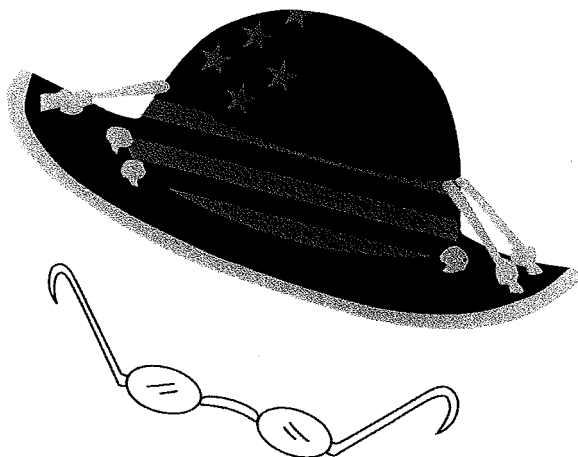


Charles R. Gallagher, David I. Kertzer,
Alberto Melloni (Eds.)

Pius XI and America

Proceedings of the Brown University Conference
(Providence, October 2010)



Christianity and History

LIT

Charles R. Gallagher, David I. Kertzer,
Alberto Melloni (Eds.)

Pius XI and America

CHRISTIANITY AND HISTORY

Series of the John XXIII Foundation
for Religious Studies in Bologna

edited by

† Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. mult. Giuseppe Alberigo
Prof. Dr. Alberto Melloni

(Fondazione per le scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII, Bologna)

Scientific Board

Prof. Dr. Claus Arnold, Frankfurt a.M.
Prof. Dr. Paolo Bettolo, Padova
Prof. Dr. Francesco Citti, Bologna
Prof. Dr. Philippe Denis, KwaZulu-Natal
Prof. Dr. Étienne Fouilloux, Lyon
Prof. Dr. Frédéric Gugelot, Paris
Prof. Dr. Peter Hünermann, Tübingen
Prof. Dr. Jean-Pierre Jossua, Paris
Prof. Dr. Gaetano Lettieri, Roma
Prof. Dr. Giovanni Miccoli, Trieste
Prof. Dr. Jürgen Miethke, Heidelberg
Prof. Dr. Kenneth Pennington, Washington DC
Prof. Dr. John Pollard, Cambridge
Prof. Dr. Adriano Prosperi, Pisa
Prof. Dr. Violet Soen, Leuven
Prof. Dr. Christoph Theobald, Paris
Card. Roberto Tucci, Città del Vaticano
Prof. Dr. Ren Yanli, Beijing

Volume 11

LIT

Pius XI and America

Proceedings of the
Brown University Conference
(Providence, October 2010)

edited by

Charles R. Gallagher,
David I. Kertzer,
Alberto Melloni

Cover Picture: Pius XI by Teresa Valdaliso Casanova

Realizzato con il contributo del PRIN 2008 "I nodi storici degli Anni 20-30 negli archivi vaticani: ordine internazionale, democrazie e totalitarismi nella chiesa di Pio XI".

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

ISBN 978-3-643-90146-0

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

©LIT VERLAG GmbH & Co. KG Wien,
Zweigniederlassung Zürich 2012
Klosbachstr. 107
CH-8032 Zürich
Tel. +41 (0) 44-251 75 05
Fax +41 (0) 44-251 75 06
e-Mail: zuerich@lit-verlag.ch
<http://www.lit-verlag.ch>

LIT VERLAG Dr. W. Hopf
Berlin 2012
Fresnostr. 2
D-48159 Münster
Tel. +49 (0) 2 51-620 320
Fax +49 (0) 2 51-23 19 72
e-Mail: lit@lit-verlag.de
<http://www.lit-verlag.de>

Distribution:

In Germany: LIT Verlag Fresnostr. 2, D-48159 Münster
Tel. +49 (0) 2 51-620 32 22, Fax +49 (0) 2 51-922 60 99, e-mail: vertrieb@lit-verlag.de

In Austria: Medienlogistik Pichler-ÖBZ, e-mail: mlo@medien-logistik.at

In Switzerland: B + M Buch- und Medienvertrieb, e-mail: order@buch-medien.ch

In the UK: Global Book Marketing, e-mail: mo@centralbooks.com

In North America: International Specialized Book Services, e-mail: orders@isbs.com

Contents

ROMANO PRODI	
<i>Foreword</i>	p. 7
CHARLES R. GALLAGHER	
<i>Introduction</i>	17

Pius XI, the United States and the Vatican

MARISA PATULLI TRYTHALL	
<i>Pius XI and American Pragmatism</i>	25
LUCIA CECI	
<i>The First Steps of «Parallel Diplomacy»: The Vatican and the US in the Italo-Ethiopian War (1935-1936)</i>	87
GERALD P. FOGARTY	
<i>The Case of Charles Coughlin: The View from Rome</i>	107
GIULIA D'ALESSIO	
<i>The United States and the Vatican (1936-1939): From Eugenio Pacelli's Visit to the US to Myron Taylor's Mission to the Holy See</i>	129
ROBERT TRISCO	
<i>The Holy See and Cardinal Mundelein's Insult of Hitler (1937)</i>	155

American Catholicism, Culture, and the Pontificate of Pius XI

JOHN F. POLLARD	
<i>American Catholics and the Financing of the Vatican in the Great Depression: Peter's Pence Payments (1935-1938)</i>	195
LUCIA POZZI	
<i>The Problem of Birth Control in the United States under the Papacy of Pius XI</i>	209

Vatican Transnationalism

AAPPO LAITINEN	
<i>Early Signs of Discord: The Holy See, Britain, and the Question of Malta</i>	233
SUZANNE BROWN-FLEMING	
<i>Pope Pius XI, Eugenio Pacelli and the German Catholic Hierarchy (1933-1938)</i>	259
JOHN A. DAVIS	
<i>Vatican Transnationalism: Discussant's Comments</i>	279

Pius XI and the Racial Laws

ROBERT A. VENTRESCA	
<i>Irreconcilable Differences? Pius XI, Eugenio Pacelli, and Italian Fascism from the Ethiopian Crisis to the Racial Laws</i>	285
ROBERT A. MARYKS	
<i>The Jesuit Pietro Tacchi Venturi and Mussolini's Racial Laws</i>	303
DAVID I. KERTZER AND ALESSANDRO VISANI	
<i>The United States, the Holy See and Italy's Racial Laws</i>	329
FRANK J. COPPA	
<i>The «Crusade» of Pius XI against Anti-Semitism and the «Silence» of Pius XII</i>	345
JACQUES KORNBERG	
<i>Pope Pius XI: Facing Racism and Atrocities</i>	359
EMMA FATTORINI	
<i>The Repudiation of Totalitarianisms by the Late Pius XI</i>	379
MARA DISSEGNA	
<i>Anti-Semitism in Universities and Schools in Romania and Hungary (1920-1938)</i>	397
MICHAEL R. MARRUS	
<i>Pius XI and the Racial Laws: Discussant's Comments</i>	429
<i>Index of Names</i>	437
<i>Authors</i>	449

ROMANO PRODI

Foreword

1. The Two Europes

The object of research of the scholars gathered here for this congress, and in the newly created network linking Bologna, Münster, and Rome, is Europe between the two World Wars, the Europe of Pius XI and his diplomacy, and the Europe of the generations shaped by the ferocity of totalitarian regimes. It is vital to know the historical events and great policy directions of that Europe since it was in the total reversal of those directions that the other Europe was born, the one that, from the Second World War to the fall of the Berlin Wall, has fortunately gone in the opposite direction.

During the period between 1918 and 1938, the twenty years between the two World Wars, Europe saw the logic of rearmament as a means of emerging from an economic crisis and experienced the tragic development of nationalisms. This convergence of rearmament and nationalism saw nations as protagonists, and often cultures and ideologies as well, each becoming armed identities facing off against one another.

This giant convergence led to a conflict which no politician and no politics was able to govern. Evidently, neither totalitarianisms nor democracies understood where Europe was headed; neither France nor Great Britain had a political class capable of interpreting the climate. There was a lack of common intentions, which are the force that allows politics to fight against degenerative processes. Europe was kept prisoner by a framework which, from the end of World War One to the crisis of 1929, laid the foundations for those policies of public and military spending which in Germany and Italy became the tools par excellence of the formation of an ill-conceived and violent consensus.

The Europe that emerged from the rubble of that world, the Europe we would like to see today as an active participant on the international scene,

* Opening lecture given in Münster and Brown as forewords to the Pius XI research.

as an important force for internal development, as a promoter of research in which ethical and political themes are not at all marginal or less – the Europe that emerged from the Second World War moved in a direction opposite to that of the continent between the Wars. When Adenauer, De Gasperi and Schumann spoke together in German, without the aid of translators, they had a clear plan for Europe, even if it was not yet formalised or complete. Their aim was to avoid War at all cost, to build peace. All three men had strong religious roots. Was it a coincidence? Maybe. But all three found in religion harmony of the fundamental principles of peace and human coexistence.

Paradoxically, even the division of Europe and the Soviet threat strengthened this common intent rather than making it waver: the memory of the War, of the tragedy of the Thirties, of the dictatorships, was so alive in the European soul that it pushed that generation, which had witnessed its own impotence, to find in collaboration, economic development, and peace the strength to tie the continent together. They formed a political class which interpreted and guided a profound impulse that originated from below. It was so deep that even the Cold War and the division of Germany became unifying factors rather than disaggregating agents.

After the Second World War this plan experienced some interruptions, prey to hesitations and nationalistic insurgencies, but overall continued to progress, overcoming obstacles, until finally leading to the creation of the Euro. The adoption of a continental currency was an historic miracle without precedents. Never before in the history of humankind had a state voluntarily renounced one of its fundamental pillars, a national currency. We must, however, recognize that as the War progressively became a distant memory, and particularly after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the great spirit of concord and convergence has receded and been increasingly replaced by an idea of Europe as a sum of conveniences to be negotiated through repeated compromises until the latest compromise was reached: the Lisbon Treaty. It is certainly better than nothing (woe if it had not been ratified), but it is also the suspension of a project conceived in the hopes of a better future. Just a few years ago, during the Commission over which I presided, the Euro and the expansion of the European Union signified a continuation of that great historical design which represented a response to each and every one of the great political and cultural pressures that had destroyed Europe between 1918 and 1938. Today, the distance from that project has increased, making the writing of a new European project more difficult.

Paradoxically, the fact that Europe is perceived by everyone, by the populace and by special interests, as something to be taken for granted, almost a bureaucratic fact of life from which there is no turning back, does not help. We know that the great economic interests that are always at the base of dictatorial pressures are less dangerous today, as they are regulated and weakened in a larger European space (it is not an accident that the founding fathers came from these industries, from steel and coal). The elimination of the custom-houses, the establishment of common economic rules, and the Euro itself, do not allow nationalisms to be the driving force of European politics anymore. And this is also the reason why we are witnessing the recovery of populist forces on a national scale and the radicalisation of local «ethnicisms» which support localized racisms that have become part of the foundation of populism.

What damages Europe today is the triumph of the short political period, working in concert with a very short electoral cycle. Indeed, there are many political leaders who understand what the general interest is, but they prefer, when dealing with the European, national, regional, or municipal electoral deadlines, the path of populism and localism. In some countries such a tendency has developed in a traditional way, such as the conservative party in Great Britain, in others it takes on new shapes such as LePenism, the Northern League, and so on: all this creates an insurmountable obstacle to the construction of unified European policy.

These tendencies introduce in the European market and in political opinions a factor which, in the Europe of the interwar period, the Europe of dictatorships and of catastrophe, was dangerously decisive: the element of fear. Today the catalysts of fear are globalisation and the enormous upheavals of migration, and not, as commonly thought terrorism. Terrorism can be controlled by introducing rational security measures. Immigration by contrast enters the sphere of the irrational, of fears about daily life and the future.

It is a delicate issue since we know that after the First World War it was in soil nourished by the fears of veterans and fears of the economic crisis that anti-Semitism grew and the logic that led to the Holocaust was set on its course. As far as the question of comparing that experience with anti-Semitism and the current fear of the immigrant, as well as the conscience expressed by the Church then and now, I do not know what the answer is and I leave it to you to study these issues. I would simply like to point out that every time Europe stands at an important crossroads, the Church has a great and extraordinary responsibility.

2. The Catholic Formation

I briefly mentioned Adenauer, Schumann, and De Gasperi, members of a generation that grew up during the pontificate of Pius XI and in an atmosphere in which not even the Church understood that the deal offered by totalitarian regimes – anticommunism in exchange for dictatorships – was a tragic deception. Moreover, I have mentioned the fact that a type of faith and a religious sensibility gives dictatorships something in common with the Church, even though, when dictators give concreteness to their idea of Europe, they do not expect (and they do not receive) ecclesiastic approval.

This is an important point I need to highlight since – I say this as a former student of the Università Cattolica of Milan – I was educated in time to participate in a school that formed consciousnesses prepared to respond to situations and choices with a great sense of responsibility despite personal risk. We were trained to respond with a mature mentality that was one of the key points of our Catholic upbringing.

At the same time, however, a conscience without a political outlet remains private: if we had not had an idea of Europe, sooner or later the appearance of other interests would have made us regress. Moreover, the objective of avoiding the tragedies of war over time becomes impossible if suitable political instruments are not built.

The strength of the generation which came out of the war was the result of its association of a solid spiritual structure with a political idea which allowed – for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire – three generations to be born who have not known war. The recomposition of all our nations in a single European project has worked: this is something we cannot deny. We have had the historical counterproof in Yugoslavia, where a leader's death and the collapse of a system have brought civil war, something which has not happened in any member State of the European Union.

Thus, we may criticize the present impasse, but the situation is today infinitely better than what it might have been. This does not, however, diminish the need for leaders who try to combine the interest of their country with that of Europe as a whole. I remember Helmut Kohl saying, «many of my citizens are against the Euro, but I want the Euro because, after the fall of the Berlin wall, it must be clear that we do not want another German Europe but a European Germany». This is leadership. During my first Government I myself launched a provocative message by proposing a tax for Europe, in order to render explicit the fact that if Italy had not

had the capacity to enter into the Euro zone paying the necessary price, it would have remained a slave of historic vices and imbalances.

What seems clear today is that every country looks at Europe so as to maximise its own gain: a legitimate objective only when compatible with the progress of Europe as such.

It is in this context that religious experience can reveal itself as a useful resource of general utility: the particularly universalist sensibility of Christianity, which places nationalisms and identity politics in their proper light, can help everyone to lay down common rules for a life in which all can live in freedom and reciprocal responsibility.

3. The Value of Historical Knowledge

All this is a simple introduction to the work that you are engaged in by studying the diplomatic formations of Pius XII and the phases of government of Pius XI. From my point of view as a European politician, I see it as a useful call to the challenge which lies before us and that we still have not faced. That is to say, the teaching of European history to Europeans: a history which is still taught today from an old perspective both in its analyses and its judgments.

The lack of a common vision on a political and cultural level does not expose Europe to the risk of fascist involutions but to the risk of irrelevance: an irrelevance which, on a symbolic level, has become evident when, during the celebrations for the fall of the Berlin wall, President Obama was not in Berlin but in China. This did not happen as a consequence of a political clash between Europe and the United States but because of the Babel of European positions which deprived the American President of a single interlocutor with whom to discuss and confront the past. As a matter of fact, today's Europe does not have a common vision such as the one carried by the previous generation, the one which spoke in German of a European future, fully aware that there are moments in history which occur only once.

That vision, which has generated today's world, is in need of new foundations: an effort to construct a common economic policy, a common foreign policy, and an end to the necessity of unanimity in fundamental decisions regarding our future, along with the possibility of leaving the Union for those who do not accept its objectives and prevent the others from carrying out common projects.

Being together can be easy or difficult no matter what the number of the states. Having been President of the EU when it had 15 and 25 members, I may say that the difficulties remain the same whether the members are 15 or 25. I say this fully aware that my speech is characterised by a basic naïveté, a willing historical naïveté which lies in thinking that today's Europe still has a shared goal, an authentic common sensibility. In reality, fears dominate.

In order that countries not be consumed by fear they all must make a choice: either to stay within the Union aware that it is an entity which must evolve and grow, or to withdraw from the European Union itself. You cannot be a member of the Union only to serve as a constraining force.

If the «no» vote in the Irish referendum does not produce any effect on the Irish people, it is clear that the next vote will be an irresponsible one. However, if the referendum asked: «Do you want to move ahead together with the entirety of Europe or do you want to leave this federal pact?». I do believe that eventually, in order not to lose the great advantages of the Union, even the most difficult choices must be faced. I also believe that, as happened just after the First World War when democracies without any overarching plan surrendered to dictatorships, without any plan we will finally surrender to fear today, too.

4. Looking for what Unifies

I was born in 1939. During my adolescence, reconstruction, hope, everything was called Europe. For a Catholic boy, the expectation of an enduring European peace overlapped with the trust in the brotherhood of nations, leading to a spontaneous sense of hope which was at the same time all-encompassing and never questioned.

Indeed, thanks to that strength and that shared trust, even communism appeared to my generation as an external and extraneous fact. When confronted with communism, some of us chose a pure and exclusive form of anticommunism. On a political level, though, not even anticommunism succeeded in definitively dividing Europe: the fact that after the fall of the communist regimes Europe felt that its natural harmony had been restored can be thus explained.

The simple and radically anti-communist option was justified and seemed almost obvious during the period of the Cold War. However, it is a typical Italian paradox that the «strongest» and «purest» anticommunism affirmed itself only after the definitive death of communism. But maybe

it is not a paradox since the «strongest» and «purest» anticommunism is also based on the idea that fear is a unifying element.

Nonetheless, as was said by the Nunzio in Italy, Mgr. Giuseppe Bertello (eyewitness to the genocide in Rwanda before coming to Rome), he who sows fears soon loses the ability to control them.

Obviously, besides its ideological aspects, the market of fear is today fuelled by other factors that I have mentioned earlier and that are channelled through a system of mass media which is the only system that has not been Europeanized. The media are still national. There are of course the great world networks, but they are all American. Debate and information in Europe are still confined by national borders and dominated by national questions. Only rarely does one look to the horizons which unify and generate hope. The attempts made towards European information networks have failed, probably due to linguistic reasons. The Middle Ages were unified by the possibility of preaching in Latin; the first Europeanism, as I said at the beginning, was constituted while speaking German at a window. Sooner or later English will eventually come to be the new European Latin, but this has not happened yet and information remains weighed down by a fragmented representation which leaves more space for incomprehension and fear.

In this context the Churches have a great opportunity to provide an ethically unifying boost, to encourage aspirations toward peace in a pluralistic society in which the capacity to mediate – which is the heart of politics – is valued within a broader vision and a far longer time span. The Catholic Church in particular has a specific vocation which derives from the fact that some of its children have been the protagonists of that season of convergence which gave this continent a lasting peace, never known before.

In doing so, the European episcopate has succeeded in different ways. Think of the way in which John Paul II sustained the process of unification and enlargement, managing to read in the bloodless collapse of the communist regimes something which involved his entire Church. Think of the German episcopate which has maintained an open dialogue with the other Germany and has supported the choices of chancellor Kohl, taking a long term view whose symbol has been Cardinal Lehmann. I remember with gratitude the continuous and enriching collaboration of the German Episcopal Conference during all the years of my Presidency at the European Commission, aimed at strengthening the ethical and spiritual principles of the Union. In addition I would cite the effort of Cardinal Martini to create

an ecumenical structure of European bishops, and the positive role played in this by Cardinals Daneels and Lustiger.

Of course, not everyone wanted to share this project based on dialogue and mediation. I encountered significant difficulties during my government activities when the President of the Italian Episcopal Conference, Cardinal Camillo Ruini, forcing the concept of non-negotiability of principles, hampered with great political ability all possibility of mediation on certain themes concerning which wise mediation is absolutely necessary for a civil society and for the complete application of the principles themselves. I am also personally convinced that dialogue renders the message of the Gospel more fruitful.

The Churches know more than others that the crux, the future of politics is a wise cultural mediation: the ability to find dynamic points of equilibrium which, without compromising and confusing principles, values, and convictions, looks at a pluralistic society as a gift. Thus, everyone, being a part of his own conscious and joyful, observing and modest religious family, should understand that his place is as a member of a pluralistic society that attempts to adapt itself in different ways and in different shapes according to necessity, in this way making the pursuit of the common good easier.

If this development comes from internal resources, fine: otherwise it will come from elsewhere, because Europe must go ahead and it will go ahead. I do not hope that the necessary stimulus will come from a serious crisis, but I feel I can say that if there is not a push to go ahead, then a crisis could become the propelling impulse to start a political project capable of catalysing economic, intellectual, and spiritual energies, a project strongly centred on a pluralism that arouses people's emotion and hope so as to oppose those projects that play on fears and emphasize identities that divide people.

In the years between the two Wars nationalism was nourished by the illusion of Europe's centrality: the economic and military power of the United States was largely undervalued. The great European project of the second half of the twentieth century is instead based on the understanding that the complexity of the world itself – today increased by the definitive emergence of China, by the transfer of the centre of power to the Pacific area, and by the impossibility of keeping African living conditions subhuman for generations – needs a unifying message.

Today Europe does not have the centrality it once had, but, above all, it lacks a unifying message to propose, except for a banally populist one. Populism diminishes Europe's authority in the eyes of the world and makes

it irrelevant even in those areas (such as, for example, the Middle East) which are nearby. But this critical situation can open new opportunities, thus demonstrating that we need to change our mentality and to be able to pay a serious price in terms of recognition of the other. The Church can teach us this new mentality by using a positive pedagogical method, which knows when to say no and how to guide a society in tumultuous transformation. Today we are no longer the centre of the world. Therefore, we must be able to think of words of peace and we must be able to say words of peace at the right time, because to everything there is a season and also a time that is too late.

5. Conclusion

Here are some contributions to your discussion that I hope will show you how much one expects from research such as yours, which concerns a starting point in the process of European unification and whose consequences reach us, and which I hope will find the support it deserves from those who direct the research policies of the Union today.

For a long time, the European system as well as the great national agencies have had few instruments to invest in these fields of research as they were worried that financing something in which the word «religious» appeared could lead to forms of direct or indirect discrimination and would endanger the impartiality of the institutions of the Union. Initiatives like this one can help the decision-making bodies to better distinguish between the level of dialogue with the religious communities as such – with their lists of issues and their well established modes of practice – and the level of historical knowledge of the life and relationships of those communities in the broader European context. The formation of a generation of scholars studying these facts and processes constitutes an opportunity in which Europe must invest.

CHARLES R. GALLAGHER

Introduction

In our discussions on «Pius XI, the Americas, and the Vatican», we are fortunate enough to have under our consideration, papers which both provide us with exciting new information, but also, I believe, will compel historians not only to reassess various issues of papal diplomacy and culture in the 1930's, but also to place the new information into the general matrix of how we write about the pontificate of Pope Pius XI. I believe that all of our papers will not only force changes in the way historians view the topical episodes offered by our authors, but also will create shifts in how the larger history of papal policy during this era is written in the future.

When this conference was called about a year ago, I was teaching at a diplomatic training school in Switzerland. Surrounded by practitioners of diplomacy who were mainly invigorated by present and future concerns, when I explained that our conference was on the topic, «Pius XI and America», many of my colleagues expressed some skepticism that Pope Pius XI had much at all, if anything at all, to do with America. For them, Pius XI was merely the Pope who stood firm against the rise of totalitarianism and exercised a fighting spirit doing so – and he was often contrasted with his successor. To my friends in Geneva, connecting Pius XI, a Pope who had never even visited the United States, to causal events bearing on the United States, seemed shaky at best.

But our papers today have proved my Genevois diplomatic colleagues wrong. In fact, all our presenters have provided excellent discovery and analysis of what diplomats usually should know all along – that surface events and press reports hardly tell the entire story. We are grateful to the Holy See for opening its archives in 2006 so that our panelists, armed with excellent professional historical skills, might be allowed to uncover a history which is not only papal, but political, cultural, economic, and global. A recounting, in part, of «Pius XI in America».

In this regard, the paper by Lucia Ceci casts bright new light on the role of the United States and the Vatican in arguably the first «modern»

invasion of the Fascist era. Ceci has highlighted what seems to be the first attempt since the World War I era to engage the Holy See and the United States in a joint effort for peace. As Domenico Tardini's statements indicate, the legacy of Wilson's dismissal of the Holy See as a bargaining power after World War I still loomed large in the eyes of the Vatican. But by 1935, Pius XI was willing at least to have conversations about working jointly with the United States to settle the Ethiopian crisis in favor of peace. In its larger context, I think the demarche by the Holy See showed two immediate effects, namely that FDR had not changed his mind from the original calculus of the Wilson years – that is, to spurn Vatican peace efforts placing the Holy See on equal footing as a moral personality.

And secondly, there was a new development – the Holy See now would access the President directly not necessarily through its own Apostolic Delegate exclusively, but through the offices of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and its president. (A situation which would last through the early Cold War).

Ceci's paper is provocative in many ways. First, she shows that Vatican initiatives to seek joint US-Vatican arbitration of the Ethiopian War started *at the Vatican*, and were not designed in concert. She shows, as well, that economic pressures were certainly driving Vatican concerns for peace.

But the largest question, I think, is raised by Ceci's opening observations and closing remarks. One of the biggest questions that this new research has opened up is precisely its connection to the Vatican policy of «absolute impartiality» – as distinct from neutrality – and how this delicately calibrated policy shaped the behind-the-scenes moves with the US, and more importantly, the public stand of the Pope Pius XI (in what could be construed as *silence*) in the face of, as Ceci states: «Italian aggression on a sovereign state, conducted through the use of chemical weapons banned by international treaties, and which caused, among military and civilians, more than 300,000 Ethiopian deaths».

One small thread which is common to all papers on this topic is the mention of the place of Father Charles E. Coughlin, the Radio Priest of Detroit. In our second paper, Father Gerald P. Fogarty looks at the international dimensions of the Coughlin phenomenon and points out the challenges and struggles for church leaders inside the Vatican as they attempted to come to terms with the new medium of radio. Among other things, what Fogarty shows in his paper, is that Coughlin was an international problem for the Holy See long before he entered his «anti-Semitic phase» in November of 1938. This is all new and ground-breaking work, since

the standard biographies of Coughlin have tended to concentrate on his domestic policies and activities. The paper is important not only because Coughlin was the first priest to «use his pulpit» for political discourses, but also (I would argue) because Coughlin was the first Catholic to generate enough power to capture a national audience and, more importantly, *shape* the country's political conversation. This was a point of deep pride among many American Catholics – who themselves were the product of decades of Catholic «Americanization».

Although focused on its early phases, Fogarty's paper shows for the first time that Vatican officials were concerned with Coughlin's use of the radio and his political and doctrinal positions as early as 1934 – and at the highest levels. What is a real contribution here is that Fogarty shows that the Holy See deferred to Coughlin, or was perhaps fearful of Coughlin precisely because he had attained such a huge following – and that this attitude prevailed not only around the Dome of St. Peter's but in America as well. This is important because the same level of fears, inertia, and trepidation would cause paralysis on the Coughlin issue later in 1938, once his anti-Semitic phase was engaged. In other words, the first instincts of both Coughlin's local and Vatican handlers were shaped as early as 1934 – and prevailed for another eight years.

If radio technology played a role in spreading Coughlin's brand of Catholicism, the technology of the Airplane helped to speed Cardinal Pacelli around the US during his extended visit to the US in 1936. The conversations between Pacelli and Franklin Roosevelt are some of the most elusive and important of the 1930's. They are elusive because a complete transcription of the 1936 conversations between the President and the future Pontiff of World War II has yet to be found. D'Alessio investigates with clarity why the original meeting was postponed – but the larger question might be why Pacelli was sent in the first place? Was the cross-country itinerary a long thought out junket or a spontaneous reaction to plans not well thought-out?

What is new are revelations about Francis Cardinal Spellman's assiduous work to get full ambassadorial relations started between the United States and the Holy See. Spellman's recommendations for how the relationship should move forward, his end-runs around the Apostolic Delegate, and collusion with Joseph P. Kennedy all show a prelate who was fixated with the visit of Pacelli moving the question of full diplomatic relations forward. For example, I find it out of character for Spellman, who had worked in the Holy See's diplomatic corps, to suggest that a

US-Vatican position be «sub-compartmentalized» into an existing ambassadorship (that to the Kingdom of Italy).

Moreover, it does not seem that the ASV contains a copy of the memorandum from Spellman sent to Roosevelt, and it is unclear whether this memo exists at the FDRL. D'Alessio has provided a bird's-eye view of the complexities and mechanics at play regarding the famous Pacelli visit in 1936. There was clear unity of opinion on issues of peace and refugee work. One question which emerges, is: if Roosevelt was presenting such a cheery face to American Catholics during and after Pacelli's visit, why did he wait until 1940 to create the position Myron Taylor would hold?

Giulia D'Alessio's paper gives us an inside view of the mechanics present at the creation of the Myron Taylor representation – the US-Vatican nexus was to be a parallel endeavor for peace. But parallel lines never intersect, and our next paper points out, in 1937, the United States government took an aloof posture in dealing with some off-the-cuff remarks by George Cardinal Mundelein.

Monsignor Robert Trisco has written a study of the incident where Hitler was described by the American Cardinal as an «Austrian paperhanger, and a poor one at that». Trisco's paper provides a fascinating look at diplomatic crisis management inside the Vatican. For the first time, we see both the gravity and the scope of the episode. We see that the comments in Chicago had clear ramifications for both principals and their policies. Trisco provides a comprehensive and captivating account of all that went on in deliberating over next steps – all of it new, and all of it important.

That the issue was brought for consultation before the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs is new information, and suggests the gravity of the matter. Trisco's chronicling of the inner ideas and impressions of the Cardinals of the Congregation attests to the disparate views of the case. That the Pope weighed-in on the final decision is also new.

The back and forth between Pacelli and Deigo von Bergen is a key battle, but it was played out within the backdrop of many larger tussles. These larger issues compel us to ask what this sort of diplomatic brinkmanship was really all about. Was the Mundelein affair really a battle over the ongoing Morality Trials, which, if analyzed minutely, Pope Pius XI may have minutely conceded (in terms of the morality of some)? Was it a battle over the papal encyclical on Germany *Mit Brennender Sorge*? Was it a battle over the status of the Concordat? And was the Concordat, as shaky as it was, ever in jeopardy of being pulled?

Or was this an internal struggle over who would control the political statements coming out from the walls of the Vatican. It is clear that Cardinal Pacelli takes center stage here. It is Pacelli who is tasked with gathering both evidence and recommendations. While Pacelli emerges as the second-highest creator of policy, we must ask where this episode stands with regard to the larger questions? At every turn, Pacelli's primary concern was the reaction of the German side. This observation brings up other issues about both Pacelli and Pius XI – when Pius XI indicated that if there was any *harshness in Pacelli's writing*, – it set the tone for how Pius XI operated in terms of his view of righteousness, the Allies, and America.

Pius XI, the United States and the Vatican

MARISA PATULLI TRYTHALL

Pius XI and American Pragmatism*

«Decretum de Episcopalibus conventibus in Fœderatis Americæ Statibus mos novissime inductus fuerat...»¹. So begins the decree, deliberated by

ACRONIMS: *ASV* = *Archivum Secretum Vaticanum*; *ARA* = *American Relief Administration*; *CIC* = *Codex Iuris Canonici*; *CNEWA*: *Catholic Near East Welfare Association*; *EAWP* = *Edmund Aloysius Walsh Papers*; *GUSCRCQ* = *Georgetown University Special Collections Research Center*; *NCWC* = *National Catholic Welfare Council*; *SCEO* = *Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesia Orientali*; *WWI* = *WWI*.

«The inextricably American character of the pragmatism of such figures as C.S. Peirce and William James lies in its often understated affirmation of America as a uniquely religious country with a God-given mission and populated by God-fearing citizens». M.G. HAMNER, *American Pragmatism: A Religious Genealogy*, Front Cover. «Pragmatism is perhaps America's most distinctive contribution to philosophy. Developed by Peirce, Dewey, and James in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, pragmatism holds that both the meaning and the truth of any idea is a function of its practical outcome. The pragmatists rejected all forms of absolutism and insisted that all principles be regarded as working hypotheses that must bear fruit in lived experience. [...] The phrase «American Pragmatism» has a double meaning since both the school of philosophy and the average American seems more interested in getting things done and the result of action rather than abstract theories which do not inspire action. [...] The original tenet of pragmatism according to Charles Sanders Peirce: "Think about what the truth of statements means in terms of action, or what the consequences of truth are". William James' view of pragmatism: "If something is true it is useful, and if it isn't useful, then talking about its truth doesn't make sense"». J. McDERMOTT, Distinguished Professor of Philosophy and Humanities, Texas A&M University, 2006, <http://www.philosophytalk.org/pastShows/Pragmatism.html> – Stanford University.

¹ The decree, written in Latin by the Sacred Consistorial Congregation (AES, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 14, 1010) is translated thusly in *Never Look Back: The Career and Concerns of John J. Burke*, ed. by J.B. SHEERIN, 67-680: «A decree on Episcopal Gatherings in the United States. In the United States of America, the custom has recently arisen that all diocesan ordinaries assemble, even from outlying provinces, to treat some matters which seemed to require assembled deliberation. Furthermore, in order to settle other matters which may occur during the year they have determined to establish a certain committee of bishops called the NCWC. But now, because circumstances have changed, some bishops in their own name and that of others have decided that the

the Sacred Consistorial Congregation (Sacra Congregazione Concistoriale) during their meeting of February 23, 1922², which called for the dissolution of the National Catholic Welfare Council³. This decree was one of the very first acts of *internal* politics, but with a character of international

procedure and this establishment is no longer needful or useful; so they have asked the Holy See that steps be taken. When, therefore, by direction of the Holy Father, Pope Pius XI, this matter was taken up in the full committee of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, on February 23 of this year, the eminent Fathers decided that the rule of the common law be wholly re-established, and therefore, such general gatherings be not held anymore, except for reasons reviewed and approved by the Holy See in each case, in keeping with Canon 281 of the Code. Likewise, the eminent Fathers have cited that the office and activity of the above NCWC committee should cease, and what is laid down about conferences and provincial councils in Chapter VII of Book II of the Code and in the decree of the Congregation of July 25, 1916, be observed. The Holy Father sustained and confirmed this decision and ordered that it be made known through the Apostolic Delegate to all the Ordinaries of the United States of America. Given at Rome, in the Office of the Consistorial Congregation, February 25, 1922. C. Cardinal De Lai, Bishop of Sabina, Secretary; A. Sincero, Assessor».

² The Sacred Consistorial Congregation met on February 23, 1922, and the decree, approved by the newly appointed Pope, Pius XI, and signed by Cardinal Gaetano De Lai (1853-1928), Secretary of the Congregation and by the Assessor of the Congregation, Aloisius (Luigi) Sincero (1870-1936), the future Secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, was published on February 25, 1922.

³ The United States' entry into WWI (April 6, 1917) motivated the clergy of the American Catholic Church – concerned about possible exclusion from the national war effort and desiring to demonstrate both Catholic national loyalty and organizational capacity – to form the «National Catholic War Council». Founded in 1917 at the Catholic University of America (CUA) in Washington DC, the Council gave voice to the needs of the soldiers at the front, organized Catholic funded aid programs in war zones and helped assure the Americanization of new immigrants. Following the war, it also backed the development of the Program for the Social Reconstruction of American Society. The organization descended from the plenary meetings held by American bishops in Baltimore in 1852, 1866 and 1884 and was led by American bishops who directed the various internal committees. The contribution of the NCWC was recognized by the US War Department in August of 1918 and, as an official aid agency of the government, it participated in the United War Work Campaign of 1918. The NCWC received 36 million dollars of government funds to be applied towards war aid. Most of these funds were managed by the Knights of Columbus and by units of the NCWC posted abroad. The Committee on Special War Activities (CSWA) was organized by the NCWC to administer these funds. The head of the Committee was John J. Burke, CSP (a Paulist Father), who functioned as a liaison with the government committee for Training Activities and the Morale Division of the US War Department. A year following the armistice of November 1918, the NCWC was converted into a permanent organization. The American bishops voted to create the National Catholic Welfare Council on September 24, 1919, and, three months later, this organization took over the preceding organization maintaining its headquarters in Washington, DC.

significance, approved by Pope Pius XI shortly after his election to the throne of Saint Peter⁴. The text made direct reference to several grievances which had been brought against the NCWC and brought to the attention of the Vatican: perplexities as to both the enormous size of the organization and, above all, as to a presumed tendency toward «Gallicanism»: the notion that national customs might trump Roman (Catholic Church) regulations⁵. It was objected that, given the renewed cultural climate following WWI, the presence of such a large, complex organization, originally formed to give visibility to the Catholic Americans' contribution to WWI and subsequently transformed by the American bishops into a sort of permanent assembly of a supra-diocesan nature⁶, was neither necessary or advisable.

⁴ Pius XI, born Ambrogio Damiano Achille Ratti (May 31, 1857 – February 10, 1939), was elected on February 6, 1922.

⁵ Professor J. MCGREEVY (University of Notre Dame, IN) defines *Gallicanism* in his *Catholicism and American Freedom*, New York 2003, 26.

⁶ The text of Canon 281, inserted in the Code of Canon Law in 1917, in Book II (The People of God), Section II (Particular Churches and Their Groupings), Title VII (Supreme Power), Chapter VII (Plenary and Provincial Councils) reads thusly: «Ordinarii plurium provinciarum ecclesiasticarum in Concilium plenum convenire possunt, petita tamen venia a Romano Pontifice, qui suum Legatum designat ad Concilium convocandum eique praesidendum». («Several Ordinaries of ecclesiastical provinces can convene a plenary Council, having come with a petition to the Roman Pontiff, who will designate his Legate to convoke and preside over the Council» – [author's emphasis]). *The 1917 Pio-Benedictine Code of Canon Law*, San Francisco 2001, 118. It is clear from these few lines that the faculty of convening a Council as contemplated by Canon 281 is only a possibility. It is something out of the ordinary which is subordinated to the presentation of a petition to the Pope (i.e. an extraordinary appeal to the Supreme Pontiff), who, in turn, designates a Legate who will convoke the Council, for and on behalf of the Pope himself, and who will preside over it. It is, therefore, evident that the reasons for convoking such a Council, as described in the petition, have the character of an unusual exception to the normal practice, so much so as to require that a Papal delegate preside over the Council in his place. As we will read later, the NCWC's defense was principally centered on the fact that Benedict XV had favorably accepted the creation of a Catholic agency to interconnect with the American Government (the National Catholic War Council [author's emphasis]) during the war years. This favorable acceptance was interpreted by the National Catholic Welfare Council (author's emphasis) as approval and ratification of the actions which then led to the creation of this new organization, overlooking, however, the fact that the National Catholic War Council had been formed to confront truly exceptional conditions and tasks – among others, bringing aid to the distraught populations caught in World War I (of particular importance to Benedict XV). Apart from whatever might have been Cardinal O'Connell's motivations in bringing his reservations with regard to the new NCWC before the Holy See, his criticism, in the light of the dictates of the Code of Canon Law, were correct

These perplexities had been forcefully expressed to the Vatican by Cardinal William O'Connell of Boston⁷ who protested against both the new, post-war form of the NCWC and the expansion of its area of intervention which, according to him, was a menace to the independence of the bishops themselves. In truth, of course, Cardinal O'Connell had already given proof of his own curial astuteness, as well as of American pragmatism, when he, according to one observer, intentionally selected relatively slow transport to journey to Italy for the conclave called to select the successor to Pope Benedict XV in 1922. By arriving too late to participate in the conclave, he underlined both the insufficient amount of time allowed for Cardinals, living at a distance from Rome, to reach Rome after being informed of the Pope's death and the increased importance of the American participation in the conclave. Nor was Cardinal O'Connell's protest made in vain: Pius XI prolonged the intervening period by a week, thereby facilitating the presence of Cardinals coming from distant geographical locations in the future: «Pius Says Conclave Must Wait for US; Pope Tells Cardinal O'Connell America Is Too Important to Be Ignored as in Past. Audience Lasts An Hour. Pontiff Says This Government's Respect for Religion Merits All That Religion Can Give It»⁸.

This is the «New York Times» (NYT) headline announcing Pius XI's decision to extend the interim waiting period. Cardinal O'Connell was received in a papal audience, while Cardinal Dennis Joseph Dougherty⁹

and well-founded (as, for that matter, was the decision of the Prefect of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, Cardinal De Lai). Cardinal O'Connell maintained that the reasons motivating this second Catholic organization – with an identical acronym but with completely different functions – were implausible. Furthermore, there was no urgent or extraordinary condition which warranted such an organization. In fact, the two organizations, at that moment, co-existed. It is informative to note that Canon 281 was reformulated in the CIC of 1983: «§1. A plenary council for all the particular Churches of the same Bishops' Conference *is to be celebrated* as often as the Bishops' Conference, *with the approval of the Apostolic See, considers it necessary or advantageous*». In his commentary on Canon 439 (ex 281), Eloy Tejero makes specific reference to the case of Church assemblies within the United States of America. *Exegetical Commentary on the Code of Canon Law*, Vol. II/1, Chicago 2004, 961-967.

⁷ William Henry O'Connell (December 8, 1859 – April 22, 1944), Archbishop of Boston from 1907 to 1944.

⁸ Rome, February 28 (Associated Press): «New York Times», March 1, 1922.

⁹ For a detailed report of the relations between Cardinal O'Connell, Cardinal Dougherty and the NCWC see G.P. FOGARTY, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy: From 1870 to 1965*, Stuttgart 1982, 214-236.

from Philadelphia, whose arrival was also delayed, was given the news of the Vatican's decree disbanding the NCWC.

The brief NYT article continues supplying us with an interesting insight into what was said and done by Cardinal O'Connell, the Vatican and the NCWC at this point. The headline already reveals a certain nationalistic rhetoric and the article continues dispensing words of «do-goodery» which, as we will see, had little to do with the actual state of affairs:

«Cardinal O'Connell then told the Holy Father of the relations between the Catholics and Protestants in America and how both co-operate in the social and economic life. He said that no enmity existed between the members of the two faiths and that when a good and noble work was to be done both united for the common good. The Pontiff, hearing the Boston Cardinal's words, seemed deeply moved. He said: "I like that. It is a great advantage. It makes for peace and harmony everywhere: America is truly wonderful and full of hope and promise. My prayer is that the Catholics of America will continue to be united in the bonds of brotherly affection. Let the hierarchy stand together for all that is best in human life"».

The situation, however, was not as idyllic as described in the NYT article or, for that matter, by Cardinal O'Connell: neither with regard to the relations between the Catholics and the Protestants nor, in particular, with regard to the relations within the hierarchy of the American Catholic Church itself – as the Vatican's almost simultaneous decree disbanding the NCWC testified.

Let us concentrate our attention on this latter issue, and on the reactions addressed to Pius XI by the American bishops who were opposed to the dissolution of the NCWC, by first taking a step backwards to examine a letter sent by the Paulist¹⁰ Father John J. Burke, General Secretary of the NCWC, to Mgr. Francesco Borgongini Duca, Pro-Secretary of the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, to explain the scope and actions of the

¹⁰ The Paulist Fathers, or Missionary Society of Saint Paul the Apostle, or Congregation of St. Paul, were founded in New York City in 1858 by Servants of God: Fr. Isaac Thomas Hecker, Fr. George Deshon, Fr. Augustine Hewit, and Fr. Francis A. Baker – all of whom had converted to Catholicism and subsequently left the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists). Being the first community of priests to arise in the United States, it had a markedly American character, particularly in the area of organization and administration, but also with regard to its utilization of all means of communication to spread the Gospel. The first goal of the Paulists, in fact, was the evangelization of North America – developed above all in the United States with some presence in Canada.

NCWC. The letter, dated February 18, 1922¹¹, and accompanied by various publications of the NCWC, confirms the fact that there was already a certain attention in Rome towards the activities of the NCWC – an attention which went beyond the accusations raised by Cardinal O’Connell:

«Dear and Most Reverend Archbishop:

The National Catholic Welfare Council of the United States, organized in answer to a letter of the late Benedict Fifteenth, is composed of the entire Hierarchy of the United States, who work through an Administrative Committee of Bishops, elected by them.

Under the direction of this Committee are several departments which include in their province every field of Catholic activity. The National Catholic Welfare Council is, therefore, the united Catholic body – bishops, priests, laymen – working together as one, united for the welfare of the Catholic Church in the United States.

Under separate cover we are mailing you a number of pamphlets which will inform Your Grace of the organization and the work so far accomplished of the departments of the National Catholic Welfare Council. Before the establishment of this Council, there was no definite and united Catholic influence in our public life. The Council has both added to the prestige of our Holy Church and has aroused a spirit of zeal and co-operation among our Catholic people which was never equaled. The Council is the united Catholic people of the United States, working together and directed by their appointed ecclesiastical leaders on a general programme of religious, social and educational activities.

Your interest in our country and in the part which opportunity permits it to take in advancing the welfare of our Holy Church leads us to send you this literature, which we trust will be of service to you in evaluating this great movement in our Catholic American life.

Asking Your blessing and with sentiments of deepest esteem, I remain,

Your obedient servant in Christ,

John J. Burke, C.S.P., General Secretary».

Thus is the description of the NCWC as supplied by one of its founders. It is interesting to compare this description by Fr. Burke with the following undated and unsigned report, written in English and intended for the Pope’s personal consideration:

«Ad Usam Summi Pontificis

In my opinion, the central and original idea of the National Catholic Welfare Council is good. There is need of a national organization to protect the Church and public morality from anti-Catholic and anti-Christian legislation. This can best be done by an association that is empowered to speak with the collective voice of the Catholics of the United States.

¹¹ AES, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 14, Nord America, Prot. 1068, 55.

However the powers and scope of such an organization should be carefully defined by supreme authority. Moreover great care should be exercised in the means employed to accomplish the ends of the organization and in the persons chosen to put those means into effect. The present National Welfare Council has undertaken work which it should never have touched and it has employed persons unfit for this work. Thus, for instance, it has founded a National Training School for Social Workers, an entirely unnecessary institution in view of the fact that good training schools for social workers already existed. It has also begun to institute correspondence courses for educational purposes, an affair that should be left to our colleges. Then too, it has not been wise in the choice of its employees. Thus the chief layman in the educational department was educated not in Catholic but in secular schools. As a consequence he sent out last year a letter which directly contradicted the syllabus of Pius IX. Again, the lady in charge of the National Training School for Social Workers has uttered entirely wrong ideas about the norm of morality.

In view of all conditions I most respectfully suggest:

1. That the American Hierarchy be represented in Washington by an association which will act for them, under their direction, in time of crises;
2. That the scope of this association and the means to be employed in attaining an object be clearly defined by competent authority, care being taken to safeguard the liberty of each Bishop in his own diocese;
3. That no document be issued without previous censorship and approval by a directive council of Bishops chosen by the Hierarchy;
4. A) That in defining the scope of the association special stress be laid on non-interference with societies – such as the Knights of Columbus – and works already existing; B) That work peculiar to colleges be left to colleges and not undertaken by the association»¹².

It can be presumed that this text was written by Cardinal O'Connell and was brought to the attention of the Pope and of the Consistorial Congregation by Cardinal Rafael Merry del Val y Zulueta, a long time friend of Cardinal O'Connell. This analysis is, to the aforementioned NYT article, much like the distorted image from a deformed mirror to the image it reflects. One can not avoid noticing, immediately, that the author is a person who is considered reliable, so much so that he offers his own opinion as a relevant factor in the decision to be taken. Above all, however, one notices that the analysis made by the author is aimed at protecting his own specific interests from any possible external interference (talk about *Gallicanism* or *Americanism*!).

Another step in the correspondence which follows the issuance of the decree and precedes the response of the Administrative Committee of the NCWC contains, considering the situation, a similar surprise. On March

¹² *Ibidem*, 53-54.

31, 1922, Mgr. Francesco Borgongini Duca responded to Father Burke's letter in the following manner:

«Illustrious Sir,

In acknowledgement of the fine letter written by Your Most Reverend Eminence on February 18th of this year, I hasten to inform you that I always receive the pamphlets published by the NCWC with real gratitude and that I read them with great interest.

I am happy to take this occasion to send you my highest congratulations for the actions carried out under the direction of NCWC's Episcopal Committee and I fervently pray for the prosperous success of all the initiatives undertaken for the good of the Church in that noble America»¹³.

Finally, on April 6, 1922, while meeting in Cleveland, the seven members of NCWC's Administrative Committee¹⁴ telegraphed the Pope imploring suspension of the decree and its non-publication in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*:

«His Holiness, Pope Pius XI,
The Vatican,
Rome, Italy.

We, the Administrative Committee of Bishops, elected by the United States Hierarchy, which is the National Catholic Welfare Council, have met today.

We receive with supreme reverence the decree of the Consistorial Congregation dated February 25, regarding National Catholic Welfare Council. Legal and business obligations make it imperative to continue work. It is necessary to carry on important religious and charitable works begun publicly under approbation of the late Pontiff, Benedict XV. Officially obligated to United States Government to carry on immigration and Russian relief work. Sudden suspension of all these now would cause grave public scandal.

We therefore reverently and earnestly implore a suspension of the decree and its non-publication in Acta and permission to continue work until full report of these obligations and of character and extent of work be sent to the Holy See.

Secular newspaper reports of condemnation have already caused consternation among Catholics, and renewed at once attack of Masonic sect on Holy See and on the Church, and encouraged endeavor in Federal Congress to push through at once legislation that would imperil our Catholic School System.

¹³ AES, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 14, Nord America, Prot. 1068, 56.

¹⁴ The Administrative Committee was composed of: Edward J. Hanna, Archbishop of St. Francisco; Peter J. Muldoon, Bishop of Rockford; Augustin Dowling, Archbishop of St. Paul; Joseph Schrembs, Bishop of Cleveland; William T. Russell, Bishop of Charleston; Edmund F. Gibbons, Bishop of Albany and Louis S. Walsh, Bishop of Portland.

We humbly implore an early reply so we may know how to act. We implore it the more earnestly because the present critical situation: certain most harmful consequences which we foresee and the necessity of immediately allaying distress of Catholic body seem to us to make it most desirable. Begging the special blessing of Your Holiness on us, your devoted servants, and requesting that the reply be sent to Bishop Schrembs, Cleveland, Ohio, where we are in session»¹⁵.

On April 8, Bishop Schrembs of Cleveland, received a telegram of response from the Secretary of State, Pietro Cardinal Gasparri: «Decree will not be published in Acta. Fuller information will shortly be given by Apostolic Delegate [Archbishop John Bonzano, ndr]»¹⁶. The telegram to the Pope, however, was only the first act of the organic, detailed response which the Administrative Committee carried out in order to save the NCWC from disbandment. On April 25, 1922, there was a meeting in Washington of the Board of Trustees of the Catholic University of America¹⁷. Two different documents emerged from this meeting: one was a petition in Latin which was addressed to the Pope on April 26¹⁸ (signed by the Board of Trustees) and the second was a letter which was sent to all of the Archbishops and bishops of the United States on April 29, 1922. In this latter letter¹⁹, the recipients were requested to give formal adhesion

¹⁵ AES, America, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 14, *National Catholic Welfare Council*, 57r-57v.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 57v.

¹⁷ Three members of the Board of Trustees were also members of NCWC's Administrative Committee [Archbishop Dowling, Bishop Muldoon and Archbishop Hanna] and nine others were members of the NCWC: John J. Glennon, Archbishop of St. Louis; Henry K. Moeller, Bishop of Cincinnati; George W. Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago; John W. Shaw, Archbishop of New Orleans; Patrick J. Hayes, Archbishop of New York; Michael J. Curley, Archbishop of Baltimore; Thomas F. Lillis, Bishop of Kansas City; John J. Nilan, Bishop of Hartford, and Thomas J. Shahan, Bishop of Germanopolis and Rector of the American Catholic University. The foundation of the Catholic University (1887) was decided in Baltimore in 1884, during the third plenary meeting of the American bishops, and was authorized by Pope Leo XIII.

¹⁸ AES, America, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 14, *National Catholic Welfare Council*, 49v-50r-50v; 57v-58r.

¹⁹ «Your Lordship: Wishing to keep you fully informed of the action which we, as your Administrative Committee, have taken with regard to the decree of the Consistorial Congregation, dated February 25, we send you the enclosed cablegram and letter. We have personally interviewed His Eminence, the Apostolic Delegate, and acquainted him with the action we had taken; but no further word from the Holy Father has as yet reached him. After a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Catholic University, the Archbishops and bishops present drew up and signed a petition to the Holy Father, which we herewith enclose and to which we earnestly hope you will give your signature. We feel that it is most important for the welfare of the Church that we show una-

to the petition against the disbandment of the NCWC (signed by the Administrative Committee) by signing an accompanying card, preprinted in Latin, and returning it in the stamped and addressed envelope which was provided. This material was then sent to Rome as additional support of the petition²⁰.

The bishops' response to the NCWC's appeal was nearly unanimous: 11 Archbishops, 63 bishops and 7 Auxiliary or titular bishops – for a total of 73 out of the 107 Episcopal seats in the United States – signed and returned their card. Additionally, it was further observed that 6 bishops were away from their seats, 3 bishops had not yet taken control of their assigned seats and several others were invalids, thereby reducing the number of possible responses to 85. Missing from the appeal were, most certainly, Cardinal O'Connell, Cardinal Dougherty and Archbishop James Keane of Dubuque.

The text of the lengthy report²¹ attached to the petition, underwritten by the American bishops and sent to the Pope, however, was much more articulate than the brief card in Latin which had been sent to the bishops. The bishops were, in fact, asked only for their adhesion to the request for suspension of the dissolution of the NCWC, in a show of support for the NCWC's Administrative Committee. Fortified by the almost total adhesion to the request for suspension of the decree, the Committee met in Washington and drafted a long letter to the Pope. Several interesting points emerged in this document among which was the marked conflict of the NCWC hierarchy with Cardinals Dougherty and O'Connell. The letter, however, reveals much more than that: under the well calibrated, apparently meek and submissive words used to address the newly elected Pope, there is a clear show of strength – reinforced, as it was, by the quasi-unanimous support expressed by the American clergy.

It will be helpful at this point, in outlining the conflicting points of view presented to the Vatican, to cite Cardinal O'Connell's note of May 10, 1922, to Cardinal Gaetano De Lai. The Cardinal, referring to the NCWC Administrative Committee's telegram of April 6 quoted previously, cau-

nimity of judgment in the matter of these petitions at the present time. We respectfully request you, "if you agree with our judgment", to send the separate enclosed memorial with your signature to Bishop Muldoon of Rockford, as soon as possible. We enclose an addressed and stamped envelope for that purpose. Fraternaly yours, [signed by the Administrative Committee members]». AES, America, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 14, *National Catholic Welfare Council*, 57.

²⁰ AES, America, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 16.

²¹ AES, America, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 15, 1-99.

tions the Secretary of the Consistory not to be intimidated by these concerted actions of the NCWC²².

«I hope and remain certain that Your Eminence and the other Roman authorities will not allow yourselves to be intimidated by this “bluff”. The fact is that the telegram they sent to Card. Gasparri is nothing else than an attempt at intimidation – by asserting certain phrases which are a long way from the truth. They speak in that telegram of the “consternation of America”. The people feel no disturbance at all at the consequence of the decree, do not know that such a decree exists, and do not care at all. The consternation is found among those who have to render an account of the immense sums they have thrown away on huge salaries and futile and useless works».

In addition to the mobilization mounted by the Administrative Committee of the NCWC (which felt itself to be the primary target of the reservations expressed by the Consistorial decree) and the Secretary of the NCWC (the Paulist Fr. Burke), one must add the direct action carried out in Rome by the Bishop of Cleveland, Mgr. Joseph Schrembs. Bishop Schrembs, in Rome on an *ad limina* visit, took the occasion to request a special audience with Pius XI to plead the NCWC's cause²³.

Another point of reference in the literature connected with the NCWC is the biography of Fr. John J. Burke, authored by the Paulist Fr. John B. Sheerin²⁴ in 1975. Here the description of this historical period of the NCWC is rather colorful and the tone of emphatic Apologia adopted by Fr. Sheerin remains consonant, notwithstanding the difference of historical period, with the 99 page report which was presented to the Pope in June of 1922 and which was published by the NCWC in what was literally and metaphorically a «White book» (conserved in the Vatican Archives). The following are a few quotes taken from Sheerin's book:

a. The inquisitorial research regarding who had caused the decree: «The decree, at this time, prompted some amateur detective work and much speculation as to who was the culprit and “who got Rome into this mess”?»²⁵. With consequent insinuations toward Cardinals O'Connell²⁶

²² G.P. FOGARTY, *The Vatican...*, 222-223, 21n, quotes AABo, May 10, 1922.

²³ Documentation regarding Schrembs' actions in Rome exist in the Secret Archives of the Vatican as well as in NCWC publications.

²⁴ J.B. SHEERIN, *Never Look Back: The Career and Concerns of John J. Burke*, Mahwah, NJ, 1975.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 71.

²⁶ D.J. SLAWSON, in his book, *Ambition and Arrogance: Cardinal William O'Connell of Boston and the American Catholic Church*, IX, depicts O'Connell thusly: «In 1913, the bishops of New England began an eleven-year, on-again-off-again drive for the remov-

and Dougherty and their friends and correspondents in the Roman Curia, Cardinals De Lai and Merry Del Val.

b. Exhibition of force and national pride: «In the NCWC archives is a carbon copy of a letter from an unidentified correspondent (perhaps W.T. Russell) addressed “Dear Archbishop” and lamenting “Italian ecclesiastical politics” while asserting he would prefer persecution from honest but prejudiced Americans rather than Italian domination»²⁷. Reinforced by: «Then in an handwritten note (May 10), Burke informed Muldoon confidentially that he had succeeded in having President Harding send word to the Vatican, through the American ambassador, that he would be much displeased and disappointed if the NCWC were suppressed. “No one knows of this except Senator McCormack and he and I have pledged secrecy”. (And no one in the NCWC office except Iona McNulty, Burke’s secretary, was aware of it)»²⁸. The text proceeds with the clarification that Burke pressed Bishop Schrembs (who, as mentioned earlier, was in Rome at the time) not to accept a mere *tolerari potest* as a result of his entreaty to the Pope, but rather to insist on obtaining a special letter of approval of the NCWC’s actions from the Holy See.

al from office of their metropolitan Archbishop, Cardinal William Henry O’Connell of Boston. Their reasons were several and longstanding [...] some clergy and laypeople in the United States sought to accommodate their church to American circumstances and viewed the American Catholic church as the model for the future worldwide. After Pope Leo XIII condemned a theological distortion of this “Americanism”, O’Connell portrayed himself as the Vatican’s man in the ecclesiastical province of New England, reputed to be rife with adherents of the Americanist movement. His branding of others as opponents of Rome was the means he used to lift himself onto the archiepiscopal seat of Boston. Potent Vatican allies (Cardinal Merry del Val, candidate for the papal throne during the Consistory which elected Pius XI, ndr) whose friendship he had cultivated during his years in Rome, helped in this grasp of power. His rise in this fashion marked him as the first of a new breed of American prelate: one who advanced through Vatican connections. His ascendancy through Roman, rather than American, channels alienated him from the bishops of the province and from many prelates in the American hierarchy. Deepening this estrangement were his attempts to bring Roman discipline to New England and the revelation of scandals touching his administration in Boston. [...] The height of the drive for O’Connell’s ouster coincided with a new movement to give national expression to American Catholicism. The bishops of the country had recently organized themselves as the National Catholic Welfare Council, an assembly intended to introduce collaborative leadership in the church. Never friendly to the idea, O’Connell viewed the council as a rival to his authority and power as a cardinal. It was too collegial and too tied to the Sulpician Fathers, who had been quiet, but ardent, promoters of the Americanist movement». Preface, IX.

²⁷ J.B. SHEERIN, *Never Look Back...*, 71.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, 72.

c. A certain crude naïveté in recounting personal meetings with members of the Vatican Curia and, even, with Pope Pius XI: «He [Schrembs, ndr] was thrilled to hear the Pope say, “Do you think I am a man who can be believed? If so, I tell you as the Holy Father that I did not know what the decree meant... I promise you on my word as the pontiff that I have been deceived and that I shall carry out justice for the Bishops of the United States”...»²⁹.

And from the meeting with Cardinal Sincero: «June 1 Ryan went with Schrembs to the Consistorial Congregation: had an hour with Cardinal Sincero, the big gun of the Congregation. Schrembs was simply wonderful, inexpressibly so, explaining the copies of the relatio he was giving Sincero, the nature of the NCWC, etc. [...] Sincero deprecated the decree and said it would be retracted. Here was Sincero, the assessor, saying this and that NCWC would rise stronger than ever. “My name is Sincero and I am now sincere in this promise, not only in word but in fact”. Ryan exults, “Isn’t it glorious! They feel they have been sold by Boston and Philadelphia and they are now going to the other extreme”»³⁰.

It is pertinent to note that, throughout this period, everything written by the representatives of the NCWC was translated into Italian. This not only avoided incomprehension, it also had a political relevance: the translations were assigned to Filippo Bernardini, professor of Canon Law at the Catholic University, advisor to the Apostolic Delegate Bonzano and, above all, nephew of the Secretary of State of the Holy See, Pietro Cardinal Gasparri. We can therefore compare and verify both the correct wording

²⁹ *Ibidem*, 73.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 75. There is some confusion with regard to the possible identity of this Ryan. Fr. Sheerin suggests two identities for Mgr. Schrembs’ companion: Dr. *James A. Ryan*, head of the education department of NCWC (*ibidem*, 70) and *James H. Ryan*, later rector of Catholic University (*ibidem*, 73). Another historian, Emmett Curran, in his review of *The Catholic University of America: a Centennial History*, by Joseph C. Nuesse, mentions both a Fr. *John A. Ryan*, and a *John Hugh Ryan*, the latter identified as the Rector of Catholic University and successor of Thomas J. Shahan. It should be noted, however, that the successor of Shahan as Rector of Catholic University in 1928 was, in fact, *James Hugh Ryan*. It is also certain that Mgr. *John A. Ryan*, who obtained his Doctorate in Theology from the Catholic University in 1906, was extremely active during this same period in Washington and at the Catholic University where he taught from 1915 to 1939. Therefore the companion of Mgr. Schrembs, if we can trust Fr. Sheerin’s second annotation, was James Hugh Ryan, at that time Instructor in Philosophy, who later became Rector in 1928. (He was raised to the rank of Domestic Prelate in 1927, of Protonotary Apostolic in 1929 and became Archbishop of Omaha on August 4, 1945).

of the concepts and their correspondence with the individual contributions prior to the NCWC's final report. The first example is the letter from the Bishop of Duluth, John T. McNicholas, addressed to Cardinal De Lai and the members of the Consistorial. In addition to a summary of the activity of the NCWC, McNicholas outlines the cultural differences between America and the Roman Church:

«I have often thought that the NCWC must seem a complicated, unclear and unnecessary thing, to Your Eminence and to the members of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation. I confess that, upon leaving Rome four years ago and returning to the United States, I found a great change. The War had multiplied the number of activities to a supreme degree. The number of organizations had grown considerably. Now it might seem unnecessary to create new organizations in the Church, when we already have the divine organization of the priesthood and the episcopacy. However I believe our condition before the law and the United States government is exceptional. Here we have a legal incorporation for each parish and diocese... The formation of these corporations is legally perpetual and it exempts us from practically all estate and inheritance taxes... without these corporations we would have to pay a large amount in taxes each year, additionally our property would not be secure in the eyes of the law and we would have many serious difficulties... it seemed useful to the Bishops of the United States to form a legal corporation of all the Bishops, as exists for every diocese»³¹.

Going farther to say:

«I have often thought, and I frequently spoke with S.E. Mons. Cerretti about this, that it would be useful to have the Holy See incorporated in the United States, that is, to have the Holy See designated as a legal entity before the law of the United States. That would be very simple. It would give the Holy See the right to own property and, if bequests or wills are made to the Holy See, no taxes would need be paid. Additionally if the Holy See were incorporated in this way, it could appeal to the United States Catholics to remember the needs of the Holy See in their wills»³².

In defense of the choice of the bishops of the NCWC:

«The incorporation of the Bishops of the United States under the name *National Catholic Welfare Council* is intended only to give the body of the Bishops a position before the law. The name given to a corporation often depends upon the type of work it carries out or the law under which it is formed. Many parishes,

³¹ AES, America, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 16, 9-11.

³² Bonaventura Cerretti (1872-1933) was auditor to the apostolic delegation in the United States from 1906 to 1914. He was named Cardinal by Pius XI in 1925.

for example, are incorporated as literary societies. The reason for this is that the law for literary corporations is more lenient than the law for religious organizations and allows for greater benefits and exemptions. Almost every Dominican parish in the United States is incorporated as a literary society.

One could ask what is the reason for which the Bishops desire to have a national organization. The principal reason is that all of our enemies are organized nationally. The masons have a national organization. The secular schools have a national organization. Your Eminence is aware that we have a dual government in the United States, that of the State and that of the Nation. Each national organization has a certain influence before the national government and, without a national organization, it is practically impossible to exercise even the slightest influence... If we are a national organization and if through this organization we unify our people, legislation hostile to the Church can not be passed. We are twenty million and we can always balance our enemies if we remain united. Your Eminence knows the uproar made by the paltry few Methodists in Rome. In the United States we have seven or eight million of these people. They possess great wealth, influence and union. They hate the Catholic Church. They are nationally organized and exercise great influence in Washington. The Episcopalians, the Anglicans and other sects refer to themselves as Catholics and no one disturbs them for this pseudonym as Catholics, but all of these hate us because we add Roman to the name Catholic... To deprive the Church of any form of organization is to do exactly what our enemies so warmly desire».

Comparing the American bishops and the representatives of the Vatican Curia:

«May I say with the most profound sense of deference, that the condemnation of the NCWC by the Sacred Consistorial Congregation was, according to the judgment of nine-tenths of the Bishops, the most grave blow which the Church has ever received in America? The Bishops found it difficult to believe their eyes when the telegraphed news arrived. There were three things which seemed almost impossible to them:

1. That the Holy See had the slightest doubt of their loyalty. Our Bishops are not acquainted with the Curial style, nor do they possess knowledge of the language. [...]
2. That the decree of condemnation intimated a suspicion of schism. Whatever may be the peculiarities of our Bishops – be that a lack of communication, of making reports or a deficiency in that marvelous prudence which characterizes the Italian Bishops and those of many other European countries, they nevertheless would die with joy for the unity of the Church and for the union with the Holy See.
3. That the condemnation should come at the suggestion of a few Bishops. It is well known that almost eighty Bishops addressed their supplications to

the Holy Father, asking him to consider the responsibilities that the Holy See would bear should the Bishops be deprived of a national organization»³³.

Then concluding with the final blow:

«Confidential. Most Reverend Eminence: perhaps I should not take the liberty to write the following, but I do so saying it in the greatest confidence. May God preserve the Church from a scandal in Boston. [...] Sincerely I confide for the good of religion that the Holy See not believe the information which comes from Boston... Some openly say that there is little evidence of faith there. [...] We all know that Philadelphia is a zealous, holy, apostolic and tireless Prelate. [...] but it is generally said that he can not work with others, that he is not a man of counsel. He has a strong character and is irremovable in his decisions. I do not write Your Eminence in a spirit of censure, but solely with the desire that you know the facts and how the facts are considered by the majority of the Bishops»³⁴.

Amen! One may say.

We are now ready to read the letter which Bishop Schrembs sent to Pope Pius XI on June 6, 1922, following receipt of the report created in Washington, during the Catholic University meeting:

«Most Holy Father –

Permit me to hand to your Holiness through the kindness of Mgr. Pizzardo, the original letter which was sent to all the Bishops of the United States, to inform them of the action taken by the Administrative Council of the NCWC in regard to the Consistorial decree of Feb. 25, as well as the recursus of the trustees of the Catholic University at Washington, on April 26, which recursus was at once forwarded to Your Holiness by the Archbishops. [...] The enclosed eighty individual signatures are the answer of the overwhelming majority of the Bishops of the United States. I am also taking the liberty of presenting to Your Holiness a volume of official letters and Press-Clippings, evidencing the practically unanimous cooperation of the Hierarchy of the United States in the various activities of the NCWC during the past two years.

His Grace, the Archbishop of Cincinnati and Your Holiness' humble servant, had a conference with His Eminence, Cardinal De Lai, on last Friday morning. It pains us grievously to say that His Eminence's own answer to all our pleadings and arguments was invariably: "C'est inutile de discuter cette question. C'est bien votre opinion, je la respecte, mais j'ai mes convictions. Il faut que les évêques des Etats Unis retournent à l'imperium juris". This attitude of His Eminence has filled our hearts with deep sorrow and dismay. To forbid the annual meetings of our Hierarchy, while other countries such as England,

³³ AES, America, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 16, 10.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

Ireland, Germany, Australia and now France are holding them without let or hindrance from the Holy See, but even with its approval, singles us out from among the Bishops of the world, and brands us as suspects and dangerous to the welfare of the Church. If the episcopate of other countries can meet annually to discuss ways and means to promote the educational, social and religious interests of their peoples and to safeguard the civic and religious rights of their peoples, why not the Bishops of the United States? The "imperium juris" is not touched by our meetings, and we have never contemplated interfering with the individuals' rights or the autonomous action of any bishop or diocese. I make bold to say, Most Holy Father, that no body of Bishops in the world today is more loyal, more zealous, more energetic, more generous to the Holy See, or more awake to the interests of the Church, than the Bishops of our Country.

We come before Your Holiness to plead our cause against those of our own who, we know not for what personal reasons, have misled the Sacred Consistorial Congregation as to the real conditions of our country and the beneficent activities of the NCWC, which was called into being by Pope Benedict XV and repeatedly merited his commendation and his blessing.

Without the liberty of frequent mutual counsel and united organized action, we must fall an easy prey to our many mighty and thoroughly organized enemies. Most Holy Father, in the name of the great majority of the Bishops of the United States, I kneel before Your Holiness, to plead for the welfare, yea for the very life of the Church in the United States. Forgive me, Holy Father, if I seem importunate, but as the days wear on, the uncertainty of the issue is lying heavily upon us, and is a real menace to activities which are urgent and which can prosper only in the bright light of the wholehearted approval and the blessing of the Holy See.

With the expression of sentiments of affectionate loyalty and filial devotion, I beg to remain Your Holiness most humble and devoted servant in Christ. [...] (Signed)»³⁵.

The defensive line of the NCWC was concentrated, essentially, in three points: 1. The adhesion of the majority of American bishops; 2. The menace presented by the hardened enemies of Catholicism in the United States; 3. The misinformation which had been given by someone as to the real scope of the work carried out by NCWC and which had caused an unjust censure by the beloved Mother Church. This was further colored in Schrembs' letter by the accusation of Rome's negative singling out of the United States and by the description of a Prince of the Church (Cardinal De Lai) as inflexible in his attitude and deaf to the pleadings of the «sons».

Let us examine at close range the final broadside which the NCWC launched in its defense: the report developed on April 25, 1922, at the

³⁵ AES, America, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 16, 12-14.

Catholic University of America, Washington DC, and assembled in a «White Book» of 99 pages (Italian and English)³⁶ conserved in the Vatican Secret Archives.

The report bears the signature of the seven members of the Administrative Committee, but we know that Bishop Schrembs went to New York on April 25 in order to embark for Rome and that the report was, in reality, the work of only one member of the Committee³⁷, Peter J. Muldoon, the Bishop of Rockford, assisted by Fr. Burke and by Fr. John F. Fenlon, a Sulpician³⁸. Here the words have lost the candor of McNicholas and Schrembs' letters and show clearly that the writers feel both that they are absolutely in the right and that the Vatican's decision in this matter could have serious consequences – and not just for the members of the NCWC or for American Catholics. From the beginning the tone is understated but relentlessly critical and even, one might say, suggests a tinge of blackmail:

«Most Holy Father:

While the whole Catholic world was still celebrating with intense joy the election of a Pontiff preeminently gifted in mind and heart for his supreme office, while the church of America, with a joy even more intense, was welcoming a Father who has a most sympathetic understanding of her situation and needs, suddenly, like a lighting bolt from a sunny sky, came a decree from the Holy See which filled us with astonishment and grief. Upon the whole Hierarchy of our country it seems to put the stigma of a suspected loyalty and of incompetence. [...] Upon us particularly, the seven bishops of the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic Welfare Council, has the displeasure of our Father descended. We are dismissed peremptorily on the eleventh day of a new pontificate, without warning, without a hearing; without a word of commendation, without even a word of benevolence. Our work is declared no longer necessary or useful. [...] Holy Father, that an accusation like this could be entertained for a moment, fills us with shame; [...] Apparently, the danger was believed to be imminent; and we ourselves were adjudged so manifestly guilty that no defense was possible and no hearing necessary. [...]

We who know well the paternal kindness of the Popes towards their children in every nation and who have ourselves long experienced their cordial affection towards the Church of America and their confidence in the American Hierarchy, are certain that a decree so severe could only have been issued upon representations which seemed to admit no doubt. [...] We confess, Holy

³⁶ AES, America, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 15, 1-99.

³⁷ J.B. SHEERIN, *Never Look Back...*, 70.

³⁸ A few years later, in 1937, Pius XI, through Cardinal Bisleti, Prefect of the Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, would sanction the non-conformity of the Sulpician Seminary's program for the academic degrees in Theology and Philosophy. J. NUESSE, *The Catholic University of America: a Centennial History...*

Father, that we are entirely ignorant of the identity or number of the bishops, who have made representations to the Holy See, and of their brethren for whom they spoke. Not even one is known to us, or, apparently to anyone of the very many American bishops who have revealed their mind to their brethren.

We believe ourselves fully justified, however, Holy Father, in saying that these prelates were not commissioned to speak in the name of any considerable number of American bishops, and that the information which they gave about the work of the NCWC must have been entirely misleading. It was well known to us that a few bishops entertained misconceptions of this work, chiefly because they were not informed about its real character. This did not surprise us. We had been chosen by the Hierarchy to look after the things that concerned the welfare of the whole country, almost a continent in extent, and were expressly selected to represent all its different sections. [...]

To speak in defense of our loyalty would be indeed to us a great humiliation. Conscious of the filial love and obedience which we have ever cherished to the Pontiffs whom God has given us, and which we cherish today towards Your Holiness, we leave our vindication in the hands of the Apostolic Delegate. We are confident of the judgment which will be rendered, and we humbly petition Your Holiness, therefore, to clear our names of the stigma which all believe has been placed upon us. In our own country, we are sure, no such suspicion of our loyalty is entertained or will ever be really believed; we beg this for the honor of the American Episcopate in other lands, where false ideas about us are too easily believed, with grave injury to the harmony and good will which should unite Catholics of all nations. As loyal bishops, therefore, Holy Father, we are perfectly ready to obey this decree to the fullest extent; but our very loyalty to the Holy See, as well as our loyalty to our consciences and to the interests committed to us by the Hierarchy, oblige us first to point out the consequences which, in our well-weighed judgment, are sure to result.

First of all, Holy Father, we are profoundly convinced that this decree, if it stands, will gravely affect the prestige of the Holy See in this country. [...] One remarkable fact will show the universal fear that this decree will injure the prestige of the Holy See. Although the decree is in the hands of a hundred and ten bishops [...] its true nature has not yet been revealed to the public. Furthermore, the few who have spoken of it in the press have beclouded its real nature and have thought it necessary to take very special pains to shield the Holy See from any responsibility for the act. Never before have American Catholics felt constrained to conceal an act of the Holy See. Why this extraordinary precaution? Why should everyone feel fear and shame lest a decree of the Holy See become known? Simply, Holy Father – we say it with sorrow, but with no doubt of the truth – because it is the instinctive judgment of all that the publication of this decree would be an injury to the prestige of the Holy See and a scandal to religion. [...]

Our people and the public will inevitably learn, Holy Father, that this decree suppressing the NCWC was granted on the ex parte and hostile statements of a few Bishops, and that no opportunity for defense or explanation was given to the great body of American bishops, and particularly to the seven bishops best qualified to speak for the work of the NCWC. It will be regrettable if the de-

cree be interpreted, as we fear it will be, so as to lessen the deep reverence all have for the habitual fairness, justice and wisdom of the Holy See and for the deliberateness which characterizes judgments in the Eternal City; and to lead many to believe that the Holy See is out of sympathy with the American Hierarchy and with American way of action. This would be all the more deplorable now, since Your Holiness has won the hearts of all our Catholic people»³⁹.

The report by Fr. Burke, Bishop Muldoon and Fr. Fenlon, however, does not stop at the presumed disastrous consequences of the decree disbanding the NCWC, instead it uses a rhetorical expedient of great efficiency, particularly at that time: the dangers to the Church posed by Protestantism and the Masonry.

«The effect of the decree upon our non-Catholic American brethren would, we fear, be particularly unfortunate. Protestantism as a positive religion has lost its hold upon the majority; multitudes of them admire the Catholic Church, the American Hierarchy and the great dignity and power of the Papal office. The chief obstacle to the conversion of many is their belief that the Papacy is a spiritual autocracy which leaves no liberty of action to Catholics, not even to the Hierarchy, and consequently that devotion to the Pope is incompatible with the true American spirit. [...] No other earthly force opposing the spread of Catholicism in this country is so powerful as this idea. [...] Masonry here, which years ago did not appear very antagonistic to the Church, is more and more showing the spirit which it has in many European countries. Now the effect of this decree on non-Catholics, we feel certain, would be to confirm their fear of Catholicism and to intensify suspicion and hatred of the Papacy. The strong act of the Consistorial Congregation by which, in the eyes of the country, a great Hierarchy would be humiliated and a nation-wide organization, known to be doing immense good for the nation, annihilated, could but strengthen the prejudices of non-Catholics».

The report then turns to the possible international implications should the NCWC be disbanded. The first practical point it considers, the NCWC's participation in the *American Relief Administration's* (ARA) famine relief program in Russia, was, in fact, definitely a «sore point» with the Vatican – perhaps even more so than the NCWC seems to have understood. The facts, as presented in this petition, are misleading and would seem to suggest that the American Catholics had, in some mysterious way, been «left out» of the project. In fact, at that moment, the ARA had already been distributing food in Russia for 7 months without any participation from the NCWC. This because the NCWC, though included in this

³⁹ AES, America, POS. 172 P.O., Fasc. 15, 1-99.

program from the very beginning, had still not selected a representative to manage the use of its contributions in Russia – notwithstanding repeated solicitations by the ARA to do so:

«The NCWC secured, after much effort, representation on the American Relief Administration. The Protestant body had been recognized by being asked to appoint a representative. No official Catholic representative was appointed until the NCWC acted. Moreover, a most important point is that owing to the coming resignation of Secretary Hoover from the Russian relief a new plan is to be inaugurated. This plan, as yet not made public, is to have a national committee representative of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish national organizations to take charge of the administration of this work. Advances have already been made to the NCWC. If it must go out of existence, this exceptional opportunity of Catholic influence will be lost, and doubtless many others of a like character in the future».

The report concludes with a final reference to Latin America and, once more, to the proselytizing zeal of the Protestants:

«The NCWC is the body consulted by the President of the United States on legislation and other matters which affect the Philippines, Porto Rico, Hayti and Santo Domingo, all Catholic countries now occupied by American troops and administered by American officials. The same protection that is granted by the United States Military and Naval Forces in these countries to Protestant missionary and welfare workers is granted to us, and puts us in a position to counteract their proselytizing efforts. The influence of the United States grows every day more powerful in all countries of Latin America. [...] The feeling is growing rapidly here that the Catholic Church of the United States, if properly organized, and recognized by our Government, can be of immense service to the Holy See in all Latin American countries. Without the Welfare Council, on the other hand, it is evident that the religious bodies which will have influence with our Government in its relations with Latin America are those Protestant missionary organizations which every year send to these Catholic countries thousands of missionaries and millions of dollars. [...] The financial support which American Protestant missions receive, particularly from business men, almost passes belief. These missionaries have often in the past determined the policy of our Department of State. Would not the extinction of the NCWC, now when the United States is gaining in power and influence all over the globe, tend to make the Federal Council of Churches supreme in Washington and be a serious blow to Catholicism in many countries?».

The Protestants, useful as a provocation in pleading the cause, were then, after all, not quite the welcome companions with whom to share the ministry to the poor. Not only that, the danger of their competition was so great and imminent that even the slightest change to the equilibrium established by the NCWC was inadvisable. On one hand America, according

to this detailed description, is seen as a rich frontier land in which rules, valid for the rest of the world, become ineffective in front of the arrogance of the competitors with whom the Catholics must contend. On the other hand, America and its government – the rules of the game itself – become the aspired goal in order to increase the Church's size and competitive capacity, both on the national level and, given the increasing world importance of the United States, on the international level.

This detailed message from the NCWC, corroborated by the testimony of so many bishops, was understood by the Pope. The analysis of the NCWC made by Cardinal O'Connell was not incorrect, however, this was Americanism, though not in a theological formulation, but in its simplest, every day application: pragmatism. Nevertheless, one can't easily trade 81 bishops spread over the entire national territory for two Princes of the Church – particularly when one of these Princes, Bishop O'Connell, was not, strictly speaking, a Saint. Certainly under his guidance the Boston Diocese had almost tripled in parishioners, churches, schools and offerings, but one city alone does not make the Union!

The beginning of a pontificate is, without doubt, a reason of great joy for the newly elected Pope, but also of concern. Not by chance he dons his papal cassock for the first time within the celebrated «Room of Tears», the sacristy of the *Cappella Sistina*. It was clear immediately that the pontificate of Pius XI would not be an easy one. Postwar Europe still bore the debilitating signs of its devastating human losses and both the winners and the losers toiled with difficulty to find a social and economic balance. As for Italy, the social turbulence was leading inexorably towards a dictatorship. In the Vatican, one breathed a closed, local – almost country – air: the Pope was a «Prisoner in the Vatican» and the specter of Pius IX – and of the «Roman Question» – troubled the thoughts of the Curia.

In the early days of Pius XI's pontificate, then, America aggressively entered the Vatican scene, bringing new considerations and above all, new balances which would permanently change the relationship of the Roman Curia with the American clergy. The time of Leo XIII and of his condemnation of «Americanism» had passed, as also had his words of mediation to Cardinal James Gibbons⁴⁰:

«Our daily experience obliges US to confess that We have found your people, through your influence, endowed with a perfect docility of mind and alacrity

⁴⁰ C.R. MORRIS, *American Catholic: The Saints and Sinners Who Built America's Most Powerful Church*, New York 1997, 112.

of disposition. Therefore, while the changes and the tendencies of nearly all the nations which were Catholic for many centuries give cause for sorrow, the state of your churches, in this flourishing youthfulness, cheers Our heart and fills it with delight».

In the meantime there had been a World War ending favorably for the Allies thanks to the United States' weaponry and their massive contribution of both human and economic resources. Four Empires had disappeared and a Socialist Revolution had occurred on Europe's doorstep.

The Vatican, however, had not been inactive. Pope Benedict XV had worked intensely for the reestablishment of peace, to aid prisoners of war, and to succor the Christian populations which had been so brutally affected by the events which ended the four-century rule of the Ottoman Empire. He had, in fact, created a specific Congregation to take particular care of the Churches found in the land of the Church's origin: the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches (*Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesia Orientali* [SCEO]), with its *Motu Proprio*, *Dei Providentis*, on May 1, 1917⁴¹. To give a strong sign of brotherhood and of special papal concern, he himself had assumed the role of Prefect for the new Congregation.

Pope Pius XI, therefore, was also Prefect of the SCEO and in this role he inherited yet another unresolved matter from Benedict XV – a matter which has been mentioned briefly and is intricately interconnected with the «American Question» presented by the NCWC: the Papal Relief Mission to Russia. Even the «red danger» represented by Bolshevik Russia was tinted in some way by the «Stars and Stripes» creating further complications for the new Pope.

The serious internal disorder and disruption within Czarist Russia had been further aggravated by the Revolution and, subsequently, by one of the droughts which periodically afflicted Russia. The meager harvest and even the seeds for planting were completely consumed, leaving the country faced with the most serious famine in memory. On July 13, 1921, the Russian writer, Maxim Gorky, published an appeal: «To All Honest People», asking

⁴¹ The SCEO was the result of a long process of rapprochement and increasing interest for the Eastern Churches which culminated in the Apostolic Constitution *Romani Pontificis* [January 6, 1862], which instituted a special section, «*pro Negotiis Ritus Orientalis*» within the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (S. Congregatio de Propaganda Fide – SCEO). This Congregation had one Prefect (a Cardinal), but the two sections had their own Secretary, Officials and Consultants. Pope Benedict XV (1914-1922) created the SCEO as an autonomous Congregation, because the affairs of the Eastern Church did not seem considered «*quasi quædam accessio*» by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

help for the famished Russian population. In response, the Congress of the United States voted an appropriation of \$20,000,000 for use by the American Relief Administration (ARA)⁴² in aiding Russia. On August 20, 1921, at Riga, an agreement was signed between the ARA, represented by Walter Lyman Brown, and the Soviet government, represented by Maxim Litvinov. The Riga Agreement detailed all of the stringent stipulations regarding the operation of the American aid program in Russia.

President Warren Gamaliel Harding (1865-1923) further strengthened the ARA's role by stipulating, at the behest of Herbert Hoover, that the State Department would issue passports for relief work in Russia only to Americans who were officially in the service of the ARA⁴³. Hence, the ARA had the final say as to who went to Russia and how the American funds were used. As a consequence, therefore, the funds gathered from American Catholics for use in Russia could only be administered by an American who was an official member of the ARA's Russian Relief Program. The ARA's Russian relief program was joined by 8 American charities⁴⁴ of which the

⁴² The American Relief Administration (ARA) was a relief organization, established by President Woodrow Wilson in 1919 and headed by Herbert Hoover (later Secretary of Commerce under President Harding and subsequently US President). The ARA was charged with feeding Europeans in the wake of WWI's destruction. The ARA's purpose is precisely outlined in the 1921-22 edition of the «Year Book of the Churches»: «Purpose: receives and distributes relief for children of Austria, Poland and Russia. Conducting medical and general relief in Russia on behalf of cooperating organizations». *Year Book of the Churches: 1921-22*, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Washington 1922, 307.

⁴³ B.M. WEISSMAN, *Herbert Hoover and Famine Relief to Soviet Russia, 1921-1923*, Stanford 1974, 55.

⁴⁴ The European Relief Council Agreement was signed in Washington on August 24, 1921. Participants included The American Relief Administration, American Friends Service Committee, American Red Cross, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Knights of Columbus, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, The National Catholic Welfare Council. «It was decided that inasmuch as the whole problem was apparently beyond the resources of private charity, the work of the Associations represented at this meeting would in its initial stages be directed in priority toward children and in medical supplies». Point C of this agreement signed by the 8 groups adhering to the ARA on August 24, 1921, reads: «The Director of the American Relief Administration in Russia shall appoint on his staff at headquarters, one or more representatives (to be mutually agreed) of any of the organization members of the European Relief Council. In turn, the member organizations who may be represented in Russia agree to furnish such representatives. The object of this arrangement is to secure complete coöperation and coördination among the different organizations». H.H. FISHER, *The Famine in*

NCWC represented the Catholic branch⁴⁵. Pope Benedict XV had been immediately active on behalf of Russian famine relief beginning in the summer of 1921 and had hoped that a Papal Relief Mission – under the aegis of the ARA – would begin in October of 1921 (the month after the ARA had begun its distribution work in Russia). According to Mgr. d'Herbigny, in fact, Pope Benedict XV continued to ask about this mission up until the day he died⁴⁶. In effect the Papal Relief Mission to Russia *could* have operated independently in Russia (in fact, it had already done so, in collaboration with the Italian Red Cross and at the wish of Pope Benedict XV, but, due to constant pilfering from the trains in Russia, it had little effect). There was also another international aid organization, the International Committee for Russian Relief (ICRR), which had been formed in July of 1921 and which had been in close contact with the Vatican, but the Vatican, in order to have access to the funds gathered from American Catholics for Famine Relief and access to the food resources, expertise and considerable distribution facilities offered by the ARA, clearly preferred to work through the American Relief Administration.

Let us return, then, to the point of intersection between the Vatican's decree disbanding the NCWC (February 23, 1922), the announcement of the famine in Russia (July of 1921), the Riga Agreement between Russia and the ARA (August 20, 1921), the NCWC's membership in the ARA Russian relief program (August 24, 1921), the beginning of ARA's food distribution in Russia (September 1921), Pope Benedict XV's intense interest in this mission, his death and subsequently Pope Pius XI's election (February 6, 1922), and, above all, to the point that, notwithstanding the profound interest expressed by the Holy See (which viewed this mission as an opportunity to win back the East), the Papal Relief Mission to Russia was still inoperative because the NCWC had not known how, been able,

Soviet Russia, 1919-1923: The Operations of the American Relief Administration, New York 1927, 511.

⁴⁵ «The National Catholic Welfare Council was one of the original members of the European Relief Council, but did not establish its own organization in Russia, affiliated with the ARA, until March 1922. An appeal from Vatican for funds for Russian relief received such a generous response that the Catholic Mission was able to carry out a mass feeding program which reached 157,507 persons (daily, ndr) in the districts of Crimea, Orenbourg, Moscow, Rostov/Don and Krasnodar. In addition to this feeding, which was conducted without distinction as to race, religion or politics, the Mission imported and distributed \$250,000 worth of textiles and medicines». H.H. FISHER, *The Famine in Soviet Russia...*, 463.

⁴⁶ M. D'HERBIGNY, SJ, *L'aiuto pontificio ai bambini affamati della Russia*, in «Orientalia Christiana», 4 (1925)/1, 25.

or wanted to chose a representative to direct it, thereby frustrating the Vatican's wish to undertake this important mission within Russia. Here we begin to see more clearly how all of these events, now on the desk of the new Pope Pius XI, intersected.

During those months in which the Vatican awaited the action of the NCWC, even before the death of Benedict XV, however, other American Catholics had tried to prod the NCWC to give a positive response to Rome. One of the most concerned, of course, was Colonel William Nafew Haskell, the director of the ARA's Aid Mission in Russia. Frustrated when his repeated requests for the appointment of an NCWC representative were not answered by Fr. Burke, Haskell took the immediate route and contacted Fr. Edmund Aloysius Walsh⁴⁷ directly to ask him to lead the American Catholics' portion of the mission in Russia. Fr. Walsh, in turn, contacted the Jesuit Superior General Włodzimierz Ledóchowski.

Well before John Burke's letter to Mgr. Borgoncini-Duca and before the Consistorial's decree, then, Fr. Włodzimierz Ledóchowski, had written to Mgr. Giuseppe Pizzardo, Substitute Secretary of State. The urgent tone of his letter and his clear excitement about undertaking the Russian Mission testify to the importance he ascribes to it:

«Illustrious and Most Reverend Mgr.,

I beg forgiveness if in moments of such activity I disturb Your Excellence with the present matter. However the affair it concerns is so urgent and important that I can not defer it to a time which is more comfortable.

Fr. Edmund Walsh of our Company, American, excellent cleric, of great talents, who is presently in France, writes me that Colonel William Haskell, head of the American Commission which has been constituted with 20 million dollars of aid for the famine in Russia, asks him to join the expedition immediately.

According to the convention stipulated between the United States and the Soviets, every religious society in the United States has the right to send a representative to the Commission to take care of their co-religionists in Russia. All of the sects have already sent their representative; only the Catholic Church, which relatively speaking is the largest and most powerful both in America and in Russia, still has not.

⁴⁷ Edmund Aloysius Walsh, SJ, (1885-1956): Founder (in 1919) and Regent of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, second generation American, son of Irish immigrants. When Colonel Haskell contacted Fr. Walsh, he was in Paray-le-Monial, France, completing his Tertianship at the Jesuit community there. Walsh entered the Company of Jesus in 1902 along with Joseph Farrell (brother of Winifred A. Farrell, Colonel Haskell's wife). He was ordained in 1916 by James Cardinal Gibbons.

His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, with whom I have spoken recently, is of the opinion that we should take advantage of this favorable occasion and send Fr. Walsh as soon as possible.

An additional reason suggests the choice of said Father. Colonel Haskell, now a fervent Catholic, was led to the religion by the same Fr. Walsh, in whom he (Haskell) has the greatest faith.

It is understood that the expenses of the trip and the living expenses would be taken over by the American Commission.

If the Holy See would permit that the Father accepts the invitation, I would call him to Rome by telegram in order to give him the necessary instructions and I would send him directly to Russia.

There the Father would appear only as a Catholic priest, completely concealing that he belongs to the Company of Jesus. This, I believe, can be easily affected. In all the rest he would be under the protection of the United States government.

Awaiting your revered response». (Signed)⁴⁸

Fr. Walsh left Paray-le-Monial on February 22, 1922, bound for Rome⁴⁹, where he arrived the evening of February 26. The following day, Walsh had a long conversation with Father Ledóchowski. The diary he kept throughout this period will help us follow the events closely:

«Long conference P. Led. 3-5 P.M. Has full plans for future – reestablishment of Society in Russia and *union* of orient churches. Frail, delicate man, quick to see a situation or an argument, not too formal; ready to change a plan or opinion if good reason shown.

Tuesday Feb. 28 – Tuesday March 1: Continual Conferences with P. Led., P. D'Herbigny and Mgr. Ropp, Archbishop of most of Russia, Metropolitan of Mohilev. Old, gray-bearded gentleman, long white beard with signs of aristocracy. Later found he is *Baron* Ropp. Was arrested and imprisoned for long time by Soviet Government – released on representation of Holy See. Has written and labored much for union. Was living at Machiavelli St. – a convent of German or Polish sisters. He talked long on religious situation and hopes for future. Question of *rite* the all important question. He is a *biritualist* and is endeavoring to make this solution prevail in Rome. Consumed many cigarettes during 2 conferences».

On March 1, 1922, Fr. Walsh went to the Vatican accompanied by Fr. Ledóchowski to meet Cardinal Gasparri and Mgr. Pizzardo. «S.S. videtur omnia velle committere P. Led. et Soc. – et omnia approbare quae ille statuat. [...] Interim multum perdo tempus nam the Cable from USA. – NCWC said “for 3 months”».

⁴⁸ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, Sc. 73, Fasc. 332, 14.

⁴⁹ EAWP, Diaries, 2:125, GUSCRC.

Walsh's brief reference to NCWC is rather clear: after a long wait, Fr. Burke had, at long last, made a temporary appointment of Walsh as representative of the NCWC in the ARA relief campaign «for 3 months». The Holy See, in the meantime, had totally committed the mission to the counsel and conduct of the Company of Jesus: «*Alius verbis, S.S. se vertit totaliter ad Soc. Responsabilitas enormis*»⁵⁰.

On the same date, March 1, 1922, Fr. Ledóchowski wrote Mgr. Pizzardo to send him the Curriculum Vitae of some of the Jesuits destined for Russia. He also specifies his plans for Walsh:

«I don't think it will be necessary to prepare Father Walsh's curriculum vitae. If His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State approves Cardinal O'Connell's proposal that means that Fr. Walsh is the representative of the Catholic Church on the American Commission and, at the same time, he is one of the Holy See's Delegates. In any case, I would like that Fr. Walsh is the Superior of the Company's group – first because he has already given proof of his exceptional organizational talent and secondly because I hope that his close relationship with the head of the American Commission [Col. Haskell, ndr] could be of great service not only to our Fathers, but also to others. [...] I believe we are on the right path. The Holy See will organize a splendid charitable action for the Russian poor and, without any further publicity, this in itself will be a forceful way of demonstrating to the Russian people that its health is in union with the Church of Peter. I believe that the Catholic world will understand that this is a splendid crusade of charity to save, perhaps, all the East and that one could obtain with a good organization, to which we are ready to contribute with our small efforts, very ample means to this end. It will be useful to point out that the Delegates from the Holy See all belong to diverse nationalities. In closing I would observe that a few things need to be decided now – for example should the Delegates have beards or not»⁵¹.

The Superior General wrote Mgr. Pizzardo again on the morning of March 8, 1922, relaying a request from Fr. Walsh, who was about to leave for Russia: to present his respects to Mgr. Pizzardo and the Cardinal Secretary of State and to request a brief meeting with the Holy Father to receive his benediction.

«This will be of grand consolation to him, but will also be useful for his work. Additionally he would like to have a recommendation from the Holy See which could be prepared in the way indicated by the card which I attach. It is desirable that the recommendation is written on the Holy See's official

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁵¹ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, Sc. 73, Fasc. 335, 44-46.

stationery and provided with seals, things to which the Russians give great importance»⁵².

Thanks to Edmund Walsh's diary, we know that he received all that was requested in Fr. Ledóchowski's letter on that very day. Wednesday, March 8, 1922, at 8:30 A.M. Walsh went to the Vatican with d'Herbigny. There they met Mgr. Pizzardo who took them to the Secretary of State where Walsh received an Apostolic Letter⁵³: «Le Saint Siège autorise Mr. l'abbé Edmond Walsh [sic] à s'occuper de préparer l'organisation des secours pontificaux pour la Russie. Il bénit tous les efforts qu'il fera pour mieux montrer aux Russes l'amour du Saint-Père à leur égard, et prie Dieu de récompenser tous ceux qui l'aideront»⁵⁴.

Father Walsh's private audience with the Holy Father was arranged for the same morning:

«Hour 10:30 made arrangements for private audience with Pius XI, at 1 P.M. Spent intervening time in going through Vatican Library, Vatican Museum, Sistine Chapel, etc. At 1 was at Vat. second floor – ushered through many crimson chambers – Many Swiss guards – papal Chamberlains etc. Spent last 10 min. before small study of Pius XI talking with Englishman papal chamberlain, father of a S.J. Scholastic, English province. About 1.15 ushered to private study – simply furnished, large desk, pictures of previous popes on wall. Pius XI – presented the usual 3 genuflections – advanced to the door, took me up by hands. Somewhat shorter than pictures – face rounder – plumper than pictures. Democratic, stood with arms folded leaning against desk»⁵⁵.

According to Walsh's diary, the conversation with Pius XI was conducted in Latin. The Holy Father expressed gratitude to Walsh for accepting to lead the papal aid program in Russia. He recommended great prudence and cautioned Walsh not to act in a way which might compromise the image of the Holy See in the eyes of the Russians, but also: «*Dixit se multum mihi confidere*». The Pope gave Walsh a special crucifix for himself and one for William N. Haskell, whom Pius XI praised. The Pope also praised the generous charity of the Americans and blessed Walsh and assured him the comfort of his prayers in a mission of such danger. «*“Good bye” dixit accentus Italiano quando discessi*».

⁵² *Ibidem*, 48-49.

⁵³ EAWP, Diaries, 2:125, GUSCRC, ad diem.

⁵⁴ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, Sc. 73, Fasc. 332, 15.

⁵⁵ EAWP, Diaries, 2:125, GUSCRC, ad diem.

This brief summary of the meeting between Edmund Walsh and Pius XI gives us some idea of the practical characters of both men. The meeting was, in fact, a harbinger of things to come: Pius XI would use this American Jesuit several times again – in diplomatic missions of equal delicacy and risk.

Walsh spent the following day preparing for his departure for Russia: «Long final conversation evening with Vladimir [Ledóchowski] who stressed importance of mission at this time when entire world is regarding Russia, “120,000,000 people with no shepherd”. Gave me reliquary with relics St. Ign., Fr. Xav., Holy Cross, etc.».

Walsh began his trip on Friday, March 10, and arrived in Moscow on March 23, 1922: «Met at station by Mr. Morgan – hence to Col. Haskell for supper. Mrs. Haskell present. First impression of Moscow – Dirt – filth run down – decay – wind – people in rags – no signs of business – everybody with pack on back with morsel of food – Terrorism of Tcheka».

At the same time, the Vatican continued to prepare the details of the papal mission. Ledóchowski wrote to Secretary of State Gasparri on March 19, 1922:

«In fulfillment of Your Eminence's order, I send a few suggestions for the organization of the Pontifical expedition in Russia. After the approval or modification of these plans, it will not be difficult to compose the instructions for the Missionaries of which Your Eminence spoke and which appear not only convenient but also necessary, a few other points need to be established, for example, how the Missionaries must be dressed, whether they should have beards or not, and other similar points⁵⁶. Beyond the instructions, I think it would be helpful if at least one Father of each group came to Rome to meet one another and thus assure greater unity of action and mutual cooperation, upon which the success of the Mission depends.

As for our Company, I want to assure Your Eminence that while, as I said yesterday, I believe that Fr. Walsh is particularly adapted to organize the center, having given proof of his grand organizational talent both in his founding of the first commercial/consular school in Washington and through his work during the war, nonetheless, we will be equally content should the center be assigned to others because our single desire is to serve the great cause well according to the will of the Holy See and to help others. [...] As for the posts which will be assigned to our Fathers – now and in the future, we desire, in as far as possible, that these are the most difficult and dangerous places where

⁵⁶ Fr. Ledóchowski's insistent reference to the external aspect of the missionaries sent to Russia was due to the terms of the agreement signed on March 12, 1922 by the Holy See and the unofficial representative of the Soviets in Rome, Vatslav Vatslavovich Vorovsky (1871-1923). These terms specified that the representatives of the Holy See were required to wear civilian clothes. AES, IV, Russia, Fasc. 40, POS. 659.

one can work all the better for the greater glory of God and in order to pay the particular debt of gratitude⁵⁷ which our Company has towards Russia».

Already on March 26, 1922, Walsh was able to make a first, informative report⁵⁸ which he sent to Rome by way of Mrs. Haskell:

«Dear Father Hanselman⁵⁹:

After a long and varied trip I arrived in Moscow on the evening of Wednesday, March 23. From Rome to Riga there was not anything special [...] but at Riga there appeared the first signs of the new world over the Lithuanian border. I met another four Americans traveling to carry information to Col. Haskell [...] The sleeping compartments are primitive – to speak euphemistically – and one needs to pay a bit of attention. The trains are running not on coal, but simply on burning wood: delays are long and frequent. [...] During the journey, one observed enormous companies of peasants walking toward the west, each one inevitably with a sack of flour and other provisions on his shoulders. The same is true in Moscow. [...] The ruble is practically without value. I have changed dollars at the rate of 2 million rubles for a dollar. The cost for a ride in a car is 30,000 rubles, a pair of good shoes costs 10 million rubles. A complete suit, ordinary, costs 25 million rubles, etc. Knowing that a talented man can receive a salary of 2 Million a month, you will understand what it means to live here. [...] The famine is at its highest point and all the forces of the American Relief Administration are working with utmost intensity. We have 180 Americans with about 50,000 Russian employees scattered everywhere. By the end of this month the Americans will be sustaining 3,500,000 children and more adults. When the harvest comes, when one hopes the danger will have passed, the total number of people maintained will be 10,000,000. The funds at our disposition are 52,000,000 dollars. There is not so much a need of funds as of the means to facilitate distribution. The ships which have arrived form a large flotilla of 147 boats which arrive at Riga, Reval, Danzica and in the ports of the Black Sea like Odessa.

Among the ways of helping those that suffer is the “food remittance system”. A person, for example, in New York, London, Paris, Rome or elsewhere, can go to an office of the ARA and deposit 10 dollars, or any multiple thereof, for a certain quantity of food for a specific person whom the donor knows in any

⁵⁷ This refers, evidently, to the permanence and survival of the Company of Jesus in Russia (and in Slesia) at the time of its disbandment, which occurred under Pope Pius VI, but was decided with the edict *Dominus ac Redemptor* issued by Pope Clement XIV in 1773.

⁵⁸ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, Sc. 72, Fasc. 325, 3-5.

⁵⁹ Father Joseph F. Hanselman [1856-1923], 14^o President of Holy Cross College [Worcester, MA] – then part of the Maryland Province (also Edmund Walsh's Province), was nominated American Assistant to the General of the Society of Jesus. This office made him the principal counselor for the personnel and projects of the American Jesuits. Fr. Hanselman had been Provincial of the Maryland Province from 1906 to 1912, during Walsh's first years in the Order, and certainly knew him well.

Russian village or city. Here in Moscow the ARA will take care of a large number of packages of victuals which will serve to maintain a man for two months or a family of four persons for about a month. The package contains a certain quantity of nutritious food chosen with great care (flour, milk, rice, sugar, cooking fat). [...] These packages will be made here; they will then be sent to the person for whom they are destined under our supervision, it will be consigned and a receipt will be sent to the donor. If, after 90 days, the person is not found, the money is returned to the donor.

This is simply a small action promoted in the area devastated by famine; the others consist in large kitchens where all are always welcome to get what they need. But the "Food Remittance" permits us to pay attention to individuals and to take care of them, in addition to the general aid which they receive by means of the kitchens and hospitals organized in all of the famine regions.

It is, of course, impossible for us to know, or for you or others in distant countries to be acquainted with, who is in need of these food packages and it is for this reason that the various organizations – Jewish, Lutheran, YMCA, Baptist, etc. – have their representative in Moscow to pay attention to the most terrible cases and take care of the packages for these persons. In this way, for example, the representative's organization places 50,000 dollars at disposition: this gives him the right to 5,000 packages of provisions, enough to maintain 5,000 persons for two months... He will make his rounds, compile a list, return to Moscow and send the packages immediately to the persons that he wishes to aid. Naturally he will give aid to his own, although one could distribute to anyone.

This method has been amply used by the Jews to aid their own. In this moment the Jewish representative is seated in front of me preparing the addresses for his victuals. And I remind you that these victuals are placed in packages, transported and consigned with receipt, all with the means of the ARA organization.

This will be a good way for us to begin. I will do this within a few days for the famine regions, preparing the lists and obtaining the victuals to send them. I will pay attention to ours, that is to say, to the clergy, convents, schools, etc. and I will succeed perhaps in sustaining entire communities or also villages. But to accomplish this, funds are needed immediately. If Francesco [Father Ledóchowski] wants us to do this, he should send me the money by telegram, and in the largest amount possible, for example, 20,000 dollars to begin with. [...] The money can be sent by marine cable in the following way [...].

I am fine. Commend me to Francesco⁶⁰. (Signed E.A. Walsh)».

⁶⁰ Walsh mentions the name, Francesco, twice in this report. This was the code name Walsh used to indicate the Superior General of the Jesuits, Włodzimierz Ledóchowski. Prudently, Walsh maintained a «low profile» with regard to his Jesuit identity, particularly because the Superior General of the Jesuits, Fr. Ledóchowski, was from a noble Polish family (cause enough for ill feelings among the Russians) and the son of a General in the Polish Army. Throughout his assignment in Russia, Walsh used this code name (or the variants thereof: François or Francis) for Fr. Ledóchowski.

Walsh left Moscow on April 25, 1922, and arrived in Rome on May 2. In the meantime, thanks to a letter from the Superior General of the Jesuits to the Secretary of State on April 29, we know the course which the mission in Russia was taking:

«Yesterday I had another long chat with Miss [sic] Haskell and, everything considered, I think it is best to have Fr. Walsh come to Rome and arrange everything with him. Miss Haskell assures me that, by sending a telegram immediately, he could be in Rome within two weeks. However I have now received a letter from Fr. Walsh written in Moscow on April 20 informing me that he will arrive here on the 4 or 5 of May for six days. I think, therefore, that it would be prudent to await his arrival and, for the moment, not to make any commitments even though this slightly delays the dispatch of the Holy See's aid.

If I am not mistaken, there are serious difficulties, which I will explain in person, with sending our delegates along with the grain bought in Romania. I think the first project of Your Eminence would be much better. That is to say, that, for awhile, the Fathers profit from the food distribution organization already existent [i.e. ARA] and only later take the grain from Romania.

Miss Haskell is extremely grateful for the good reception which she received from Your Eminence and for the audience with the Holy Father.

Permit me to ask whether the two Spanish Fathers of which Your Eminence spoke should come immediately or if they should be sent later; as far as we are concerned, there is no difficulty in immediately placing them at the disposition of the Holy See»⁶¹.

On May 3 Walsh was already in conference with the Superior General:

«Conference at once with Vladimir L. who sent various documents at once to Vatican. Fortunate I came this moment as plans and policy undetermined. Found plans almost ready to send 12 agents to distribute relief for Papacy, but am dissatisfied with conditions. Without any knowledge on my part they have agreed in writing with Vorovsky (Soviet Representative at Rome) to do certain things which I consider dangerous to ultimate control of relief. Moreover they have agreed that agents should enter by Novorossysk, not by northern ports and confine activities to South. Vlad. expressed suspicions of a certain Mr. Brown who had managed to get some say about the relief – who wanted to plant agents in German zones of influence and buy grain from Roumania. Vlad. has insisted on his elimination; suspects politics. I have advised moving very slowly as present religious persecutions do not seem fully appreciated.

Thursday May 4. Saw Mgr. Pizzardo who showed me agreement signed between Vat. (Gasparri) and Soviets (Vorovsky). Found it ambiguous, not strong enough for guaranteeing control. One paragraph (5) seemed to give ultimate

⁶¹ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, Sc. 73, Fasc. 332, 17.

control to local Soviet authorities. Explained all to Pizzardo and ARA difficulties. Drew up 5 articles to be added by way of interpretation. He promised to take same with him to Genoa tomorrow and have them agreed to. Left satisfied.

Friday May 5, 1922 – Conference with Card. Gasparri – 7.30-9 P.M. at Vatican. [...] Gave whole situation to him and finally ventured to say time had come for protest from Pope. Old gentleman said nothing but rose from the lounge where he sits during audiences and went to his desk, brought back 2 large printed sheets and said “Read”. To my joy found first was “a Memorandum” addressed to Powers at Genoa demanding etc. (cfr. Document). No. 2 was a detailed list of the religious persecutions, some of which were stigmatized as «unknown in history of civilized nations». At end of this No. 2 it said “This protest is based on authentic information given by reliable people recently come from Russia”. He referred to documents I brought from Shepherd CPLK [Archbishop Jan Cieplak, Bishop of Ohrid, ndr] but said to protect him in R[ussia] they put it that way. He added “We are sending Mgr. Pizzardo to Genoa tomorrow and he will hand these 2 documents to diplomats with whom Holy See has relations”. We spoke of Relief and I outlined my plans; he regretted possible withdrawal of Americans and ended by proposing an appeal to President of US to continue Relief from Pope and letter to Hoover on same. It was decided that I should carry these letters personally to Washington at once and make further arrangements for cooperation. \$200,000 now available, much more to come. He told me to draw up draft of the 2 letters, to be signed by Pope and himself and wrote a few words on his card to Vlodimir saying he wished EAW to be set aside for this work – in Europe and in America. Left 9 P.M. He could not bear to look at famine pictures».

These few lines in Edmund Walsh’s diary provide us with an open window on events, such as the Genoa Conference of 1922, which have marked world history. It was here that, for the first time, a Russian Commissar of Foreign Affairs intervened in an international conference, in this case, it was the renowned Georgy Vasilyevich Chicherin⁶².

«Saturday May 6. Audience with Pius XI, 11.30-12.10. As before he was kind, democratic, cordial. Listened to all details. Asked of Shepherd CLPK. Looked at all pictures of famine followed my explanation of map of Russia and my plans. Thanked me again. Knew of my trip to America and said he would add personal note to Mr. Hoover, whom He knew at Warsaw. I spoke to him about life in Russia and my scruples about Breviary. He confirmed all faculties given and said “Charity supplies all” then added, “*I communicate to you all faculties and powers which I can communicate*”. He did not add

⁶² The Genoa Conference took place from April 10 to May 19, 1922. It was a concerted attempt by the representatives of 34 countries, including Soviet Russia, to reconstruct European finance and commerce.

for Russia – hence strictly speaking they are not limited geographically. Sent benediction to all in Russia, promised to send help, blessed my efforts. Gave me another crucifix and sent me away after 40 minutes.

At 5 P.M. returned to Vatican for Conference with some of “agents” – evident that some will never do for work in Russia – timid – unused to work with men».

In this second personal audience, Walsh had confirmation of Pius XI’s open and cordial character and, something which impressed him, expressed again his opinion of the Pope as «democratic» – a characteristic of the Pope which was, evidently, unexpected by Walsh and by which he was pleasantly surprised. We can imagine that, most likely, Walsh had been prepared to confront a very formal atmosphere characterized by calm, cordial words spoken from a regal distance.

In the following days, Walsh’s diary records the news of the reactions to Vatican diplomacy at the Genoa Conference. The press reported at length on the meeting between Chicherin and the archbishop of Genoa, Mgr. Giosuè Signori, and on their toast, made during the reception hosted by the King of Italy on the Royal Battleship, «Dante Alighieri», which provoked a great international furor. A few days later, Mgr. Pizzardo presented his aforementioned Memorandum in three points to the delegates of the countries attending the conference⁶³.

«Sunday May 7 – Saturday May 13 – Preparing draft of a letter to Pres. Harding and Hoover. Read draft to Gasparri – about Tuesday. Papers now quoting «Memorandum» as delivered at Genoa. Other papers – French – Belgian – scandalized at idea of Pope having anything to do with Soviets – they speak of a concordat with horror. Osservatore Romano publishes denial saying it was only an agreement about sending agents to distribute relief. Hear many disgusting rumor about astonishment that Archbishop of Genoa had anything to do with Soviet delegate at banquet given by King at Genoa. French papers particularly bitter, probably inspired by anti clerical influences that would like

⁶³ The three points of the Vatican Memorandum were, briefly: liberty of worship and conscience; liberty of private and public worship; restoration of the property which had been confiscated from all religious confessions. The Vatican requested that countries in attendance at the Conference should not sign agreements with the Soviets if the Soviets had not guaranteed liberty of worship and religion and interrupted religious persecutions. Great Britain did not acknowledge the Memorandum and Chicherin did not accept to discuss it because, as he affirmed, there was no religious persecution in Russia. He did, however, consent to the Vatican’s request to send a pontifical relief mission to Russia. For more information: G.M. CROCE, *Santa Sede e Russia Sovietica alla Conferenza di Genova*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 23 (2002)/2, 345-365.

to see rupture of recent relations between Rome and France (cfr. Documents – papers)».

Mgr. Pizzardo's return from Genoa reserved some surprises for Walsh, offering him a first hand example of the vaunted, centuries-old diplomatic capacity of the Vatican:

«Saturday May 13 – Mgr. Pizzardo returns from Genoa – met him on 4 floor outside gallery of Vatican – made date for 4 P.M., his apartments. Conference at 4 P.M. showed that he has been impressed by Chicherin at Genoa. Expressed confidence in Chicherin, despite my warning about liars and hypocrites. Astonished me by explaining he had not asked them to sign the added articles of the agreement which I had given him; said he did not think it necessary after the 2 hours talk with Chicherin!! What can it mean? In view of what I know about their tactics in Russia with ARA their word is worth nil. M. Pizz. even went so far as to say that I must not insist too much on question of control of goods – that was second (the first he admitted with ARA), first thing for Papal Relief was good will of present authorities in order to work for souls later. This is a complete change of attitude he had before he went to Genoa. Told me too he found diplomats very unwilling to bring in question of religious guarantees. On return to [Jesuit] Curia, told V. my impressions of surprise and disappointment. He understood and agreed that he believed they were on false track, especially in regard to buying at least some grain or supplies in *Roumania* which M. Pizzardo said *must* be done. M. Pizz. also said not to bind Holy See too much to Americans. He said I could use at once in America \$100,000.

Said if crisis arose rather to sacrifice few trainloads of food rather than lose good will of Soviets! Cannot understand this and pointed out to Vlad. how difficult that would make my mission. We would lose confidence of world and get no more money! Vlad. agrees with me – says situation grave and imposes silence on me. World would think Vat. is compromising with Soviets. He promised to see Pizz. and Gasp.

Sunday – May 14. Preparing for departure from R. for America. Monday – All letters – to President – Hoover etc. ready at 6 P.M. Brought to my room personally by Vlad. who brought them from Vat. He was encouraged and said he believed they were now on right track – he had conference with Gasp. and Pizz. They have agreed to publish Memorandum and the other letter (No. 2) in *Osservatore Romano* for Tuesday evening. Hope they will publish the document no. 2 which I have *never seen mentioned* – the second one I read in Card. Gasparri's study Friday evening May 5. Chicherin had answered in papers by quoting laws guaranteeing religions freedom. I gave to D'Herbigny copy of *Russian decree* prohibiting religious instruction even in *homes*. This shows facts, not *theories* (emphasis in original)».

On May 15, Walsh left Rome for the United States. On May 21st he embarked on the «Berengaria» which docked in New York on May 27 at

5 P.M. During the trip Walsh used his diary to record an extensive analysis of the Russian revolution and of the men who had realized it. But let us move our attention to the papal letter which he was carrying for Herbert Hoover.

The letter was composed of two parts: a Memorandum (in English) directed to Hoover in his function as Chairman of the American Relief Administration (in which reference was made to the letter for President Harding) and a personal letter (in French) from Pius XI, who had met Hoover when he was the apostolic nuncio in Poland:

«Memorandum:

[...] Under separate cover His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, has addressed a letter to President Harding concerning the possibility of a continuance of Russian relief. The admirable part now being played in combating the famine by the American Relief Administration under your direction has touched His Holiness deeply and He is encouraged to hope that you will find it possible to second His plea with the President, knowing as He does not only actual conditions as they exist in Europe today but also your own compassionate sympathy for the distressed peoples of Europe.

To the voice of the Vicar of Christ thus raised in anxious solicitude for the famine stricken millions of that demoralized land may I add the following considerations for your own attention?

1. Should the decision to withdraw the ARA sometime in September or October still seem necessary, the Holy See will undertake to enlarge its relief programme to embrace as much of the stricken regions as is possible with the necessarily limited resources at our disposal. The Holy Father is now preparing a communication to the entire Christian world in which He rallies all Christendom to a crusade of charity for Russia. Should you decide to withdraw the ARA shortly, would it not be possible for your efficient organization still to assist by continuing to purchase supplies in America and shipping them to Russian ports, where the Papal Relief Administration would undertake to receive and distribute them in the same manner adopted by the ARA in Russia? No discrimination would be made but food would be distributed to all who stood in need for help. The only requirement for assistance would be hunger and want, now, alas so widespread in Russia. Expenses would be guaranteed up to delivery at Russian ports where Papal control would begin. The excellent system of control and distribution already set up by your organization would supply a model and a working basis for the later organization in which American personnel would largely figure. The programme would include child feeding, – limited adult feeding and the distribution of food packages in certain districts hereafter to be determined.

2. Should it be found possible, – as we pray God may so ordain –, for you to continue Russian relief for another year, the Holy See will so arrange contributions through American Catholics that the Catholic representative with the ARA at Moscow will be enabled to supplement your work by reaching spots where the ARA has not found it possible to set up stations. Funds for a substan-

tial program will be placed at his disposal from the Catholics of America and from such other sources as may wish to contribute, so that by means of Food Remittances, Eurelcon sales and new kitchens where necessary, help can be brought to those regions newly threatened, as for example, the Caucasus and the Crimea. In either case, dear Mr. Hoover, whether the ARA withdraws or continues its noble work, the common good will be immensely served if you can further the efficient distribution of Catholic funds in either of the manners herein described. In order to provide for such discussion of details as may assure a speedy and definite decision we have asked the Catholic representative on the ARA staff at Moscow, Professor Edmund A. Walsh, to proceed at once to Washington as our personal representative and delegate»⁶⁴.

The personal letter from the Pope opened by recalling the relief aid which Hoover had brought to Poland:

«Nous avons encore présentes à l'esprit les belles heures que Nous avons passées avec Votre Excellence à Varsovie, tandis que défilaient devant Nous, en acte de reconnaissant hommage, les émouvantes phalanges des petits enfants Polonais que la sollicitude et la générosité de Votre Excellence et du peuple Américain avaient sauvés d'une mort certaine. Aussi bien, ayant adressé à cette même date un pressant appel au Président de la grande République Américaine, en faveur des pauvres petits enfants Russes, en proie à la faim et à la maladie. Nous ne pouvons Nous refuser le plaisir de manifester à Votre Excellence combien Nous avons à cœur que soit maintenue et poursuivie l'œuvre destinée à les soulager. Connaissant fort bien vos généreux sentiments, ainsi que le rôle si admirable et si efficace que sous votre sage direction l'American Relief Administration joue présentement pour combattre la famine en Russie, Nous vous prions de seconder Notre appel au Président pour ce peuple malheureux. Votre Excellence aura peut être déjà appris que Nous enverrons prochainement en Russie des agents spéciaux chargés de distribuer des secours à cet infortuné pays. Et Nous sommes persuadés que votre coopération et vos conseils leur seront très utiles. C'est pourquoi Nous chargeons le Professeur Edmond Walsh de se rendre immédiatement à Washington pour vous mettre au courant de Nos intentions et pour s'entendre avec vous. Dans la confiance que vous voudrez bien le favoriser dans toute la mesure possible, Nous prions le Seigneur de répandre sur vous l'abondance de Ses faveurs. Rome, le 15 Mai 1922»⁶⁵.

Before Walsh's arrival, the Vatican's Secretary of State telegraphed the Apostolic Delegate in Washington DC, Mgr. Giovanni Bonzano, to inform him that Walsh was arriving with two letters from the Pope: «Holy See sends 12 agents Russia distribution aid to famished. Holy Father has

⁶⁴ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, Sc. 73, Fasc. 334, 70-71.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, 72.

encharged Jesuit Walsh to present papal letters President Harding and Mr. Hoover. Request you counsel him, help him, telegraphing me practical way. Father Walsh will request sums for eventual purchases. Inform me of this and await my orders. Card. Gasparri»⁶⁶.

Following are Walsh's diary annotations of the meetings with the Apostolic Delegate, Fr. John Burke, President Harding, Herbert Hoover, Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop Hayes and Archbishop Curley:

«Monday May 29 – To Mgr. Bonzano at 9 A.M. He had code message instructing him to prepare meeting with President, give me money needed, and report progress. An explaining mission, he despatched Mgr. Floersch [John A., ndr (1886-1968)] to arrange meeting with President H. [...]

Went to N.C.W.C. 1312 Massachusetts Ave. to see Burke – not in town – in tomorrow. [...] Monday May 30 – Washington – [...] To see Fr. Burke in A.M. and got [that?] strange story of NCWC. This makes mission doubly hard. No organization to mobilize funds and danger of loss of official representation on ARA. Expressed belief that Pius XI did not really know, also hazarded guess that one Congregation in Rome did not know what other, e.g. Sec. of State, was doing – as all my dealings have been with Sec. of State Pizzardo. Recalled to Fr. Burke my showing slips I use for fund remittances in Russia – “NCWC” on them. Pope thanked me for efforts! He could not have known entire situation. This explains long silence of Fr. Burke regarding re-appointment and extension of 3 months appointment. Meeting with President tomorrow 11:30.

Wednesday May 31 – To White House at 11:30. [...] Did not get in until about 12:25. President cordial and courteous. Explained I came direct from Moscow and ARA work. He questioned me as to situation – listened attentively – on spoliation of Churches and anti religious programme, he said “No nation can exist without religion”. Asked no. of Catholics in Russia [...] Gave him Pope's letter after little conversation. He opened it – saw French – immediately said “I regret I am not a linguist” and rang for secretary – “Take it to State Department and have translated at once”. Then I informed him that I would be returning shortly, if any answer was to be sent by that way. He said “If any answer at once, you may expect it through Mr. Hoover». Shook hands – ended at 12,50. [...] In evening, finally found his [Hoover, ndr] private telephone no. (W831) (2300 S. St.) through Nelson Shepherd. Called him up – got him on “phone explained was leaving soon” – He answered “Come here to breakfast tomorrow at 7 A.M.”.

Thursday, June 1. At Hoover's, 2300 S. St. at 6.55A.M. Explained Catholic programme – at last they were convinced that funds would be properly administered and outlined plan – Rather taciturn – few words – positive in attitude against P.C.Φ.C.P. until they show reasonable regard for outsiders. Particularly emphatic against confiscation of Church property. Without saying so, seemed to welcome proposals of cooperation; said he was not yet fully

⁶⁶ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, Sc. 73, Fasc. 332, 18.

decided about continuing unless P.C.Φ.C.P. did more themselves. Believed time not ripe for general appeal "would not get 2 millions". Listened much during breakfast, smoked several cigars and related experiences. Gave letter of Pope – left 8:15 – in his auto – went to Commerce with him and he said to chauffeur "Take Fr. Walsh wherever he wants to go". It was understood that I would see him again for details after he had considered letter.

To see Fr. Burke – more details about NCWC. Told me he had cable from Vladimir – "Reappoint Walsh – delay unfavorable". [...]

Monday June 5 – Boston – Home – A.M. to see Cardinal O'C [O'Connell, ndr], Boston, explained forthcoming appeal for funds – very intimate conversation about work and type of cooperation from R [Rome, ndr] – What kind of helpers? P – B – (?) – Other – picturesque – language – expressed full accord with cooperation. "Tell G. [Gasparri, ndr] I'm with him"! – Left for N.Y. midnight.

Tuesday June 6 – N.Y. To "America" for dinner. Saw article in defence of stand of H. Father on Russia, written by Reville. Saw Archbishop Hayes [Patrick Hayes, Arch. of NY, ndr], Madison Ave. promised full cooperation, but expressed great embarrassment about decree re NCWC. Washington by midnight.

Wednesday June 7. Conference Mr. Hoover 12 noon. Agreed to plan of cooperation – NCWC to act as liaison between Catholic Mission and ARA. I buy food and distribute by our own personnel, no objection to Europeans, but preferred Americans. No objection to my bringing back assistant. How much money? \$100,000 in hand – more in sight. Called stenographer – send cable to Haskell "Can you allocate \$100,000 food at once to Walsh – similar amount to follow. Districts between Rostow and Ekaterinadar".

June 7- 17 – Boston – N.Y. – Washington – GU – Saw Arch. Curley – promised cooperation but again expressed regret NCWC affair. June 17 Sailed from N.Y. with S.J. Gallagher».

Now that we have had a panoramic vision of Walsh's trip to America, and his meetings with several of the central characters up to this moment, let us read how the Apostolic Delegate, Giovanni Bonzano, interpreted his meetings with Walsh in a long, detailed letter to Cardinal Gasparri on June 16, 1922⁶⁷:

«The Rev. Edmund Walsh, SJ, left yesterday for New York where he will embark tomorrow to return to Rome. He will arrive at the same time as this letter, if not before, to inform Your Most Reverend Eminence concerning his actions.

Father Walsh presented himself to the Delegation as soon as he arrived in Washington, at the end of last month. He told me the intent of his journey and let me read copies of the letters to President Harding and Mr. Hoover relative to the continuation of the relief aid for Russia, and he asked me to

⁶⁷ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, Sc. 73, Fasc. 334, 51-53.

obtain an audience with the President in order that he might present him the Pope's signed letter. [...] On May 31 the President received Fr. Walsh who presented him the letter. He accepted it with pleasure, but since the letter was in French, he said that he would send it to the Department of State for translation and that he would reply to the Holy Father in good time, implying then he would have left the matter to Mr. Hoover, the Director of the Relief Aid work. Fr. Walsh also consigned the pontifical letter to Mr. Hoover and had a conversation concerning the conditions in Russia, the wishes of the Holy Father and the necessity to continue the aid to the famished. Mr. Hoover, however, responded that he could not yet make a decision, the which depended upon confidential information, and that he awaited his Secretary who had been dispatched specifically to gather precise news of the situation in Russia. In the meantime he implied that the Relief Aid would continue until January indeed until September 1, on the condition that the Soviet Government renews its guarantee to protect the American personnel and the freedom of distribution of the aid. From other, unofficial sources, however, it was learned that very probably the aid work would be continued.

Mr. Hoover was not only pleased with the cooperation of the Holy See in this humanitarian work, but himself suggested the regions to aid, that is, the provinces of the Caucasus and of the Crimea, at the moment the most needy, and he immediately offered part of the food resources now deposited in Russia – for the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to the Holy See. Since Mr. Hoover would have had to immediately order new food shipments to replace those given to the Holy See, Fr. Walsh asked me immediately for the aforementioned sum, as I mentioned to Your Eminence in my encoded message N. 42, not having all of this money at my disposition. Following the response which was given me by Your Eminence with the coded message N. 41, Father Walsh concluded that the payment of this sum was not urgent and that it would be possible to defer it until his arrival in Rome where he will personally give the necessary explanations.

The other day the Secretary of President Harding told Fr. Walsh by telephone not to await the President's reply to the Holy Father, since that had already been sent with the usual intermediary. What was intended by the usual intermediary is not clear. Up to now the few letters exchanged between this Administration and the Holy See have passed through the Apostolic Delegation and I would not be surprised, as it was said to Fr. Walsh, that he had not understood well and that the Secretary, instead of saying that the letter had been sent, could have said that it will be sent. That does not exclude the possibility that the President's letter could have been sent by mail or by an intermediary of the American Embassy in Rome».

This first taste of the meticulous, bureaucratically irreproachable way which Mgr. Bonzano utilized to write his reports to the Holy See already hints at a prejudicial view towards Walsh. His recital of the facts concerning the details of the payment for the ARA food supply would seem to imply something negative about Walsh's behavior. In the next paragraph he then suggests that Walsh simply had not understood his conversation with

the President's Secretary, that – we are to assume – Walsh was incapable of distinguishing between two very different English verb tenses! The Apostolic Delegate's letter concerning the «Jesuit Walsh» then continues and reveals even more clearly his lack of sympathy for Walsh:

«Allow me to add a few words with regard to Fr. Walsh. Some people accuse this young Jesuit⁶⁸, who does not lack in intelligence or ability, of being ambitious. I don't know how correct this is, but to me he appeared quite imprudent and without experience. While at first he insisted on the necessity of immediately making payment of the one hundred thousand dollars, for which I had to telegraph Your Eminence, he then no longer insisted on this necessity; and I wouldn't be surprised if he agreed that the sum should be paid at the moment the food is delivered to the Pontifical Delegates. Father Walsh asked me for five or six thousand dollars for his and his companion's trip and other expenses; but seeing my reluctance to give him such a large sum, which seemed unjustified to me, he was satisfied with a thousand dollars and, perhaps, would have accepted even less».

At this point these insinuations against Walsh are already sufficiently grave, but the Prelate adds something more to the weight of his words:

«He told me that no one in Russia knows of his identity as a Priest, but shortly thereafter informed the American newspapers of his trip there, with information which might not please the Soviets and would impede his reentry in Russia. When he read in the paper that Mons. Cieplak⁶⁹ had been imprisoned, even Fr. Walsh became worried that his indiscretions might have caused that arrest. Perhaps these are things of little importance; nevertheless I thought it good to bring them to Your Eminence's attention because it seems to me that they might be useful in the future».

This final accusation – which, had there been any truth in it, most certainly would have had serious repercussions on both Walsh and the Mission – should be immediately clarified. First, as part of his activities in America in support of the Papal Relief Mission, Walsh was preparing a publicity campaign to raise funds for this mission. He was, therefore, in

⁶⁸ Edmund A. Walsh, born in 1885, at this time was 37 years old. Not having an ecclesiastical career behind him, he must have seemed like a rank beginner to Mgr. Bonzano, born 1867, 55 years old, and, as a Prelate of the Curia, an experienced hand at Vatican politics – as this letter so well demonstrates.

⁶⁹ Jan Cieplak (1857-1926), born of Polish nobility, became Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of Mohilev in 1908, titular archbishop of Achrida in 1919. He died in the United States during a pastoral visit in 1926.

contact with the press and, in such matters, Walsh was particularly astute⁷⁰ – though Mgr. Bonzano is implying the contrary. Secondly, at this time Mgr. Jan Cieplak's position as an important intermediary with the Roman Catholic Church was well known in Russia – particularly following the deportation of his superior, Eduard von der Ropp, Archbishop of Mohilev, by the Bolsheviks in 1919. Additionally Mgr. Cieplak had already come under police surveillance during Czarist Russia – for suspicion of Polish nationalism. Cieplak was arrested twice before the famous Soviet trial which was to occur in the following year, 1923, in which he, his Vicar, Mgr. Konstantin Budkevich, various other priests and lay persons, as well as the Exarch of the Byzantine-Russian Catholic Church, Leonid Feodorov, were prosecuted and condemned. Furthermore it is appropriate here to recall that, during the proceedings of this Russian «show trial», Walsh succeeded in securing the admittance of an American journalist, helped the journalist send his articles out of Russia (avoiding censorship) and, by alerting the world to the true nature of Soviet communism and creating an international furor, was instrumental in saving Mgr. Cieplak from execution. Cieplak's Vicar, Mgr. Konstantin Budkevich, however, was executed by the Soviets shortly after the trial ended.

Returning to Fr. Walsh's trip to America, let us read his official report (the original text, written in French, is printed in the footnotes) submitted to the Vatican on June 29, 1922⁷¹: *Résumé du rapport du P. Walsh après son voyage en Amérique (28 mai – 17 Juin 1922) – À Son Eminence le Cardinal Secrétaire d'Etat*. The report is divided into six points. The first point concerns his meeting with President Harding and is essentially identical with what we read in his diary and in the report written by Mgr. Bonzano, except for a few small observations concerning Harding:

«He led me to the door very cordially, in marked contrast with the Presbyterian reserve of President Wilson...⁷². In effect, a few days later I received a telephone call from the White House by the President's Secretary. She advised me that the President would respond through the normal channels. Three days later a note appeared in the press, announcing that the President would be

⁷⁰ This is well demonstrated by the fund raising campaign Walsh organized five years later as the first President of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association in 1927. Thanks to his innovative methods, he collected a staggering \$1,000,000 from American Catholics wishing to support CNEWA's work for the Eastern Churches.

⁷¹ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, Sc. 73, Fasc. 332, 19-23.

⁷² President Harding was a Baptist.

disposed to continue the aid, even beyond the deadline which had been fixed earlier of September 1. The newspaper clipping is attached herewith»⁷³.

The second point is dedicated to his meeting with Herbert Hoover. It too is substantially the same as we have read except for a detailed account of the present state of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union – upon which, in fact, depended the continuation of the relief aid offered by the ARA. Walsh recounts the practical matters he discussed with Hoover in this manner:

«As for the requested cooperation, it was readily accorded for as long as the ARA was active. In this way the pontifical mission can purchase its food and provisions from the A.R.A. and distribute them through its own personnel, the contact being assured through Prof. Walsh who remains a member of the American Commission (as the appointed representative of the NCWC, ndr). He asked me how much money I could put out immediately in Russia for the two places where the necessity was greatest, Rostov and Jekatérinodar – places which he himself had foreseen, independently of us, and which are the same that the Holy See designated. Following the instructions given me by Mgr. Pizzardo who, on the eve of my departure (May 14), had authorized me to commit myself for one hundred thousand dollars in America, I responded to Mr. Hoover that I could make acquisitions for one hundred thousand dollars immediately. Mr. Hoover picked up his telephone at once, “Cable Moscow and order Colonel Haskell to reserve one hundred thousand dollars of food for Fr. Walsh and the Catholic program”. In effect, the money never enters Russia, only the food; the price is paid in America. Therefore he asked me to settle the payment with the central office in New York»⁷⁴.

⁷³ «Il me reconduisit à la porte, très cordialement, en opposition marqué avec la froideur presbytérienne du Président Wilson [...] En effet, quelques jours plus tard, je reçus un message téléphonique, adressé de la Maison Blanche par le Secrétaire du Président. Il m'avisait que le Président ferait venir sa réponse par la filière ordinaire. Trois jours plus tard, une note parut dans la presse, annonçant que le Président se montrait disposé à continuer les secours, même au delà du délai précédemment fixé du 1^{er} Septembre. La coupure est ci-jointe».

⁷⁴ «Quant à la coopération demandée, elle fut accordée volontiers pour tout le temps que l'ARA restera en action. Ainsi la mission pontificale pourra acheter, sur place de l'ARA les vivres et autres denrées, et les distribuer par son propre personnel, la liaison étant assurée par le Prof. Walsh qui reste membre de la Commission américaine. Il me demanda combien de fonds je pourrais lancer aussitôt en Russie pour les deux endroits où les nécessités sont très graves, Rostov et Jekatérinodar – endroits qu'il avait prévus lui-même, indépendamment de nous, et qui sont ceux-là mêmes que le Saint Siège a désignés. Suivant les instructions données par Mgr. Pizzardo qui m'avait autorisé la veille de mon départ (14 Mai) à m'engager à la somme de cent mille dollars en Amérique, je répondis à M. Hoover que je pouvais acheter aussitôt cent mille dollars. M. Hoover prit aussitôt son téléphone, “Câblez à Moscou et ordonnez au Colonel Haskell

In this detailed report, we already note a mild discord with Mgr. Bonzano's report – a discord which, after a few more lines, becomes increasingly strident:

«After this first meeting, I met Mr. Hoover two more times in order to arrange details. He approved of my intention to bring an assistant from America, an American secretary (Louis Gallagher, SJ, ndr). Immediately after the first meeting, I prepared a dispatch to assure the Holy See of my arrival and the presentation of the letters, which found a favorable reception without, as yet, a definitive response. Mgr. Bonzano, to whom I gave this dispatch to be coded, judging that it was better to await a definitive response, did not send the cablegram. This is the reason why the Holy See remained without news during the first period»⁷⁵.

In the third point of Walsh's report, the versions enter into clear collision. The facts are established and yet, notably, the integrity of Mgr. Bonzano's actions, notwithstanding Walsh's frustration that, because of Bonzano's hesitation, he missed concluding a good bargain (*une très belle occasion*) for the Holy See, remain unremarked by Walsh⁷⁶:

de réserver cent mille dollars de vivres pour le P. Walsh et le programme catholique". L'argent n'entre en effet, jamais en Russie, mais seulement les vivres; leur prix reste consigné en Amérique. Il m'invita donc à régler les chèques avec le bureau central à New York».

⁷⁵ «Après cette première entrevue, je revis M. Hoover deux autres fois pour arranger les détails. Il approuva mon intention d'emmener un aide d'Amérique, un secrétaire américain [Louis Gallagher, SJ, ndr]. Aussitôt après les premiers entretiens j'ai préparé une dépêche pour assurer le Saint Siège sur mon arrivée et sur la présentation des lettres, qui avaient trouvé un accueil favorable sans réponse encore définitive. Mgr. Bonzano, à qui je remis cette dépêche pour être chiffrée, jugeant qu'il valait mieux attendre une réponse définitive, n'envoya pas ce câblogramme. C'est pourquoi le Saint Siège est resté sans nouvelles pendant une première période».

⁷⁶ It is evident that Walsh's concerns at this moment corresponded to a mentality which was diametrically opposed to that of the Apostolic Delegate, or of the Secretary of State. Mgr. Bonzano's judgment of Walsh as young and inexperienced made sense from his point of view. Walsh paid attention to details – like paying the bills immediately, saving money through a good deal, organizing a publicity campaign – none of which were matters of importance to the Apostolic Delegate who, instead, formulated and altered his convictions on the basis of the instructions he received from Rome. Most likely Walsh assumed that his attention to details would be appreciated, instead, in the eyes of the Apostolic Delegate, Walsh was seen as a *parvenu*, or, worse, even as a profiteer or a thoughtless publicity seeker; a *petit bourgeois* social climber (ambitious!), someone who had entered the palace by grace received, an army private who had been given a captain's uniform. These distorted suspicions of Walsh corresponded, in fact, to a deeply rooted European prejudice which was associated with all Americans and mitigated only by slight differences of perception accorded to the

«Here I must confess my embarrassment when, the following day, following the instructions of the Holy See, I met with Mgr. Bonzano to settle the deposit of one hundred thousand dollars. We wrote a dispatch in which the Apostolic Delegate explained that he only had fifty thousand dollars and asked that the remainder be sent. But the response from Rome a few days later was not affirmative. Nevertheless, although the deposit was not made, the American authorities consented to anticipate the supplies, in spite of the irregularity, since the Catholic credit justified this trust. It is necessary, therefore, that the one hundred thousand dollars are immediately paid to the American administration in New York by Mgr. Bonzano. For this reason, I had to renounce an excellent occasion to buy at Coblenz all of the American surplus reserves which were sold at a good price, saving the Holy See thousands of dollars. Mgr. Bonzano, in fact, as a result of the response that came from Rome, did not feel authorized to give me even five thousand dollars»⁷⁷.

The fourth point dealt with the National Catholic Welfare Council. Reviewing Walsh's diary annotations made while he was in the United States, it becomes clear that practically all those with whom he spoke expressed their sorrow regarding the NCWC problem. It was, understandably, on everyone's mind and the decree – and the events which had led up to that decree – had clearly impacted the American Catholics' participation in the ARA and, consequently, the Papal Relief Mission to Russia. It is surprising, then, that the Apostolic Delegate did not express an opinion on so vital a point. Certainly he was well aware of the situation (as representative of the Holy See in America and as a permanent resident in Washington DC where both the NCWC and the Catholic American University were located). Furthermore, the possible effects of such a disbandment would inevitably effect the aid mission to Russia, putting not only the

American's wealth, social class and, for clergymen particularly, place of education: Rome, Europe or only in America.

⁷⁷ «Ici je dois avouer mon grand embarrasse quand, le lendemain, suivant les instructions du Saint Siège, je me présentai chez Mgr. Bonzano pour régler ce dépôt de cent mille dollars. Nous avons composé une dépêche où le Délégué Apostolique expliquait qu'il n'avait que cinquante mille dollars et priait qu'en expédiât le reste. Mais les réponses venues de Rome quelques jours plus tard n'étaient pas affirmatives. Pourtant, quoique le dépôt ne fût pas fait, les autorités américaines consentirent à avancer les vivres, malgré l'irrégularité, parce que le crédit catholique justifiait cette confiance. Il faut donc que les cent mille dollars soient immédiatement versés à l'administration américaine à New York par Mgr. Bonzano. Pour cette raison, j'ai du renoncer à une très belle occasion d'acheter à Coblenz tout le surplus des réserves américaines qui se vendaient à très bon prix, en épargnant au Saint Siège des milliers de dollars. Mgr. Bonzano, en effet, par suite de la réponse venue de Rome, ne se crut même pas autorisé à me remettre cinq mille dollars».

nomination of Walsh (or of anyone else) as representative of the Holy See and of the American Catholics in doubt (as Walsh noted in his diary), but placing the Mission itself in doubt, since the Catholic organization on the ARA would cease to exist:

«The mission was made very difficult by the recent decree suppressing the National Catholic Welfare Council. My position in Russia, which serves as a liaison between the Catholics and the United States government, is due solely to this Catholic organization. Naturally, I was asked, also by the White House, if the NCWC continued to exist and if, consequently, I still had the right to present myself in Russia as a member of that organization. Fortunately I was able to settle this matter in a satisfactory manner, but my embarrassment was great»⁷⁸.

The fifth point does not directly relate to our discussion, but the sixth point most certainly does: it discusses the meeting between Fr. Walsh and Cardinal O'Connell of Boston (the outspoken critic of the NCWC and a strong supporter of Fr. Walsh for the position Walsh now held in the Papal Relief Mission). It then mentions the discomfort caused to the Archbishops of New York and Baltimore by the decree disbanding the NCWC and faithfully transmits their convictions to Cardinal Gasparri:

«In addition, I judged it opportune to visit the Archbishops of Boston, His Eminence the Cardinal O'Connell; of New York, Mgr. Hayes; and of Baltimore, Mgr. Curley in order to stimulate their interest in favor of the Holy See's appeal for Russia, and prepare the ground for the alms collectors. His Eminence, the Cardinal of Boston, welcomed me warmly and committed himself to do all which was possible to aid the Holy See in its effort for the Russians, he appointed me to carry these special promises to His Eminence, the Cardinal Gasparri. The Archbishops of New York and Baltimore gave me the same welcome and also promised their support. They added that they were extremely embarrassed by the decree suppressing the National Welfare Council because they counted heavily on this organization to unify efforts within a country as large as America»⁷⁹.

⁷⁸ «La mission fut rendue très difficile par le récent décret supprimant le National Welfare Council. Ma position en Russie est due uniquement à cette organisation catholique qui servait de liaison entre les catholiques et le gouvernement d'Amérique. Naturellement, on me démenait, même au Capitole, si le National Welfare Council existait encore et si, par suite, j'aurais encore le droit de me représenter en Russie comme membre de cette organisation. Heureusement j'ai pu régler ces points de façon satisfaisante, mais mon embarras était très grand».

⁷⁹ «En outre, j'ai jugé opportun de visiter les archevêques de Boston, Son Em. le Card. O'Connell; de New York, Mgr. Hayes; et de Baltimore, Mgr. Curley pour éveiller leur intérêt en faveur de l'appel du S. Siège pour les Russes et préparer le terrain aux

The report concludes with Walsh's enthusiastic summary of what, today, would be termed a publicity barrage, a promotional campaign intended to create expectation for a product's appearance on the market. Here, however, the product to be publicized was the Pope, or even Catholicism itself, which finds its highest expression in the Pope. Walsh, as the evidence shows, was neither a small pawn with great ambitions nor even less a profiteer, but rather an American organizational mind, innovative and, above all, in the *avant garde* in such matters as «marketing»:

«Fr. Walsh also prepared a complete documentation with photographs and articles to excite interest when the Holy See's appeal is published, with a large poster portraying St. Peter as the protector of the Russian people. All of this will be published when the Holy See's appeal is made public in America. The ground has been partially prepared by the articles, conferences and newspaper interviews given by Fr. Walsh. The document is awaited, and it is thought that, with a bit of organization, the response obtained could be magnificent. Rome, on the Feast Day of Saints Peter and Paul, June 29, 1922»⁸⁰.

At this point in narrating the intertwining concerns of the Vatican and of the American Catholics during the first months of Pius XI's pontificate, we have come full circle and returned to the pivotal point – and the point of friction – between the Vatican and America: the NCWC. The new Pope had a clear idea as to the doubts expressed regarding the conduct of the NCWC and knew well the objectives he wished to pursue. He had developed his own strategy both as to how to overcome the impasse created by the NCWC's internal diatribes and as to how to jump-start the Papal Re-

collecteurs d'Aumônes. Son Em. le Card. de Boston m'accueillit chaleureusement et s'engagea à faire son possible pour aider le S. Siège dans son effort pour les Russes, il me chargea de porter ces promesses spécialement à Son Em. le Cardinal Gasparri. Les archevêques de New York et Baltimore me firent le même accueil promirent aussi leur appui. Ils ajoutèrent qu'ils se trouvaient extrêmement embarrassés par le décret supprimant le National Welfare Council parce qu'ils comptaient beaucoup sur cette organisation pour unifier les efforts dans un pays aussi étendu que l'Amérique».

⁸⁰ «Le P. Walsh prépara de même toute une documentation par photographie et articles pour exciter l'intérêt quand paraîtra l'appel du S. Siège, avec de grande affiche où le Saint-Père est représenté comme protecteur du peuple russe. Tout cela paraîtra dès que l'appel du Saint Siège sera rendu public en Amérique. Le terrain est partiellement préparé maintenant par les articles, les conférences et entretiens donnés par le P. Walsh dans les journaux. On attend le document, et l'on pense qu'avec un peu d'organisation la réponse obtenue pourrait être magnifique. Rome, en la fête des Saints Apôtres Pierre et Paul, 29 Juin 1922».

lief Mission to Russia while utilizing the human and economic resources which America offered to the fullest. It would seem likely, then, that the decree of the Consistorial Congregation⁸¹ took into consideration several interrelated concerns connected with the suspected «Americanism» (or Gallicanism) of the NCWC – a glaring example of which had been provided by the NCWC's omission of immediately appointing a representative to the ARA's Russian relief program, notwithstanding the Vatican's wishes (one of Pope Benedict XV's last wishes, in fact) that the Papal Relief Mission to Russia should act under the aegis of the NCWC's participation in the ARA program⁸².

This omission revealed, at best, a surprising lack of coordination within the NCWC or, at worst, a paralyzing conflict of opinions which was only resolved in February of 1922 by direct interventions from the hierarchy above: Colonel Haskell for the ARA and Fr. Ledóchowski and the Secretary of State for the Vatican. In effect Walsh's first three month appointment as the American Catholics' representative to the ARA program was granted directly by the Vatican Secretary of State acting upon the proposal of Cardinal O'Connell⁸³ and only after the decree disbanding the NCWC had been issued! Even the subsequent three month renewal of Walsh's NCWC appointment, granted in June by NCWC Secretary, Fr. John Burke while Walsh was visiting the States, was directly «advised» in a telegram from Fr. Ledóchowski. The paralysis revealed in the NCWC non-appointment – in contrast to the laudatory reports the organization had sent to Rome regarding its utility and capacity, inevitably exposed Fr. Walsh to the discontent of the heads of the NCWC – not only because Walsh's nomination by the Secretary of State could be viewed as an offense to the authority of the NCWC and as an acknowledgement of their own failure to do so, but also because Walsh's nomination had been ardently championed by fellow Bostonian, Cardinal O'Connell – precisely the man whose complaints had played such a fundamental role in bringing the wrath of the Vatican down on the NCWC!

⁸¹ Or simply, as Fr. Sheerin ironically suggests, «Cardinal De Lai's decision», J.B. SHEERIN, *Never Look Back...*, 70-80.

⁸² The Vatican nurtured great hopes for what might result from the mission in Russia. In retrospect, one might say completely unrealistic hopes. Nevertheless the importance which the Vatican attached to this mission should not be underestimated. The almost simultaneous timing of the decree disbanding the NCWC and Walsh's summons to Rome by Ledóchowski can hardly be explained as happenstance.

⁸³ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, Sc. 73, Fasc. 335, 44-46.

Naturally, the idea of making enemies and creating malcontent among the ecclesiastic hierarchy of a vast, wealthy and emerging country was not among the objectives either of the Pope or of the Roman Curia. Already in June the scent of certain victory for the NCWC was in the air: «June 9. The battle goes on merrily with victory appearing in the future. [...] Rome does not like to be pushed, to be made to fight, and we have carried the fight to her, and put the issue up to her»⁸⁴.

The final decision was issued by the Consistorial Congregation on June 22, 1922, after being informed by Secretary of State Gasparri that «His Holiness wishes the NCWC to continue and will not support the decree of suppression»⁸⁵. It was a subtle operation of mediation. The NCWC was allowed to continue its existence, but regulations were suggested concerning the organization of the bishops' meeting and limits were established upon the extent of their decisional power. Minutes of the meetings were to be sent to the Holy See for review by Church authorities and it was affirmed that this organization «is not to be identified with the Catholic hierarchy itself in the United States». Additionally every effort was made to guarantee that the NCWC could not interfere with the Catholic hierarchy in any way.

So closed a painful chapter in the life of the NCWC⁸⁶. As far as the Vatican and Pius XI were concerned, they had achieved the goals of re-affirming the primacy of Rome and of removing the obstacle that had prevented the Papal Relief Mission from beginning its work in Russia under the ARA's organization and protection. Fr. Walsh, who was returning from the United States when the news was announced, was informed upon arrival in Rome. The survival of the NCWC, of course, had been essential to the Mission's existence.

Shortly thereafter Walsh left for Moscow to take up his post with the Papal Relief Mission to Russia. This was Walsh's first, longest and most formative papal mission. The working relationships he developed here – and the trust his services earned him within the Vatican hierarchy – would serve him throughout his following missions. The direct experience and observations which he gathered in Russia would also determine much of his subsequent thought and work. In effect, the Russian mission would become a watershed event in his life. And it would use his organizational

⁸⁴ James Ryan quoted in: J.B. SHEERIN, *Never Look Back...*, 76.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 79.

⁸⁶ Subsequently the NCWC, at the suggestion of the Consistorial Congregation, changed its name to the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

and diplomatic capacities to the fullest both as Director General for the Papal Relief Mission to Russia – charged with organizing the distribution of the food and medical supplies contributed by Catholic charities to the Russian population – and as acting Representative of the Holy See in Russia – designated to deal with the Soviet Government regarding Roman Catholic interests in Russia. It was, essentially, two missions in one. At its height, the papal relief effort would have 701 feeding points (public kitchens, orphanages, hospitals, refugee camps) with the capacity to feed from 125,000 to 158,000 people daily – the great majority of whom were children – in five geographical areas: Crimea (Eupatoria and Djankoy), Moscow, Krasnodar, Rostov and Orenbourg⁸⁷.

Walsh completed his work with the Russian Mission in November of 1923. When he returned to Georgetown University and to his work in the United States, however, he did not leave his concern for Russia – or his inventive, organizational side – behind. Well aware of the countless difficulties facing the Church in Russia, he created a new project: «Project for the Adoption of Russian Churches by American Dioceses» and proposed it to the Pope. The project was accepted enthusiastically and on January 8, 1924, the text of Walsh's proposal, printed under the letterhead of the Secretary of State to His Holiness, Cardinal Gasparri and accompanied by a letter from the Cardinal recommending support for this proposal, was sent to the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, now Mgr. Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, and to the American Church Hierarchy.

«Professor Edmund Walsh, former General Director of the Papal Relief Mission to Russia, having completed his assignment, returns now to his pious home in America. It is, therefore, the Holy See's wish that he, being present there, should be able to ascertain the clergy's opinion regarding the maintenance of the Catholic churches in Russia which are going through grave trials and tribulations and are menaced by constant persecution – also of a material nature.

The Holy See also wishes that Prof. Walsh ascertain the clergy's opinion in regard to a project to provide further aid to Russia, in particular to the Catholic Church in Russia which is presently in grave danger of persecution. To this end, he has authorized me to submit a concrete project (which has already been presented to the Holy See) to the opinion of Your Excellency and of the members of the American Catholic Hierarchy.

Please help and support this in as far as it seem wise and opportune»⁸⁸.

⁸⁷ M. PATULLI TRYTHALL, *The Little Known Side of Fr. Edmund Walsh: His Mission to Russia in the Service of the Holy See*, in «Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano», 14 (2010)/1, 169-177.

⁸⁸ ASV, SDS, 1925, R. 181, F. 1, 2-3.

Walsh's innovative idea was simple yet full of moral and political significance:

«The recent visit of an Anglican Bishop to Moscow and his interview with the Patriarch Tychon brings to the foreground again and emphasizes the needs of the various Catholic Churches in Russia.

This Anglican Bishop (Bishop Bury) is the same prelate who succeeded in persuading the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople to recognize the validity of Anglican orders and it is rumored that the purpose of his interview with Tychon was to induce the head of the Russian Church to do the same. If such recognition of the validity of Anglican orders should be granted by the Orthodox Church, it is supposed that Great Britain would assume a sort of protectorate over the Russian Church, an act which would consolidate Canterbury and Moscow against the Vatican.

Such a religious «entente» would have important political results also, as the Bolsheviks would hesitate before persecuting the orthodox faith if the Russian Church had come under a quasi protectorate of England. This possibility is a further argument for the immediate execution of a plan already known to the Holy See and warmly approved by the Holy Father.

To save the remaining Catholic churches in Russia from extermination, it is proposed to ask the American dioceses to «adopt» the Catholic churches in Russia, which are on the verge of being completely destroyed by the Bolsheviks. Having «nationalized» the property and declared the vessels of the altar confiscated, the Government is now instituting a system of taxation which will slowly crush the already impoverished priests and parishes. To meet this immediate danger it is proposed to ask the diocese of New York to «adopt» the eleven churches in the city of Petrograd; the diocese of Boston will be asked to «adopt» the three churches of Moscow; the diocese of Brooklyn will be asked to «adopt» the churches of Odessa, — etc. etc. These American dioceses will be asked to contribute each year a certain sum of money to save the faith in these Russian cities by saving the Churches from confiscation by the Bolsheviks. The sum needed will not be large and P. Walsh feels confident that it will be contributed at once as the Catholics of America have been particularly outraged by the religious persecutions in Russia. It will suffice to let it be known that the Holy Father desires it, and the sums will be assured.

But the most important result will be in the moral sphere, — in the manifestation of that solidarity of Catholicism which the Bolsheviks fear and respect. Being masters in propaganda themselves, they have openly said that the «black international», i.e. the Catholic Church, is the greatest enemy of the «Red International» and to its programme of de-Christianizing Russia and then the entire world.

Thus, when it becomes known that the diocese of New York has a particular interest in the Petrograd churches, the Bolsheviks will think twice before applying any more oppression to the Petrograd churches, as this would excite a strong protest from the people of New York. So, *mutatis mutandis*, each Catholic Church in Russia would have a quasi protector in America, and as the Soviets are particularly anxious at this time to conciliate public opinion in America in order to achieve political recognition, it is believed that this

“adoption” plan will have very practical and valuable results in protecting religion in Russia and opposing an obstacle to the atheistic programme of Bolshevism.

The plan has been heartily approved by His Holiness.

Respectfully submitted (Edmund A. Walsh)»⁸⁹.

On November 25, 1924, Cardinal Gasparri sent a Christmas letter to Fr. Walsh:

«With real pleasure I take advantage of the approaching Christmas Holidays and the new year, to send to Your Most Reverend the assurances of my constant remembrance and the expression of my most fervid wishes for all that is good and prosperous in the Lord.

I am delighted to express these wishes also in the name and at the behest of the Holy Father, to whom I had indicated my intention to write you this present letter. The Holy Father, who always remembers with a thankful spirit your zealous activities on behalf of the Papal Relief Mission to Russia, sends you from his heart – through my services and as a sign of fatherly benevolence, a special Apostolic Benediction.

Profiting from the occasion, I would like to ask you to let me know, as soon as is possible for you, at what point is the project for the adoption of the Churches in Russia and what are the hopes for the future.

The news which arrives from Russia concerning the condition of the Church and of the Catholic clergy is, unfortunately, always bad and the Apostolic Delegate to China has recently written to the Sacred *Congregation* for the *Propagation of the Faith* that the “Siberian priests, eight or ten in number, are in very grave condition; so that a worthy way to assist their distress would be to provide for them through American charity”. If you could provide these priests with the required aid, you would accomplish a real act of charity and would acquire new gratitude from the Holy See and the Holy Father.

Awaiting to receive your good news soon»⁹⁰.

From the words and tone of this letter, one can measure the personal respect which Walsh had earned from both Cardinal Gasparri and Pope Pius XI and see that Walsh had become, for them, an important point of reference in the United States – particularly for what concerned fund raising and Russian matters. This in spite of the fact that Walsh did not occupy a significant position in the American Church hierarchy! Such recognition was to have two consequences for Walsh’s future collaborations with the Vatican.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, 13.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, 5.

The first is that Walsh would, indeed, carry out a number of assignments at the direct bidding of Pius XI. In 1926, after Fr. Walsh had written Pius XI criticizing the confusion caused by the multiplicity of charitable projects vying for the American Catholics' attention, Pius XI established the Catholic Near East Welfare Association (CNEWA) and placed Fr. Walsh in charge as President. Almost immediately, in January of 1927, Walsh mounted a fund raising campaign which gathered more than one million dollars. He used a number of innovative «marketing» methods to encourage contributions and attract this considerable sum – the size of which surprised the entire hierarchy of the Church on both sides of the Atlantic and, of course, brought further luster to Walsh's reputation. During Walsh's administration – which lasted until the summer of 1931, the CNEWA carried out relief projects in a variety of areas (in accordance with the Pope's wishes that the association should function as a sort of Catholic Red Cross agency) and also supported other humanitarian and educational projects.

In the Spring of 1929, Walsh acted as the Pope's personal representative during the peace conference held between the President of Mexico, Emilio Portes Gil, and the Mexican representatives of the Catholic Church, Archbishop Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores and Bishop Pascual Díaz y Barreto, SJ. During Walsh's visit to Rome in the previous summer, Pope Pius XI had drilled Walsh thoroughly on the demands that must be fulfilled in order for the *Arreglos* to be signed by the Church. In his final report to the Vatican, Walsh lists these and explains in detail how each point was satisfied either in the written declarations or through verbal agreements. Though he did not participate directly in the conference discussions, Walsh played a significant role in several other capacities – preparing the text of the agreement, carrying out liaison work with Rome and, above all, personally contacting the radical members of the Mexican Church hierarchy and explaining the Vatican's reason for concluding a peace settlement. The conference resulted in an agreement, the *Arreglos*, which re-established peace between Church and State (in the degree to which such was possible) and brought an end to the Cristero Revolution after three years of strife⁹¹.

⁹¹ It also put a strain on the relationship with the NCWC and with the Apostolic Delegate Fumasoni Biondi. The NCWC, through Fr. Burke's efforts and with the support of Fumasoni Biondi, had been very active in the earlier stages of this process, but, having lost the confidence of the Vatican, was not asked to take part in the final conference. Walsh, on the other hand, had been sworn to secrecy by the Vatican and never spoke or wrote publicly about the details of this mission.

Two years later, in the Spring of 1931, at the request of both Pius XI in his role as the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches and the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Fr. Ledóchowski, Walsh went to Iraq to ascertain the possibility of establishing a Catholic secondary school there. The result was the founding of Baghdad College (later flanked by Al-Hikma University) which was sponsored and staffed by American Jesuits⁹². In their audience of April 30, 1931, Pius XI authorized the use of the reserve funds of CNEWA (Walsh, as the outgoing President of CNEWA was, of course, well aware of its financial reserves) in order to finance this project⁹³.

The second consequence of this special recognition from the Vatican – when granted to a person who was not a significant member of the Church hierarchy (i.e. an «upstart») – was the resentment it created within that same hierarchy – both the Roman Curia and the American Church hierarchy. We have already encountered an early example of this while discussing the Apostolic Delegate Mgr. Bonzano's critical analysis of Walsh as young, imprudent and inexperienced in 1922 and we can compare that with the analysis of Walsh made by Bonzano's successor as Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Mgr. Pietro Fumasoni Biondi in 1930⁹⁴.

«This good father is the negation of any cooperation whatsoever. Although he lives in Washington, he has never informed me of what he does or what he writes to Rome: he sent me the minutes of the Commission Assembly only once – and this only at my request. He does not have the slightest idea of what an Apostolic Delegate is and it is impossible to make him understand given his age, his habits and his education»⁹⁵.

⁹² For further information see: M. PATULLI TRYTHALL, *Edmund Aloysius Walsh: La Missio Iraquensis, Il contributo dei Gesuiti Statunitensi al sistema educativo iracheno*, in Supplement, «Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano», 14 (2010)/2, I-XI/1-445.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, 306-307.

⁹⁴ Mgr. Pietro Fumasoni Biondi (1872-1960): Apostolic Delegate and Titular Bishop of Doclea, from 1916; Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1921; Apostolic Delegate to United States from December 1922; was made Cardinal by Pius XI during the Consistory of 1933, before being appointed Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, a post he covered until his death.

⁹⁵ E. Walsh, Archivio PIO, Roma. It should be recalled that, in addition to his Presidency of the CNEWA, Walsh was the Regent of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service (SFS), that he taught courses at the SFS regularly, that he gave over 1,500 public lectures on Soviet Russia throughout the United States, that he wrote many books and articles on that and other subjects and was a well known public figure. It

In less than eight years, the «young Jesuit», Walsh, had become too old – «given his age» – a rapid decline to be sure! Unfortunately, this estimation of Walsh by the Apostolic Delegate, who was also a key member of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, was to present a serious problem for Walsh – who needed the Apostolic Delegate's approval for his CNEWA projects. In fact, the origins of the CNEWA lay with a number of associations, fund raising groups, Prelates, etc. (the variety and number of which had originally motivated Walsh's criticism to Pius XI) all of whom had formerly been grouped under the aegis of the powerful Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. When these smaller organizations were, essentially, taken over – to the chagrin and, in some cases, resentment of their directors – and fused into one organism, CNEWA, they were placed at the service of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches – a «piece» of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith which had been «cut out» and made into a separate Congregation by Pope Benedict XV. With Pius XI's creation of CNEWA, then, Walsh inadvertently, but inevitably got in the way of a few of the «big guns» of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith: the Bavarian Mgr. Clemens August Count von Galen, O.S.B., (whose organization, Catholica Unio, had been absorbed by CNEWA) and Count von Galen's long time friend, the Apostolic Delegate to Germany, future Secretary of State to Pius XI and future Pope Pius XII, Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli.

At this point, we can summarize, then, that from the beginning of Pius XI's Pontificate and for the following ten years i.e. during approximately the first half of Pius XI's pontificate, Walsh was utilized as a resource by Pope Pius XI on an annual basis. In many cases Walsh was asked to carry out a role which today we would define as *Intelligence*. This was certainly partially his function in Russia, in Mexico and in Iraq. Often his work was carried out without official acknowledgement with others taking the merit for his accomplishments. Then, however, there is an interruption of his services for Pius XI: on Feb. 7, 1930, neo-Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli became Secretary of State replacing the aging Gasparri. Shortly thereafter Walsh was informed that he would be removed as President of CNEWA (there was an interim year while matters were prepared for the change). When Walsh returned from his Papal Mission to Iraq in 1931 – the results of which satisfied the requests of the Iraqi Catholics, led to the founding

is not surprising, therefore, that Walsh had little spare time to visit with the Apostolic Delegate.

of two important Jesuit educational institutions (Baghdad College and Al-Hikma University) and had the complete approval of Pius XI, but which had irritated the members of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches – powerful members of the Roman Curia⁹⁶, Walsh was informed categorically he was to have nothing more to do with the project. Without advancing any hypothesis, we can safely say that the wind had changed.

In 1939, with the death of Pius XI, Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli became Pope Pius XII. It would take a World War, the complete defeat of Germany and the confirmation of the United States as the dominant force on the international scene before the Vatican of Pacelli would call on Walsh's services once again. In the meantime Walsh had served his country in many different capacities during the war years and, following the war, had been Consultant to Judge Robert H. Jackson, US Chief of Counsel during the Nuremberg Trials.

Walsh uses only one adjective, in the first line of his letter to Judge Jackson, dated December 29, 1947, which, however, confirms his surprise over the Vatican's reawakened interest in his services for international assignments after many years of neglect: *unexpected*. Walsh had been called, in fact, to carry out the function of Consultor for the Company of Jesus at the Jochi/Sophia University in devastated, postwar Japan.

«My Dear Justice Jackson:

By an unexpected assignment (from Church authorities, Rome) I now find myself here in the Far East over the winter and am having a first hand view of the effects of total war in Japan. [...] The devastation reminds one of the destruction we saw in 1945-6 in Germany, but with a notable difference: – the flimsy wooden structure, so common in Japan burned down to the very ground, hence there is not that heaped-up rubble which we saw in all sides in Nurnberg and elsewhere. There is much more reconstruction in progress than we saw in Germany. The Japanese people are showing an amazing activity and are putting up thousands of small (wooden) homes and shops. We can do things here we would not have dared to do in Germany»⁹⁷.

⁹⁶ Though the Congregation originally requested the Company of Jesus to establish a secondary school in Iraq, they changed opinions (for reasons of hierarchical politics) and expressly limited Walsh's mandate to establishing a dormitory for young Catholic students attending Iraqi state schools. Walsh, however, in response to the Iraqi Catholics' pleas, returned from Iraq with plans for a secondary school in Baghdad, to be staffed by American Jesuits. These plans were then approved by Pius XI who was, in effect, the Prefect of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches. M. PATULLI TRYTHALL, *Edmund Aloysius Walsh...*, 225-312.

⁹⁷ Robert H. Jackson Papers, General Correspondence, Walsh, Edmund A., Box 21, F6, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

To close this discussion regarding the relation of Pius XI with America – as exemplified by the confrontation with the National Catholic Welfare Council during the early months of his pontificate and by the confidence Pius XI placed in the American Jesuit, Fr. Edmund Walsh, from 1921 to 1931 – and in more general terms, the relation between Europeans and Americans during this period, let us return to the Vatican of 1923 and read two reports regarding Fr. Edmund Walsh in Russia:

«Opinion regarding Prof. Walsh expressed by the Bolshevik representative in Warsaw during a conversation held at the residence of the Bolshevik legation with a Russian woman who had converted to Catholicism. “The gentleman pleases everyone a great deal. The impression he makes, as far as I know, is optimum”. Warsaw, October 7, 1923 – the attached sheet is the original text written by the converted Russian woman, which contains the opinion of the Bolshevik representative; the words written in small letters are by Archbishop Mons. Ropp and refer to whom and where the aforementioned opinion of Prof. Walsh was expressed»⁹⁸.

The second testimony reveals a great deal more about the actual state of relations between Fr. Walsh and Soviet authorities after a year of his presence in Moscow. The narrator is Cavalier Giovanni Belardo⁹⁹, the scene is the Russian Delegation in Corso d'Italia, Rome. The protagonists are Dr. Marco Sceftel of the Russian Red Cross and Mr. Straoujan, Secretary Chief of the Russian Delegation – at that moment recalled to his country and preparing to leave for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. The date is September 30, 1923¹⁰⁰.

«Called several times by telephone “for urgent reasons” by Dr. Marco Sceftel, [...] I went this very day, at 5:30 P.M. to the seat of the Russian Delegation [...] It struck me immediately that, contrary to usual custom, the Doctor invited me to enter the studio of the Secretary Chief of the Delegation. I asked if Mr. Straoujan had already left. “No” – Dr. Sceftel responded – “not yet, he went out for a walk”. The conversation with regard to the question of the medicines began and Doctor Sceftel frequently repeated that the relations of Mr. Chicherin and the Moscow authorities with Prof. Walsh “are very grave, much worse than can be believed”. Then he said that he was authorized by Mr. Jordanski to say that, “if the Holy See did not act to recall Prof. Walsh, the Government will take it upon themselves to invite him to leave Moscow”. I answered immediately that this would be “another inopportune gesture on

⁹⁸ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, Sc. 73, Fasc. 332, 30.

⁹⁹ Cavalier Giovanni Belardo, Writer, *Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Secretary of State*, *Annuario Pontificio* (Pontifical Yearbook), 1923, 667.

¹⁰⁰ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, Sc. 73, Fasc. 334, 10-14.

the part of the Soviets". "It's worth it" Dr. Sceftel interrupted "because things are at that point by now". I continued: "And if the Holy See might think in the future to substitute Prof. Walsh, would such an act completely exclude the possibility of sending another person?". At this moment Mr. Straoujan entered. Dr. Sceftel immediately repeated what he had already said to me concerning Prof. Walsh. Straoujan limited himself to approving in monosyllables or with a rare phrase, for example: "Walsh has done much harm". Although admitting that Prof. Walsh had a strong, American character, I said that it was absolutely impossible that he had done harm with the intention of doing harm and that one must take into account the difficult moments he has had to endure in Moscow, particularly during the period of the Cieplak trial... At this, Straoujan jumped up furiously, shouting in fits: "That's the point, for the trial!... It's Walsh that should have been executed. Walsh instead of the poor Budkevich!... We did so much with Vorovski to save them all!¹⁰¹... It was he who condemned Budkevich!!!... Budkevich was his victim!... With all of his intrigues from America and by Americans!"».

At this point Cavalier Belardo inserts a note, note 1, which reads thusly:

«This appears to be a clear allusion to the continual relations of Fr. Walsh with various American journalists¹⁰² in Moscow and, in particular, with McCullagh, correspondent for the "New York Herald" during the Cieplak trial. Fr. Walsh gave McCullagh a permanent ticket to attend the trial. (Walsh had been given 3 permanent tickets by Chicherin); then McCullagh was expelled from Moscow. [...] During the trial, McCullagh, with his hat pulled down over his eyes and his collar raised, would go secretly to Walsh's office entering by a hidden door. They remained there together until the following morning in order to draft the precise account and impressions of the trial».

Returning to the scene in the Russian delegation:

«"I didn't want to say it to Mons. Pizzardo, but I say it to you!... Walsh should have been executed". This fit by Mr. Straoujan, even if calculated, was violent; several times staff members of the Delegation opened the door to see what was happening; several times they announced a visit, the arrival of an urgent telegram. All in vain. Straoujan continued to shout and to rudely respond to all who approached him. Outwardly, this fit and the words of Straoujan seemed exaggerated to me, Dr. Sceftel only smiled and explained to me that

¹⁰¹ Vorovski, however, was not saved. On May 10, 1923, while he was in Lausanne, Switzerland, attending a conference, he was shot by a young Swiss, born in Russia, who had served in the White Russian Army, «La Vanguardia», *Noticias de todo el Mundo*, Viernes, 11 mayo 1923.

¹⁰² At ARA's insistence, the Riga agreement permitted American journalists to enter Russia in order to report on conditions there. H.H. FISHER, *The Famine Relief in Soviet Russia...*, 143.

“poor Mr. Straoujan, he and Vorovski did so much at the time of the trial and yet they suffered greatly because of Walsh”»).

In closing, a last piece of «friendly» advice: «This is the situation: there is a person and a thing, if the thing is important to the Holy See, send away the person; if the person is important, renounce the thing».

The following day, October 1, 1923¹⁰³, Mgr. Pizzardo, Substitute Secretary of State, felt obliged to send a polite word to the official Representative in Rome of the Soviet Russian Republic, Mr. Nicolas Jordanski. If one is to believe the notation in blue pencil written on the carbon copy, this letter was not sent. Its contents and tone, however, are instructive and germane to much of what we have discussed earlier:

«Excellency,

First, with regard to Prof. Walsh, I can tell you confidentially that I have just written him to recommend that he moderate his behavior in his relationship with Soviet authorities. Permit me to say that this somewhat rude way of acting can be explained by the fact that Prof. Walsh is American, having very progressive ideas regarding religious liberty, and being accustomed to seeing the American Bishops perfectly free in the exercise of their sacred ministry and concluding agreements with the civil power with little difficulty. It could be that he is not taking into account the tradition of civil power in Russia nor the difficulties of the present regime»¹⁰⁴.

Superficially this letter would seem to concern only Fr. Walsh. Looking at it more closely, however, it offers us a remarkable insight into the Vatican's opinion of Americans and – particularly in Pizzardo's description of the complete freedom of action to which the American bishops were accustomed – it would seem to sum up the general conviction of the Vatican with regard to «Americanism» and its dislike of accommodating itself to authority (most particularly that of Rome), the same «Americanism» which had, in fact, led the Consistorial Congregation to emit its de-

¹⁰³ AES, Pont. Comm. Pro Russia, 23-24.

¹⁰⁴ «Excellence, [...] Et d'abord, en ce qui concerne le Prof. Walsh, je puis vous dire confidentiellement que je viens de lui écrire pour lui recommander d'adoucir sa manière d'agir dans ses rapports avec les autorités Soviétiques. Mais permettez-moi de Vous dire que cette manière d'agir un peu rude pourrait s'expliquer par le fait que le Prof. Walsh est américain, ayant des idées très progressistes en fait de liberté religieuse, et étant habitué à voir les évêques Américains parfaitement libres dans l'exercice de leur ministère sacré, et conclure sans trop de difficultés les conventions avec le pouvoir civil. Peut être aussi ne se rend-il pas parfaitement compte des traditions du pouvoir civil en Russie et des difficultés du régime actuel».

cree disbanding the NCWC in the preceding year. Beyond that, however, the conciliatory tone which Pizzardo adopts provides a revealing portrait of Vatican diplomacy. Here, an official spokesman for the Roman Catholic Church, while addressing an official spokesman of the Soviet government which had, only five months earlier, placed the Catholic Church hierarchy of Russia on trial, condemned all of them and put one to death – events which the Vatican's representative to Russia, Fr. Edmund Walsh, had experienced at first hand – nonetheless, in his condescending defense of Walsh, makes appeal to a community of shared values, to a common European sensibility and historical perspective, saying, essentially: «We are Europeans and he is American. What can you expect?».

Considered in this light, rather than *Pius XI and American Pragmatism*, perhaps this paper should be entitled: *America and the Vatican: Two Pragmatisms in Action*.