

Vatican City State and Holy See

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This article explores the Seventh-day Adventist perspective on the Vatican and focuses on aspects that are unique—especially the question of American government envoys.

Vatican City State

After the annexation *manu militari* of the last vestiges of the Papal States on September 20, 1870, the Italian parliament enacted the Law of Guarantees in 1871, meant to guarantee the prerogatives of the Supreme Pontiff and of the Holy See, for the fulfillment of their spiritual mission. The Italian State gave the Pope a sovereign-like status and an active and passive right of legation to the Holy See, the free enjoyment of palaces and buildings in Rome and its surrounding areas, the payment of an annual allowance for their maintenance, custody, and for the payment of salaries and pensions to guards and personnel. Nevertheless, because of the unilateral character of the settlement, the Popes refused to reconcile with the Italian government and considered themselves “prisoners” in the Vatican.

On February 11, 1929, the Vatican City State (VCS) was fashioned by the Conciliation Treaty between the Italian government and the Holy See:¹ the breach, after many decades, was healed.² The Treaty made the Holy See sovereign over the newly created VCS,³ which embraces chiefly the area of the Vatican (the pope’s official residence and headquarters), St. Peter’s Basilica and square, and the adjacent buildings and grounds.

A tiny sovereign state (about 44 hectares, or 108.7 acres) within the city of Rome, the VCS hosts the headquarters of the Roman Catholic Church. The resident population is about 800 people, while only a half of them have Vatican citizenship. Many of those with Vatican citizenship are diplomats, living in different countries around the world. In the VCS there are no members of any church other than the Roman Catholic Church. The VCS has signed international agreements connected with peculiar issues like mail and stamps, telecommunication, and currency (a special agreement has been signed in 1999 with the European Union allowing VCS to use the Euro as its official currency). Inside the VCS there are the Vatican Museums, which includes the Sistine Chapel, the Vatican Apostolic Library, with 1,600,000 printed books (including a copy of *The Desires of Ages* and of *The Great Controversy*) and a vast collection of manuscripts and *incunabula*, and the

Vatican Secret Archive, which houses important documents of the Roman Curia.

The Holy See

The VCS must not be confused with the Holy See, which existed before the creation of the VCS and continues to this day. According to a long tradition, the Holy See, or Apostolic See, refers, according to Canon Law, “not only to the Roman Pontiff but also to the Secretariat of State, the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church, and other institutes,”⁴ like congregations and tribunals.⁵ Most scholars consider that these canons have a double meaning: *stricto sensu*, the Holy See is the office of the pontiff, while *lato sensu* it means all the offices and institutes that cooperate with him in the conduct of the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church worldwide; this group of institutes, which performs its function in the name and by the authority of the Pontiff, is the Roman Curia.

The Holy See has been traditionally considered to have international personality, and even the loss of its state territory in 1870 did not prevent it to conduct an intense diplomatic activity. After 1870, the Holy See signed agreements and concordats with several states, e.g. Guatemala (1884), Colombia (1887), Latvia (1922), Bavaria (1924), Poland (1925), Romania (1927), and Lithuania (1927). In the Lateran Treaty, Italy recognized “the sovereignty of the Holy See in international matters as an inherent attribute in conformity with its traditions and the requirements of its mission to the world.”⁶

After the Second World War, the international law system saw the birth of many international organizations with legal personality, and the Holy See has been accredited in several of them as a member or participant state or as a non-member State permanent observer, e.g. in the United Nations. The Holy See has diplomatic relations with about 180 States:⁷ the ambassadors of these States accredited with the Holy See reside not in the VCS, but in the city of Rome.

The Papacy, the United States Government, and the Seventh-day Adventist Church

The relations between the government of the United States of America (U.S.) and the papacy has drawn the attention of the Seventh-day Adventist movement since its beginning, being considered an important part of a wider prophetic pattern.⁸

The first U.S. consul to the Papal States was nominated by President John Adams in 1797. After the first nominee, eleven consuls succeeded one other, up to the downfall of Rome in 1870.⁹ The Papal States were a real state, with Rome as its capital, and the Supreme Pontiff was at the same time its temporal sovereign and the chief of the Roman Catholic Church.

With the election to the papacy of Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti, then Pius IX (1846-1878), President Polk upgraded the U.S. diplomatic representation status from “consul” to “*chargé d'affaires*.”¹⁰ In his first years of government, Pius IX was considered by some to be a liberal king. In the 1848 parliamentary debate about the law financing the new position, Senator Andrew Butler affirmed that “[the Pope’s] government is founded in intolerance and proscription, and it is not to be supposed that he would remit any of that intolerance by reason of being complimented by a mission from us... Ours is a government which does not allow us to legislate for religion, and I am not willing indirectly to give countenance to a mission for religious considerations, whilst I am precluded from doing anything directly in reference to religion within our country.”¹¹

In 1854, the Congress elevated the status of the U.S. diplomatic representative to “minister.”¹² In 1867, with the Papal States being reduced to the Lazio region, the Congress withdrew the funds necessary for the mission in Rome,¹³ and in 1870 also the consul position was withdrawn.¹⁴ In the following decades, the contacts between the Holy See and the U.S. were sporadic.

Nevertheless, Adventists followed attentively the events connected with the renewed activity of the Holy See on the international scene since World War I.¹⁵ When the Lateran Treaty was signed on February 11, 1929, the *Review and Herald* commented that “[t]he outstanding happening which we have talked privately and proclaimed publicly from pulpit and press for so many years, is definitely taking place,—the healing of the ‘deadly wound,’ the restoration of temporal sovereignty to the papacy.”¹⁶

The diplomatic distance between the U.S. and the Holy See was shortened by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on December 24, 1939, when he announced the appointment of Myron C. Taylor as his personal representative, with the rank of ambassador, to Pope Pius XII.¹⁷ On January 9, 1940, James L. McElhany, president of the General Conference, with secretary E. D. Dick, were invited with other religious Protestant leaders to meet Roosevelt at the White House, where the President explained to them the reason for his move. They left the Oval Office with “a feeling of deep disappointment.”¹⁸ On January 11, 1940, McElhany sent a letter to President Roosevelt, in which he warned him of the danger coming from the endeavor to coordinate his effort for peace with those of the Pope, because “the method contravenes the principle of the separation of church and State.”¹⁹ In referring to the previous diplomatic relations, he considered that “[f]or a brief time the experiment was tried by our Government of maintaining diplomatic relations with the Vatican, but fortunately, we believe, was later abandoned.”²⁰ McElhany shows the concern, shared by many influential observers, that this appointment would prelude to a full establishment of diplomatic relations with the Holy See.²¹ In fact, he argued that “it is evident that the Pope’s appeal for universal peace is not based on the fact that he is the head of a sovereign state, but rather on the fact that he is the head of a great world-wide religious organization.”²² Seventh-day Adventists were not alone in looking with suspicion to President Roosevelt’s move²³ and they were invited to join other religious denominations in an effort to counter it [to counter the President’s initiative], in order to restore the previous church-state relations setting.²⁴ In April 1940, the General Conference Committee approved a statement, *The Impending Conflict and Our Responsibility*,²⁵ to be sent to all the Adventist churches in North

America, while the Religious Liberty Department was asked to prepare an inexpensive piece of literature to educate both Adventist church members and the general public on the subject, with no less than two million copies to be distributed.²⁶

The fact that Taylor was technically “a personal representative” was seen by Adventists as elusive of reality:

The fact that Mr. Taylor has been named personally by President Roosevelt does not distinguish him from other diplomatic agents who, in representing their states, also represent their sovereigns personally. Since Mr. Roosevelt cannot, as an American citizen, send a representative to a foreign sovereign, he can only send Mr. Taylor here through his position as President of the United States.²⁷

In the following years, “Americans, who at first strongly opposed Taylor’s appointment, had become relatively apathetic on the matter.”²⁸ In any case, the Seventh-day Adventist Church continued to publish articles concerning the relations between the U.S. government and the Holy See.²⁹

President Harry S. Truman kept Taylor on his post until he resigned in January 1950, not being immediately substituted; then, on October 20, 1951, the president nominated General Mark W. Clark to be ambassador of the U.S. to the VCS. Many Protestant clergymen, single churches, denominations, and other organizations, like Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State (POAU), protested against this appointment. The Seventh-day Adventist Church reacted almost immediately. On October 30, the General Conference Committee resolved to “respectfully request the President of the United States and our Department of State to recognize these principles, which are deeply embedded in constitutional law, and that we join other Protestant bodies in urging that the proposed embassy at the Vatican be not established: and that no diplomatic representative to the Vatican be appointed.”³⁰ On October 21, 1951, the General Conference Committee voted to “express [its] most earnest protest against the appointment of an Ambassador from the United States to the Vatican as a violation of the principle of separation of church and state.”³¹ On October 26, 1951, the North American Division Committee saw in the appointment of a U.S. ambassador to the Vatican “a deplorable disregard of Protestant and democratic sentiment and a further departure from and the weakening of the constitutional principle of the separation of church and state,” asking churches, companies, institutions and church members to write to their senators and asking the General Conference Religious Liberty Department to provide information on how to exert influence on senators and particularly on those involved in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.³² The theme of the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican was covered by many Adventist periodicals, each one with its particular perspective.³³ On January 13, 1952, General Clark asked that his name be released from consideration. President Truman assured the soon submission of another name, which in reality never came up.³⁴

During the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson presidencies, there were no official representatives accredited to the Holy See.³⁵ President Nixon’s appointment of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., in June 1968, as his personal representative to the Holy See (as Taylor, he was not paid by the government)³⁶ earned brief mentions in

Adventist publications,³⁷ considering that

Lodge's mission, according to the White House announcement, was to make two or three visits a year to the Vatican, staying in Rome two to four weeks each time. To make it clear that Mr. Lodge's mission to the Vatican is distinct from the U.S. diplomatic mission in Italy, he is maintaining his quarters and offices in the Grand Hotel, four blocks from the American embassy.³⁸

In any case, despite the reassuring statement of Henry Cabot Lodge himself, "that there is no need for a U.S. ambassador to the Vatican on a permanent basis," considering that there is a full-time assistant in Rome who "accomplishes all the United States needs in its contact with the Vatican,"³⁹ *Liberty* questioned under many profiles the wisdom of this appointment.⁴⁰

During the Ford presidency, Lodge remained in his place.⁴¹ In 1976, presidential nominee Jimmy Carter was asked if an exchange of ambassadors between the U.S. and the Vatican would be wise, he replied: "Personally I have no objection to that move."⁴² Nevertheless, when elected, Carter did not appoint an ambassador to the Vatican, but perpetuated the tradition to send a personal envoy, David M. Walters, the first Catholic (Clark and Lodge were Protestants).⁴³ This move did not raise much attention in Adventist journals.⁴⁴

In September 1983, the Congress withdrew the 1867 ban on funding a diplomatic mission to the Vatican; president Ronald Reagan signed the law on November 22, 1983. Full and formal diplomatic relations were officially established on January 10, 1984. President Reagan's establishment of full diplomatic relations with the Holy See immediately drew swift criticism from a broad range of Protestant and Jewish groups and civil liberties organizations.⁴⁵

The General Conference followed the issue with attention⁴⁶ and paid for two half-page advertisements in the *Washington Post* on December 5 and 11, 1983, and in the *Washington Times* on December 12 and January 9, 1984, outlining the reasons why the U.S. President should not have an ambassador from the U.S. to the Vatican.

⁴⁷ On February 9, Bert B. Beach, director of the General Conference Department of Public Affairs and Religious Liberty, appeared before a subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives to present the reasons why Seventh-day Adventists oppose an exchange of ambassadors with the Holy See. After a historical introduction, Beach summarized "the Seventh-day Adventist rationale for opposition" in five points:

1. *Separation of Church and State* will be infringed.
2. *A Form of Religious Discrimination* and a violation of the principle of equal treatment of religion before the law and the government: "Granting the Holy See, and therefore the Roman Catholic Church, special recognition...is discrimination toward other churches..."⁴⁸

3. *Pope and Curia Comprise the Holy See*: an ambassador to the Holy See is an ambassador to the Roman Catholic Church, "in fact, the juridical status of the Holy See in no way depends of the territorial base of Vatican City."⁴⁹
4. *Official Diplomatic Relations Unnecessary*. There is already a "heavily staffed U.S. embassy in Rome" and the hypothesis is not convincing that the Vatican could hold back information because of the lack of an official U.S. ambassador. Moreover, the information would be distorted by the different goals of the two institutions, being that of the U.S. government "strictly non religious, though not antireligious."⁵⁰
5. *Possible Damage to Interchurch Relations*. By giving way to the charge of favoritism and discrimination, it might acerbate interchurch relations by raising legitimate questions, specters of the past, and concerns for the future.⁵¹

Compared to other declarations of the past, the closing of the speech has a conciliatory tone⁵²:

The Seventh-day Adventist opposition to U.S. diplomatic recognition of the Holy See is not based on anti-Catholic bigotry. No one can deny the current Pope's efforts to promote peace and his speeches supporting human rights. These endeavors are not in question. The Pope's status as a significant international figure is not the issue. The basic problem is the First Amendment to the United States Constitution and diplomatic relations with a church.⁵³

Beach appeared also on television broadcast.⁵⁴

According to the editors of the *Adventist Review*, "dramatic changes" had "altered public opinion to the degree that the appointment, instead of bringing down a storm of protest, has created only a ripple on the national scene" and that "[m]ost Protestants and Jewish leaders are giving it casual treatment". They argued that in fact, "Americans increasingly are less concerned with religion. Once burning issues have become peripheral." As a consequence, "[w]e are not surprised that such issues as an ambassador to the Vatican seem irrelevant to the current generation."⁵⁵

On March 7, 1984, the Senate confirmed William A. Wilson as the first ambassador of the U.S. to the Holy See.⁵⁶

The *Adventist Review* explained, "[t]he ease with which the measure passed (81-13) reflects the current perception of the Pope's increasingly influential role in world affairs. In 1984 the Papacy enjoys more prestige and power than in centuries. We believe that its influence, if anything, will grow stronger in the days ahead."⁵⁷

Since the petitioning to the Congress was unsuccessful, some of the protesters started a lawsuit: Americans United for Separation of Church and State filed a legal complaint in the U.S. district court in Philadelphia, joined by other organizations, including Protestant denominations, liberal Catholic organizations and national association of churches, in addition to some individuals.⁵⁸ Despite the fact that "an Adventist attorney retained

by Americans United [was] counsel for the plaintiffs, another Adventist attorney [was] president of Americans United, and at least five of the individual plaintiffs [were] Adventist ministers," that "the General Conference [made] a small annual donation to Americans United to support the work that separationists must do,⁶⁹ and that all the arguments present in court were shared by the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the denomination did not join the lawsuit. It was argued that "Adventists had clearly demonstrated their opposition to the ambassadorship and that joining the litigation would be interpreted by the public as being antigovernment and anti-Catholic."⁶⁰

In an analysis of the decision of May 8, 1985, held for the defendants, *Liberty* forecasted that the case was "most likely bound for the Supreme Court."⁶¹ In 1986, the Third District Court of Appeals confirmed the previous ruling. In the same year, the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal.⁶²

After that, the *Adventist Review* continued to take count of the succession of the U.S. ambassadors to the Holy See mainly with small blurbs: Frank Shakespeare (1986-1989),⁶³ Thomas P. Melady (1989-1993),⁶⁴ and Raymond Flynn (1993-1997)⁶⁵; for the latter, the General Conference wrote a letter to U.S. President Bill Clinton in February 1993, asking him not to appoint an ambassador from the U.S. to the Vatican, nor to accredit a papal *pro-nuncio* in Washington.⁶⁶ Lindy Boggs (1997-2001),⁶⁷ was the last one mentioned in the *Adventist Review*. The following ambassadors went unnoticed in Adventist records: James Nicholson (2001-2005), Francis Rooney (2005-2008), Mary Ann Glendon (2008-2009), Miguel H. Diaz (2009-2012), Ken Hackett (2013-2017), Callista Gingrich (2017-).

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NOTES

1. The Conciliation Treaty is one of the documents contained in the Lateran Treaty that include also a Financial Convention (that establish a compensation for the loss of the Papal States), and a Concordat (that regulates the life of the Catholic Church in Italy). See The Lateran Treaty, accessed July 29, 2019, https://archive.org/stream/TheLateranTreaty11thFebruary1929/The%20Lateran%20Treaty%2011th%20February%2C%201929_djvu.txt.
2. See *SB*, Nos. 1169, 1170.
3. Vatican City State, Basic Law 1, June 7, 1929, article 1: "The Supreme Pontiff, Sovereign of the Vatican City-State, possesses the fullness of legislative, executive, and judicial powers," accessed July 29, 2019, http://host.uniroma3.it/progetti/cedir/cedir/Lex-doc/SCV_SS/SCV_I-fond1.pdf.
4. Canon 361, *Code of Canon Law* (1983), accessed July 29, 2019, http://www.vatican.va/archive/cod-iuris-canonici/eng/documents/cic_lib2-cann330-367_en.html#Art_1.

5. Canon 360, *Code of Canon Law* (1983), accessed July 29, 2019, http://www.vatican.va/archive/cod-iuris-canonici/eng/documents/cic_lib2-cann330-367_en.html#Art_1.
6. Article 2, Conciliation Treaty, accessed July 29, 2019, https://archive.org/stream/TheLateranTreaty11thFebruary1929/The%20Lateran%20Treaty%2011th%20February%2C%201929_djvu.txt.
7. See Jane Sabes, "Popes and Presidents: the Relationship of Domestic Politics and Religion in International Affairs," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 45, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 45-46.
8. Reinder Bruinsma, *Seventh-day Adventist Attitudes Toward Roman Catholicism 1844-1965* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1994).
9. "As such, consuls lacked official government recognition and financial support; rather, their fees were paid by those for whom services were rendered." (Sabes, "Popes," 48).
10. Sabes, "Popes," 48-49.
11. "Mission to the Papal States," Debate in the Senate, March 21, 1848, *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, New Series, 30th Congress, 1st Session, 403, accessed July 29, 2019, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llcg&fileName=020/llcg020.db&recNum=412>.
12. Jim Nicholson, *USA e Santa Sede: la lunga strada* (Rome: Trenta Giorni, 2002), 21.
13. Nicholson, *USA e Santa Sede*, 24.
14. Sabes, "Popes," 49.
15. See Bruinsma, *Seventh-day*, 248-251.
16. Andrew C. Gilbert, "The Roman Question," *ARH*, June 27, 1929, 2. See also the other parts of the article on July 4, 1929, 6-7, and on July 11, 1929, 11-12.
17. "...as Chairman of the U.S. Steel Corporation, Taylor could well afford to personally finance his trips to, activities in, and stay at the Vatican, again circumventing required Congressional approval for allocation of federal expenditures." (Sabes, "Popes," 51).
18. See Bruinsma, *Seventh-day*, 255-256; Douglas Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic* (Knoxville, TE: The University of Tennessee Press, 2001) 120-121.
19. James L. McElhany, "The United States and the Vatican," *ARH*, January 11, 1940, 4.
20. McElhany, "The United States," 5.

21. This move was considered a "vivid proof" of the soon complete fulfillment of the prophecies of Revelation 13. On the other side, "there should be coupled good sense and prudence. We should not forget that we are dealing with a prophecy not yet completely fulfilled, and we must eschew the alluring temptation to fill in details of future developments that are not clearly revealed in the prophecy. We must never substitute our imagination for divine revelations for thereby we only weaken our cause and subject it to possible ridicule. We need not depart from the simple outline of the prophecy and the evident facts of current history in order to preach a stirring and convicting message to the world." (General Conference Committee, "The Impending Conflict and Our Responsibility," April 11, 1940, 1455-1456, General Conference Archives, accessed July 29, 2019, <http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Minutes/GCC/GCC1940-04-SM.pdf>).
22. McElhany, "The United States," 5.
23. See Kyle Haden, "The Myron Taylor Appointment, Protestant Churches, and the United States Press," *American Catholic Studies* 120, no. 4 (2009): 53-75.
24. Eric Syme, *A History of SDA Church-State Relations in the United States* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1973) 79-81; General Conference Committee, "Principles of Protestantism and Separation of Church and State," April 9, 1940, 1426-1427, General Conference Archives, accessed July 29, 2019, <http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Minutes/GCC/GCC1940-04-SM.pdf>.
25. General Conference Committee, April 9, 1940, 1455-1456, General Conference Archives, <http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Minutes/GCC/GCC1940-04-SM.pdf>.
26. General Conference Committee, April 11, 1940, 1453-1454, General Conference Archives, accessed July 29, 2019, <http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Minutes/GCC/GCC1940-04-SM.pdf>.
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33. See Syme, *A History*, 87-89.
34. See Bruinsma, *Seventh-day*, 252-258.
35. Sabes, "Popes," 52-56.
36. *Ibid.*, 56-58.
37. General Conference Bureau of Public Relations, "Vatican City," *Canadian Union Messenger* 39, no. 18 (August 30, 1970): 316; Elvin Benton, "On Holding Hands," *Columbia Union Visitor* 75, no. 14 (July 9, 1970): 6.
38. "Lodge's Audience with pope Paul Covered Wide Range of Topics," *ARH*, November 19, 1970, 30.
39. "Nixon's Vatican 'Visitor' Reports Talks With Pope," *These Times* 81, no. 13 (November 1972): 32.
40. Roland R. Hegstad, "The Vatican Appointment," *Liberty* 65 no. 5 (September-October 1970): 17-18.
41. Sabes, "Popes," 59.
42. "U.S.-Vatican Diplomatic Ties?," *ARH*, September 23, 1976, 3.
43. Also the successor of Walters, Robert Wagner, in 1978, was a Catholic. See Sabes, "Popes," 60.
44. A blurb on *Liberty* says sardonically that the appointment of a Catholic envoy to the Vatican is an unexpected move from a born-again Baptist president, so maybe a future Catholic president would appoint an envoy to the Southern Baptist Convention. See *Liberty*, 72 no. 6, (November-December 1977): 31.
45. See Kenneth A. Briggs, "Church Groups Denounce Reagan Move," *The New York Times* (January 11, 1984), accessed July 29, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/1984/01/11/world/church-groups-denounce-reagan-move.html>.
46. General Conference Committee, November 3, 1983, 455-456; December 8, 1983, 486; December 15, 1983, 494, General Conference Archives, accessed July 29, 2019, <http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Minutes/GCC/GCC1983-12.pdf>; General Conference Committee, February 16, 1984, 48; February 23, 1984, 58, General Conference Archives, accessed July 29, 2019, <http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Minutes/GCC/GCC1984-02.pdf>.
47. Victor Cooper, "Newsbeat," *ARH*, January 19, 1984, 27.
48. Bert B. Beach, quoted in "Diplomatic Relations with the Holy See," *ARH*, April 5, 1984, 4-5.
49. Beach, quoted in "Diplomatic Relations with the Holy See," 5.

50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Beach, at that time director of the Public Affair and Religious Liberty Department, has been an observer at the Vatican Council II and the contact person for the Adventist Church to the World Council of Churches, and other international religious and institutions, like the Christian World Communions and the United Nations. His first book was devoted to a commentary of the Vatican Council II: *Vatican II: Bridging the Abyss* (Washington D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1968). He contributed significantly in reshaping the position of the Adventist Church toward Catholicism and the Ecumenical Movement: *Ecumenism: Boon or Bane?* (Washington D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1974). See Roy Adams, "Bert B. Beach: Adventist Statesman," *Adventist Review*, online edition (November 8, 2001), accessed June 20, 2020, <https://www.adventistreview.org/archives/2001-1545/story1.html>.
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54. Victor Cooper, "Newsbeat," *Adventist Review*, February 16, 1984, 18.
55. George W. Reid, "Ambassador at the Vatican," *ARH*, February 16, 1984, 13.
56. Sabes, "Popes," 60.
57. William G. Johnsson, "Discerning the Times-1," *ARH*, May 31, 1984, 10.
58. Gary M. Ross, "Litigating US-Vatican Ties," *ARH*, March 7, 1985, 21.
59. Ross, "Litigating US-Vatican Ties," 21.
60. Ibid.
61. Mitchell A. Tyner, "An Ambassador to a Church in America?," *Liberty* 81, no. 2 (March-April 1986): 4.
62. See William G. Ross, "Vatican and Diplomatic Recognition," in *Religion and American Law: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Paul Finkelman (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), 549-550.
63. "New Vatican Ambassador," *ARH*, February 12, 1987, 7.
64. "Bush Nominates Vatican Envoy," *ARH*, August 17, 1989, 7.
65. "President Clinton Names Vatican Envoy," *ARH*, April 8, 1993, 7; "U.S. Ambassador to Vatican Seeks to Expand Role," *Adventist Review*, December 1, 1994, 7

66. Bert B. Beach, "Church Opposes Vatican Ambassador," *ARH*, April 22, 1993, 20.

67. "Senate Confirms Vatican Envoy," *ARH*, December 18, 1997, 22.

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