellowship to us. We should grasp it. We should re-establish diplomatic relations with the Holy See.

With assurances of high esteem, I am

Cordially yours,

EMANUEL CELLER