The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen.

Since the beginning of the First Cold War in April, 1948, the Communist Party of this country has placed more and more reliance upon the ranks of the Protestant clergy to provide the party’s subversive apparatus with its agents, stooges, dupes, front men, and fellow-travelers.

Clergymen outnumber professors two to one in supporting the Communist-front apparatus of the Kremlin conspiracy. In the May issue of the AMERICAN MERCURY, we pointed out that during the past seventeen years the Communist Party has enlisted the support of at least thirty-five hundred professors — many of them as dues-paying members, many others as fellow-travelers, some as out-and-out espionage agents, some as adherents of the party line in varying degrees, and some as the unwitting dupes of subversion. During the same seventeen-year period, the Communist Party has enlisted the support of at least seven thousand Protestant clergymen in the same categories — party members, fellow-travelers, espionage agents, party-line adherents, and unwitting dupes.

We have striking and concurring testimony from two utterly different witnesses: namely, Earl Browder and J. Edgar Hoover.

While he was still the head of the Communist Party of the United States, Earl Browder made a speech to the students of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, in which he said: “You may be interested in knowing that we have preachers, preachers active in churches, who are members of the Communist Party.” Although Browder is hardly to be believed under oath, there is overwhelming evidence that he spoke the truth to the seminary students on this particular point.

Browder went on to explain to the budding clergymen of the seminary that the Communist Party allowed a certain ideological latitude to the Protestant ministers who joined the
Kremlin’s conspiracy. “There are churches in the United States,” he said, “where the preachers preach Communism from the pulpits, in a very primitive form, of course. In one particular church service described to me, the substance of the sermon . . . was that the Communists were the angels of God that had been sent like Moses to lead the people from the wilderness, while the representatives of the devil were the capitalists and their agents. This, of course, is not an expression of the official Communist attitude on these questions, as you will understand; but we do not expel such people from the Party. The test for us is whether such people represent the social aspirations of the masses, which may take on a religious form, but which are essentially social rebellion. When such is the case, we welcome them into our Party.”

There is documentary evidence to confirm Browder’s statement with respect to his Party’s ideological leniency on the subject of religion and Communist clergymen.

The People’s Institute of Applied Religion — a Communist school which is run, sponsored, and subsidized by Protestant clergymen — publishes a handbook which says: “True religion uses the class struggle as the most effective weapon of constructive social change in a class society. It recognizes from its study of our religious heritage that the class struggle, while it is not a permanent weapon of the people, is the historic weapon.”

The People’s Institute defines salvation, in its handbook, as follows: “Salvation is the result of the collective effort of the workers and other victims of this [the capitalist] world system to save themselves from the oppressors.”

On the subject of Protestantism, the People’s Institute offers the following viewpoint: “Protestant church religion came into being to enhance the rise of capitalism. It proclaimed the divine right of property. It deified [spelled defied in the original] the kings of finance, the lords of commerce and the captains of industry. Today this church religion is directed by remote control from the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the offices of cartel imperialists. With these it has economic investments in the capitalist exploits of the whole world.”

Any casual student of Communism will recognize the party line in these quotations from the published handbook of the People’s Institute of Applied Religion. More about this Communist training school for clergymen presently!

Our next witness is the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In testimony before the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, on March 26, 1947, J. Edgar Hoover — who speaks with the highest authority on the subject of Communism — said: “I confess to
a real apprehension so long as Communists are able to secure ministers of the Gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism.”

Even if we did not have the authoritative testimony of Earl Browder and J. Edgar Hoover on the subject of the Communist infiltration of the clergy, we would have ample and overwhelming evidence of the inroads of Communism into the Protestant churches.

On April 1, 1951, the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities issued its “Report on the Communist ‘Peace’ Offensive — A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States.” That report led off with the conclusion that “the most dangerous hoax ever devised by the international Communist conspiracy is the current world-wide ‘peace’ offensive.”

The dangerous hoax of the Communist “peace” offensive is still very much with us, as much so in 1953 as it was in 1951, when the Congressional committee said in its report: “Communists and their co-conspirators are spearheading this movement in cities and communities throughout the United States — at meetings, on street corners, in shops, homes, schools and colleges, in the press and on the radio — in fact, in every walk of life. Unless it is completely exposed, many may be deceived and ensnared.”

One very remarkable feature of the Congressional committee’s report on the phony Communist “peace” offensive was apparently overlooked by many, including some of the committee’s members. In this single volume of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, four hundred seventy-one Protestant clergymen are named as participants in this phony Communist “peace” maneuver. In giving the names of only four hundred seventy-one clergymen who have attached themselves to this “campaign to disarm and defeat the United States,” the Congressional committee was conservative. The fact is that more than one thousand Protestant clergymen have been participants in the Communist “peace” organizations which are named in the committee’s report.

Preachers, too, are people. As such, they are citizens to be held responsible for their civic and political acts. If professors and government employees are held to strict accountability for collaboration with the Communist-front apparatus, why not clergymen? Do clergymen have their own little Yalu River — their professional status — beyond which they have sanctuary? Why should they be allowed to participate, without investigation and exposure, in the “campaign to disarm and defeat the United States”? The Communist Party counts heavily on this immunity which cowardly politicians would grant to ministers of the Gospel.
Among the four hundred seventy-one named in the Congressional committee's report, we find the following names of prominent Protestant Episcopal clergymen: the Rt. Rev. W. Appleton Lawrence, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Western Massachusetts; the Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Utah (retired); the Rt. Rev. John Moore Walker, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Atlanta; the Rt. Rev. David William Short, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Iowa; the Rt. Rev. Benjamin D. Dagwell, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Oregon; the Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of California (retired); the Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Arizona (retired); and the Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Albany.

Other bishops of other Protestant churches, named in the report of the Congressional committee, included the following: the Rev. W. J. Walls, Bishop of the A.M.E. Zion Church, Chicago; the Rev. S. L. Greene, Bishop of the A.M.E. Church, Birmingham; the Rev. William A. Fountain, Bishop of the A.M.E. Church, Atlanta; the Rev. A. R. Clippinger, Bishop of the Evangelical United Brethren Church, Dayton; the Rev. Cameron C. Alleyne, Bishop of the A.M.E. Zion Church, Philadelphia; the Rev. R. R. Wright, Jr., Bishop of the A.M.E. Church, Arkansas; the Rev. A. J. Allen, Bishop of the A.M.E. Zion Church, Cleveland; the Rev. J. Arthur Hamlett, Bishop of the Colored M. E. Church, Kansas City; the Rev. Carey A. Gibbs, Bishop of the A.M.E. Church, Jacksonville, Fla.; the Rev. Paul B. Kern, Bishop of the Methodist Church, Nashville; the Rev. Frank M. Reid, Bishop of the A.M.E. Church, Columbia, S. C.; and the Rev. Paris A. Wallace, Bishop of the A.M.E. Zion Church, Brooklyn.

Among other prominent Protestant clergymen, the Congressional committee named the following as participants in the phony Communist "peace" maneuver: the Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, Pastor of the Central Methodist Church, Detroit; the Rev. Walter G. Muelder, Dean of the Boston University School of Theology; the Rev. Donald B. Cloward, Executive Secretary of the Council on Christian Social Progress of the Northern Baptist Convention; the Rev. William E. Lampe, General Secretary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church; the Rev. D. V. Jemison, President of the National Baptist Convention; the Rev. Owen J. Beadles, Methodist District Superintendent, Seattle; the Very Rev. Paul Roberts, Dean of St. John's Cathedral, Denver; the Rev. Purd E. Deitz, Vice-Chairman of the Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches; the Rev. T. T. Brumbaugh, Associate Secretary of the Methodist Board of Missions; and the Rev. John B.
Thompson, Dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, University of Chicago.

The Protestant clergymen named in the report of the Congressional committee come from forty-eight states and the District of Columbia. This is emphatic evidence of the fact that the Communist infiltration of the Protestant churches has been nation-wide.

Why were there no anguished outcries from the leftists and fake liberals two years ago, when the Congressional committee published its findings concerning the participation of clergymen in the “most dangerous hoax ever devised by the international Communist conspiracy”? Where was Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.? The concerted smear attack upon Congressman Harold Velde has a familiar stench about it.

Outside the known leadership of the Communist Party of the United States, the five top pro-Soviet propagandists in this country are all Protestant clergymen. Their names and positions are as follows: the Rev. Harry F. Ward, Professor Emeritus of Union Theological Seminary; the Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes, Executive Secretary of the Episcopal League for Social Action; the Rev. Jack R. McMichael, Executive Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action; the Rev. Willard Uphaus, Co-Director of the American Peace Crusade; and the Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher, Professor of Christian Social Ethics, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

The Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher and the Rev. Willard Uphaus were elected to membership on the World Peace Council at the Second World Peace Congress, held in Communist-controlled Poland, November 13-19, 1950. This gathering had been scheduled to meet in Sheffield, England; but, at the last minute, the British Government refused to allow the foreign delegates to land in England. The gathering was, thereupon, transferred to Warsaw.

On May 7, 1951, the Department of State published a bulletin entitled “The Phony ‘Peace’ Offensive,” in which the World Peace Council was discussed in the bluntest terms. The State Department observed correctly that “the entire program of this shadowy group (the World Peace Council) coincides with the foreign policy objectives of the U.S.S.R.” A clearer warning could hardly have been issued. “Let no one be deceived by the World Peace Council,” said the State Department. “It is an organ of Soviet foreign policy. It is a tool of the phony ‘peace’ offensive.”

The international “peace” apparatus of the Kremlin has been busy in the United States, through such fronts as the American Peace Crusade, the Committee on Peaceful Alternatives, the Mid-Century Conference for Peace, the National Labor Conference for Peace, and the
"World Peace Appeal." In the summer of 1950, the "World Peace Appeal" was widely distributed for the signatures of Americans. The Peace Information Center, an American adjunct of the international "peace" apparatus, released the names of some six hundred thirty signers of the "World Peace Appeal." Of the total, two hundred fifty-three were Protestant clergymen. The names of only forty-seven professors were included in the release. Only twenty-nine labor union officials were on the list of signers.


Other comparisons will indicate the predominance of clergymen among the supporters of the Communist-front apparatus.

The Mid-Century Conference for Peace was one of the units in the phony Communist "peace" offensive. It was convened in Chicago in May, 1950. Among three hundred sixty supporters of this Communist front, there were one hundred ninety-four clergymen, ninety-eight educators, and only twenty-three labor union officials.

The Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, another of the units in the phony Communist "peace" offensive, sent an open letter to members of Congress, which was signed by six hundred thirty-seven clergymen and only seventy-four educators.

Another of the current units of the Communist-front apparatus, the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act (the Internal Security Act of 1950), issued a press release signed by five hundred twenty-eight clergymen and only one hundred nine educators.

The oldest unit of the Commu-
nlist-front apparatus in this country is the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, an organization cited as "Communist and subversive" by the Attorney General. The ACPFB specializes in the defense of alien Communists who have been arrested for deportation. To join in the defense of these alien agents of the Moscow conspiracy, the ACPFB has been successful in enlisting hundreds of Protestant clergymen. In fact, the honorary chairman of the ACPFB is the Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Utah (retired). Among the current sponsors of the organization, we find the following clergymen: the Rev. Paul J. Allured, Presbyterian Minister of Lansing, Michigan; the Rev. Frank D. Campbell, Del Rosa, California; the Rev. L. A. Gross, Chicago; the Rev. Edward L. Peet, Mill Valley, California; and the Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes, Philadelphia.

A recent ACPFB leaflet entitled "Clergymen Condemn Deportations" was signed by ninety-seven Protestant clergymen, including such veteran supporters of the Communist-front apparatus as the following: the Rev. Lee H. Ball, Irvington, New York; the Rev. Burns Brodhead, Bristol, Pennsylvania; the Rev. Mark A. Chamberlin, Gresham, Oregon; the Rev. John W. Darr, Jr., New York City; the Rev. Oliver G. Dropers, Cleveland, Ohio; the Rev. Charles A. Hill, Detroit; the Rev. Chester E. Hodgson, Newark, New Jersey; the Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Brooklyn; and the Rev. James D. Wyker, Missouri.

One of the oldest Communist enterprises for clergymen in this country is known as the People's Institute of Applied Religion, reference to which has been made in these pages already. The present headquarters of the PIAR are in Helena, Alabama.

The Attorney General of the United States has listed the People's Institute of Applied Religion as "Communist and subversive." The director of the PIAR is the Rev. Claude C. Williams, who admitted some years ago that his Communist Party membership card was made out in the name of "John Galey."

The People's Institute of Applied Religion specializes in disseminating Communist propaganda among preachers in rural communities in the South. The PIAR director, Claude Williams, wrote one of his local leaders, with reference to a PIAR conference to be held in Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis, as follows: "Write me in the enclosed envelope stating that I can depend upon you and Moore to have at least ten real hill-billy, honest-to-God Bible preachers here for the institute. We'll pay, oil and keeps as promised before. And I'm sure that I can get you on the payroll."

The payroll to which Williams referred in his letter was the payroll of the Home Missions Council of North
America, of which the Rev. Mark A. Dawber was then executive secretary. The Home Missions Council was one of the most important Protestant church bodies in America. It was recently made the Division of Home Missions of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. According to the Rev. Claude C. Williams, the Home Missions Council of North America made cash subsidies for the work of the People’s Institute of Applied Religion. Shocking as it may seem to sincere Protestant Christians in this country, the undisputed fact is that some of their Christian-dedicated dollars went to support the dissemination of Communism and subversion among rural clergymen.

Among the international board members and sponsors of the People’s Institute of Applied Religion, we find the following prominent clergymen listed on the current letterhead: the Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher; the Rev. Jack R. McMichael, executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action; the Rev. Harry F. Ward; and the Rev. Willard Uphaus, co-director of the American Peace Crusade. These four clergymen are, as has been observed already, among the top five pro-Soviet propagandists in the United States, outside the known leaders of the Communist Party.

Also listed as international board members and sponsors of the PIAR are the following Protestant clergymen: the Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Los Angeles; the Rev. Chester E. Hodgson, Newark; the Very Rev. Hewlett Johnson, the “Red” Dean of Canterbury; the Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Brooklyn; the Rev. Harold P. Marley, Chicago; the Rev. William Howard Melish, Brooklyn; the Rev. John B. Thompson, Dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel; the Rev. Kenneth Leslie, editor of The Protestant; the Rev. Charles C. Webber, president of the C.I.O. Council of Virginia; and the Rev. John Whittier Darr, Jr., New York City.

The Protestant, edited from its inception by the Rev. Kenneth Leslie, has long been a Communist propaganda medium among clergymen. Formerly published in New York City, this subversive magazine is now issued in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The April, 1953, issue of The Protestant opens with a poem (?) entitled “Mao Cooks a Dish.” Mao is, of course, the head of the Red terroristic regime in China. The poem closes with the following lines:

Gongs of all Asia summon all Asia: Come to the feast that our Mao is preparing!

With reference to the armed forces of the United States, the poem in The Protestant has the following lines:

Pinning them down in Korea while sharpening Chop-sticks for Europe, chop-sticks for Asia.

Backing the rank Communist
propaganda of *The Protestant* and listed as “editorial advisers” in the April, 1953, issue are the following clergymen: the Rev. William T. Baird, Essex Community Church, Chicago; the Rev. Russell C. Barbour, editor of the *National Baptist Voice,* Nashville; Reginald H. Bass, New York City; the Rev. I. Jonathan Domas; the Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher; the Rev. Sidney E. Harris, Woodburne, Oregon; the Rev. A. Eustace Haydon, University of Chicago; the Rev. Donald Lothrop, Community Church of Boston; the Rev. E. D. McGowan, Epworth Methodist Church, Bronx; the Rev. John A. Maynard, French Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City; the Rev. Lloyd Frank Merrill, Manchester, Michigan; the Rev. Dryden L. Phelps, former missionary in China; the Rev. D. R. Sharpe, executive secretary of the Cleveland Baptist Association; the Rev. Wilfred Wakefield, Brookfield, Illinois; and the Rev. Claude C. Williams, director of the People’s Institute of Applied Religion.

*The Protestant,* formerly known as *The Protestant Digest,* has been viciously anti-Catholic as well as pro-Communist. Hardly an issue of the magazine has appeared in the past fifteen years in which there were fewer than a half dozen articles breathing hatred toward Roman Catholics and love for the Soviet Union.

*The Protestant* brazenly defended the Hungarian torture and imprisonment of Cardinal Mindszenty.

In its December-January, 1942, issue, *The Protestant* carried the following editorial rhapsody entitled “God’s Red Army”:

> It is not because Russia has saved us that we thank God for the Red Army. . . . It is simply because of what Russia is and because of the quality of the Red Army itself, the spiritual quality of its soldiers, the way its soldiers feel toward its people, the way its soldiers feel toward their enemies. This is why, listening to our innermost voice, we hear ourselves thanking God for the Red Army.

In the fall of 1941, two months before Pearl Harbor, *The Protestant* obtained the signatures of one thousand Protestant clergymen to a manifesto calling for all-out aid to the Soviet Union. The *Daily Worker* featured this achievement with a Page One, eight-column banner headline. The manifesto declared, among other things, that “not one member of any branch of our Government is Communist.” Why one thousand Protestant clergyman considered themselves competent to sign such a preposterous statement is a question to ponder. Its falsity has been fully established. Among the signers of the statement, we find the following: the Rev. John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary; the Rev. D. V. Jemison, president of the National Baptist Convention; the Rev. Wal-

One of the most effective pro-Soviet propaganda media in the United States during the past generation has been the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

On February 17, 1952, the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives released an 87-page report entitled "Review of the Methodist Federation for Social Action." This report established beyond the possibility of successful contradiction that the views and policies of the MFSA have throughout the years closely paralleled those of the Communist Party.

For many years, the active leader of the Methodist Federation for Social Action was the Rev. Prof. Harry F. Ward. He was succeeded by the present executive secretary, the Rev. Jack R. McMichael. It would be hard to find two more effective pro-Soviet propagandists in the United States than Ward and McMichael. Ward has spent a great deal of time in the Soviet Union, and has written several books extolling the Soviet system. McMichael was head of the Communist and subversive American Youth Congress. Both clergymen have been affiliated with scores of units of the Communist-front apparatus.

The present officers of the Methodist Federation are as follows: President, Bishop Edgar A. Love; Vice-Presidents, Bishop J. W. E. Bowen and the Rev. Edgar Wahlberg; Recording Secretary, Loyd Worley; Treasurer, the Rev. Lee H. Ball; and Honorary Chairman, Bishop Francis J. McConnell.

Inasmuch as the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities has already made extensive investigations of the Communist affiliations of clergymen, and published an entire report on one organization of clergymen — the Methodist Federation for Social Action — it is difficult to understand the protests registered at this late date against the investigation of pro-Communist clergymen. It is especially difficult to understand these protests when they emanate from Congressmen who are members of the Committee on Un-American Activities, all of whom concurred in the previous investigations of clergymen.

Following the suggestion of Congressman Harold Velde, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, that his committee might pursue its investigations into the pro-Communist affiliations of clergymen in the future, tens of thousands of letters and telegrams poured into the office of Congressman Velde. Ninety-six percent of these communications backed Velde. The communications received from clergy-
men themselves were likewise over-
whelming in their approval of the
Congressman’s suggestion.

Why, one often hears, is it a
matter of any great concern
that ministers of the Gospel join,
sponsor, or otherwise support the
Communist-front apparatus? The
answer to that question is that the
Communist-front apparatus is an
integral part of the whole nefarious
Communist conspiracy to destroy
us; that it is assigned as definite a
role as the Communist Party itself,
the espionage cells, the Communist
training schools, and the Communist
press. In the May issue of AMERICAN
MERCURY, the multiple uses of the
Communist-front apparatus were
set forth in some detail. The reader
is invited to refer to that discussion
in my article on “Communism and
the Colleges.”

It hardly needs to be said that the
vast majority of American Protes-
tant clergymen are loyal to the free
institutions of this country, as well
as loyal to their solemn trust as
ministers of the Gospel. In a sense,
this overwhelming majority is em-
barrassed by the participation of the
minority in the activities of the most
sinister conspiracy in the history of
the world.

The international Communist con-
spiracy aims at the total obliteration
of Judeo-Christian civilization. Com-
munist dogma is diametrically op-
posed to every tenet of Judeo-Chris-
tian theology and philosophy. It is,
therefore, nothing short of a mon-
strous puzzle that some seven thou-
sand Protestant clergymen have
been drawn during the past seven-
teen years into the network of the
Kremlin’s conspiracy. Could it be
that these pro-Communist clergy-
men have allowed their zeal for
social justice to run away with their
better judgment and patriotism?

A partial explanation of these
thousands of clergymen who have
collaborated in one way or another
with the Communist-front apparatu-
s may be found in the vogue of the
“social gospel” which infected the
Protestant theological seminaries
more than a generation ago. Many
graduates of the “liberalized” Pro-
estant seminaries abandoned religion
altogether in favor of the “social
gospel.”

The Rev. Walter Rauschenbush,
with his Christianizing the Social
Order, and the Rev. Harry F. Ward,
with his The New Social Order,
pioneered the “social gospel” in the
years before World War I, the
former a Baptist and the latter a
Methodist. In the generation which
followed, these two men recruited
through their teaching and writings
thousands of younger clergymen
who began to fancy themselves as
modern editions of the Eighth Cen-
tury Prophets — Amos, Hosea, Isai-
iah, and Micha. They forgot that
these Prophets were as passionately
concerned with individual human
freedom as they were with social
justice.
"And now, Dr. Adair, whose topic will be, 'How to overcome insomnia.'"