
ROMAN
SOURCES
for the HISTORY
of AMERICAN
CATHOLICISM,
1763–1939

MATTEO BINASCO

Edited with a foreword by

KATHLEEN SPROWS CUMMINGS

University of Notre Dame Press

Notre Dame, Indiana

University of Notre Dame Press
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556
undpress.nd.edu

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Published in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Binasco, Matteo, 1975– author.

Title: Roman sources for the history of American Catholicism, 1763–1939 /
Matteo Binasco ; edited with a foreword by Kathleen Sprows Cummings.

Description: Notre Dame : University of Notre Dame Press, 2018. |

Includes bibliographical references and index. |

Identifiers: LCCN 2018012506 (print) | LCCN 2018012583 (ebook) |
ISBN 9780268103835 (pdf) | ISBN 9780268103842 (epub) | ISBN 9780268103811
(hardcover : alk. paper) | ISBN 026810381X (hardcover : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Catholic Church—United States—History—Sources.

Classification: LCC BX1406.3 (ebook) | LCC BX1406.3 .B56 2018 (print) |

DDC 282/.7307204563—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018012506>

*∞This paper meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992
(Permanence of Paper).*

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Foreword

Toward a Transatlantic Approach to US Catholic History

KATHLEEN SPROWS CUMMINGS

The idea for this volume surfaced at a seminar sponsored by Notre Dame's Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism convened in June 2014 in collaboration with Matteo Sanfilippo (Università della Tuscia) at Notre Dame's Rome Global Gateway. The seminar focused on transatlantic approaches to writing US Catholic history, with a view to encouraging scholars of US Catholicism to make more use of the Vatican Secret Archives and other Roman repositories. To that end, seminar participants visited seven archives of the Holy See and throughout Rome for hands-on workshops exploring potentially relevant sources. Members of our group, which included graduate students and faculty from universities throughout the United States, were guided by Professor Sanfilippo and other Italian scholars, including, most notably, Professor Luca Codignola, then of the University of Genoa.

The seminar was an eye-opening experience, revealing the rich potential of Roman archives to enrich individual research projects and the field at large. The earliest generations of US Catholic historians did not need to be convinced of this. Most of them, after all, were clerics or members of religious congregations who had studied in Europe or had close connections there. They were conversant in multiple European languages and understood well the transatlantic flows of people, ideas, devotions, and beliefs that shaped the church in the United States. By the 1960s and 1970s, however, the prominence of the American exceptionalist paradigm, combined with the advent of the new social history, led many historians of the US church to adopt a tighter nationalist frame. As a result, these historians were, in the main, much less interested in identifying connections between the United States and the Holy See and less inclined to harness the potential of Roman archival repositories. There were, of course, exceptions to this rule. Foremost among them was Gerald P. Fogarty, SJ, who provided an enduring model of how to conduct research in Roman archives, both in his study of Denis O'Connell in Rome and in his magisterial *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy* (1985). There were other scholars, many of whom were also ordained or members of a religious community, who consulted Roman sources. Still, American exceptionalism carried the day, and most scholars insisted on emphasizing the autonomy of the US Church.

The late Peter D'Agostino played a significant role in changing this approach. In the late 1990s, D'Agostino emerged as a vociferous critic of US historians who ignored Roman archives, insisting that the story of Catholics in America simply cannot be told apart from their connections, real and symbolic, with the Holy See. D'Agostino's award-winning book, *Rome in America: Transnational Catholic Ideology from the Risorgimento to Fascism* (2004), relied on Roman sources to demonstrate the importance of papal politics for nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American Catholic life. His tragic death deprived Catholic historians of a gifted colleague, but his insistence that Roman archives should be accessible to, and regularly accessed by, lay Church historians is one of his lasting legacies.

The 2014 Cushwa Seminar in Rome represented an effort to respond to D'Agostino's exhortation. Three overlapping developments nurtured both the seminar and the initiatives it inspired, this resource included. The first of these was historiographical. The so-called transnational turn gripped the American historical profession during the 1990s, and many subfields of American history embraced the effort to situate the history of the United States in a global perspective. In 2003, the Cushwa Center sponsored a conference titled *Rethinking US Catholic History: International and Comparative Frameworks*, and ever since affiliated scholars have urged historians of Catholicism to adopt transnational approaches. Doing so, we argued, would not only offer a chance to better integrate Catholics as subjects in mainstream narratives but would also help render more accurately the history of the Roman Catholic Church, a body that Princeton historian David Bell recently characterized as "the world's most successful international organization."¹

The second overlapping development might be described as personal in that it materialized out of my own particular research on American saints. In conceiving my project, I intended to structure it as a social history of reception, focusing exclusively on the context in which causes for canonization were promoted in the United States. My desire to take D'Agostino's exhortation to heart, combined with a trip to Rome in 2010 to attend the canonization of Brother André Bessette, CSC, changed all that. With the encouragement and guidance of Matteo Sanfilippo, I undertook research in the Vatican Secret Archives and discovered the rich array of sources available there. On that initial foray and on subsequent trips, I became increasingly convinced that canonization, and indeed US Catholic history more generally, could be properly interpreted only in a transatlantic context, with close attention given to archival sources at the Holy See and in Rome.

The life and afterlife of Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton (1776–1821) offers a case in point. Seton was first proposed as a candidate for canonization in 1882, and she was canonized in 1975, the first American-born person so honored. Throughout her long journey to the altars of sainthood, the epicenter of Seton's story alternated between the United States and Europe, with axis points in Baltimore, Emmitsburg, Philadelphia, and New York in the former and France (by virtue of the Emmitsburg Sisters of Charity's formal alliance with the French Daughters of Charity in 1850), Italy, and the Holy See in the latter. See in the latter. In the Vatican Secret Archives alone, within the collections of the Congregation of Rites,

there are twenty-four volumes of printed and manuscript material related to Seton's cause for canonization. A vast amount of additional material related to Seton's cause for canonization is housed in the General Archives of the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians) on via dei Capasso in Rome.

The same is true in the cases of other canonized people from the United States, such as Philippine Duchesne, RSCJ, and John Neumann, CSsR. The causes for canonization of these European-born missionaries generated a tremendous amount of material both in the Vatican Secret Archives and in the archives of their respective congregations, the General Archives of the Society of the Sacred Heart, located in the Trastevere neighborhood of Rome, and the General Archives of the Redemptorists on via Merulana, as detailed in this guide. In consulting this material, I have been astounded by the ways that Roman sources help me understand my subjects better and prompt me to ask new questions about the Catholic experience in the United States.

The third overlapping development that inspired the 2014 seminar and, subsequently, this volume, might be described as institutional. Six months before our seminar convened, the University of Notre Dame opened its new Rome Global Gateway on via Ostilia, just steps away from the Colosseum. Theodore J. Cachey, professor of Italian and the Albert J. and Helen M. Ravarino Family Director of Dante and Italian Studies at Notre Dame, served as the Rome Global Gateway's first academic director, and guided by his vision the Gateway is becoming a hub of intellectual inquiry and scholarly conversations. The timing of this initiative on the part of the University of Notre Dame was fortuitous, as it provided me, in close collaboration with Italian colleagues, a base of operations for undertaking more systematic efforts to apprise other US-based scholars of the rich promise of Roman archives.

Once the 2014 seminar concluded, we searched for a means to build on its momentum. With support from Notre Dame International, the College of Arts and Letters, and Notre Dame's Office of Research, the Cushwa Center launched a more sustained effort to encourage research in Roman archives. On the recommendation of Professor Luca Codignola, we hired Matteo Binasco as a postdoctoral fellow at the Rome Global Gateway, who began his research in September 2014. From then until the summer of 2016, Binasco researched and prepared this comprehensive guide to almost sixty institutional archives in Rome—far more than we had expected—detailing their sources for American Catholic studies. He has uncovered a rich variety of archival gems, detailed throughout his engaging descriptions of relevant holdings. Binasco's preface cites several of these gems, which we deemed particularly illustrative. They also appear in the profiles of their respective archives. This repetition represents an editorial decision based on assessment of how scholars were likely to engage the volume.

Our plans for building bridges between Italian and US scholars of American Catholicism and for fostering research in Roman archives continue. Luca Codignola now serves as an honorary senior fellow at the Cushwa Center, and I am very grateful to him and to Matteo Sanfilippo for their advice and generous support in producing this volume and for other

Cushwa initiatives. Above all, thank you to Matteo Binasco for his superb and meticulous research, which we hope will serve scholars venturing to Rome for years to come.

Grazie mille to all the Cushwa Center staff members who worked on this volume, especially Shane Ulbrich, Peter Hlabse, and Deandra Lieberman. The Cushwa Center would not have been able to launch this project without the assistance and advice provided by Robert J. Bernhard and Hildegund Müller at Notre Dame's Office of Research, Nicholas Entrikin and Tom Guinan at Notre Dame International, and John McGreevy, I. A. O'Shaughnessy Dean of the College of Arts and Letters. Thanks, too, to Ted Cachey, whose tenure as academic director at the Rome Global Gateway coincided with the development of this volume. His ready support has immeasurably enriched this project and other initiatives of the Cushwa Center in Rome.

One final note: This volume will be most useful to US scholars who have a competency in ecclesiastical Latin and Italian. Although some documents are in English, French, or Spanish, many reports are in Latin or Italian. US Catholic historians in recent generations have not placed a high premium on developing linguistic abilities, and until they do so it will be difficult to adopt truly transnational approaches.

Finally, as proud as we are of the number and breadth of the profiles contained in this volume, we make no effort to claim that it is exhaustive. In some cases, repositories were unable or unwilling to cooperate with Matteo Binasco. Despite his admirable effort, to quote an anonymous reviewer, "to pound the pavements (cobblestones)" of Rome, it cannot be said to be entirely comprehensive. That said, we agree with the same reviewer's assessment that nothing of this scale has previously been attempted and that the copious information contained in this volume will make *la dolce vita romana* even sweeter.

NOTE

1. David A. Bell, "This Is What Happens When Historians Overuse the Idea of the Network," *New Republic*, October 25, 2013.

Acknowledgments

This guide has been completed thanks to the outstanding support of a series of institutions and people. First of all, I would like to thank Professor Kathleen Sprows Cummings, director of the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism at the University of Notre Dame, for her incredible support. She has been the key driving force behind this project, and not a single word of this guide would have been written without her supervision and help. I am grateful to Notre Dame Research for its essential financial support. I thank Professor John T. McGreevy, as through his books I learned much more about the “transnational” nature of American Catholicism. To Professor Luca Codignola and Professor Matteo Sanfilippo, my two mentors in Rome, I owe an immense debt of gratitude. During the course of this project—but also before it—I enjoyed their guidance, their thorough knowledge of the Roman archives, their expertise in North American history, and their sharp but constructive criticisms. At the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, I was fortunate to have the support of Professor Giovanni Pizzorusso, who has been my guide through this fascinating repository. I thank the two anonymous referees who read all of the manuscript and who gave illuminating advice on how to improve it. I am very grateful to Professor Joseph M. White, who read and revised the bibliography. Without his knowledge and his useful comments, it would have been a chaotic and meaningless list of names and books.

The staff of the Cushwa Center in South Bend has always been ready to answer my queries. My thanks go to Shane Ulbrich, Pete Hlabse, Heather Grennan Gary, and Dr. Catherine R. Osborne. I owe a great debt to Deandra Lieberman and Mary Reardon, who revised my English and copyedited the volume as a whole. At the Rome Global Gateway, I had the good fortune to enjoy the support of its first academic director, Professor Theodore J. Cachey Jr. His continuous encouragement, combined with his irony, make the Rome Global Gateway a unique place for research and for meeting new scholars. A big *grazie* to Anthony Wingfield, Alice Bartolomei, Pamela Canavacci, Silvia Dall’Olio, PhD, Simone De Cristofaris, Krista Di Eleuterio, Danilo Domenici, Costanza Montanari, and Mallory Nardin for their constant and kind willingness to help me.

To complete this guide, I had to access many archives, where I benefited from the assistance of a series of wonderfully competent and extremely kind prefects and archivists. I would like to express my sincere thanks to the following: the Reverend Monsignor Alejandro Cifres and Daniele Ponziani, Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith; Fr. Alessandro Saraco, Archives of the Apostolic Penitentiary; Mauro Onorati, Archives of the Pontifical Lateran University; Maria Rita Giubilo and Eleonora Mosconi, Archives of the Pontifical Oriental Institute; the Reverend Monsignor Luis Manuel Cuña Ramos and Giovanni Fosci, Archives of the Sacred Congregation “de Propaganda Fide”; Domenico Rocciolo, Archives of the Vicariate of Rome; Cardinal Leonardo Sandri and Giampaolo Rigotti, Historical Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches; Archbishop Paul Richard Gallagher and Professor Johan Ickx, Archives of the Secretariat of State, Section for Relations with States; Monsignor Guido Marini, Chiara Marangoni, and Chiara Rocciolo, Archives of the Liturgical Celebrations of the Supreme Pontiff; Cardinal Angelo Comastri, Assunta di Sante, and Simona Turriziani, Archives of the Fabbrica di San Pietro; Archbishop Jean-Louis Bruguès, OP, and Paolo Vian, Vatican Library; Bishop Sergio Pagano, B, Gianfranco Armando, and Luca Carboni, Vatican Secret Archives; Fabiana Spinelli, Archives of the Dominican Province of Saint Catherine of Siena (Santa Maria sopra Minerva); Fr. Brian Mac Cuarta, SJ, Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus; Fr. Luis Marín de San Martín, OSA, and Nico Ciampelli, General Archives of the Augustinians; Fr. Francis Ricousse, FSC, General Archives of the Brothers of the Christian Schools; Fr. Luigi Martignani, OFM Cap, and Fr. Lorenzo Declich, OFM Cap, General Archives of the Capuchins; Fr. Augustinu Heru, CM, General Archives of the Congregation of the Mission; Sr. Michela Carrozzino, DSMP, General Archives of the Daughters of Saint Mary of Providence; Fr. Angelo Lanfranchi, OCD, and Marcos Argüelles García, General Archives of the Discalced Carmelites; Fr. Gaspar de Roja Sigaya, OP, General Archives of the Order of Friars Preachers (Dominicans); Fr. Priamo Etzi, OFM, and Anna Grazia Petaccia, General Archives of the Franciscan Order (Curia Generalizia); Fr. Maciej Michalski, OMI, General Archives of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate; Alberto Bianco, Archives of the Congregation of the Oratory in Rome; Sr. Margaret Phelan, RSCJ, and Federica Palumbo, General Archives of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus; Fr. Adam Owczarski, CSsR, General Archives of the Redemptorists; Odir Jacques Dias, General Archives of the Servants of Mary; Sr. Giuditta Pala, MSC (Cabrini), Sr. Michela Carrozzino, DSMP, and Fr. John Cunningham, OP, Archives of the Irish Dominican College, San Clemente; Fr. Mícheál Mac Craith, OFM, Donatella Bellardini, and Claudia Costacurta, Archives of the Irish Franciscan College of Saint Isidore; Professor Johan Ickx, Archives of the Pontifical Institute of Santa Maria dell’Anima; Monsignor Ciarán O’Carroll, rector, Archives of the Pontifical Irish College; Fr. Daniel Fitzpatrick, rector, and Fr. Gerald Sharkey, vice rector, Archives of the Pontifical Scots College; Monsignor Philip Whitmore, rector, Professor Maurice Whitehead, and Orietta Filippini, Archives of the Venerable English College; Alessandra Mercantini, Doria Pamphilj Archive; Fr. Francesco De Feo, OSB, Archives of the Abbey of San Paolo fuori le Mura; Rev. Augustin

K. Rios, Archives of Saint Paul's Within the Walls Episcopal Church; Luca Caddia, Archives of the Keats-Shelley House; Fabrizio Alberti, Archives of the Museo Centrale del Risorgimento; Dr. Amanda Thursfield, Archives of the Non-Catholic Cemetery of Rome; Eugenio Lo Sardo, Central Archives of the State; Paolo Bonora, Archives of the State of Rome; MariaRosaria Senofonte, Archives of the City of Rome; Rita Fioravanti, Casanatense Library; Cinzia Claudia Lafrate and Angelina Oliverio, Library of the Waldensian Faculty of Theology; Fr. Giovanni Terragni, CS, General Archives of the Scalabrinians; Fr. Luigi Cei, SDB, General Archives of the Salesians.

Last but not the least I thank my family (including my cats at home). My father, my mother (especially her, and she knows why), my sister, my two little rogue nephews, and my brother-in-law have always provided unique encouragement for all these years. I owe a big *grazie* to Marina, my girlfriend, and to her mother for their support.

This guide is dedicated to the memory of the late Peter D'Agostino, who had always been a keen promoter of the need to use the Roman sources to understand the transnational dimension of American Catholicism.

Abbreviations

AAES	Archivio degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari (Archives of the Secretariat of State, Relations with States Section)
AAQ	Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec (Archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec)
ACDF	Archives for the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede)
ADASU	Archivio della Delegazione Apostolica degli Stati Uniti
AGC	Archivio Generale dei Cappuccini (General Archives of the Capuchins)
AGOFM-Storico	Archivio Storico Generale dell'Ordine dei Frati Minori (General Archives of the Franciscan Order)
AGOP	Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum (General Archives of the Order of Friars Preachers, another name for the Dominican Order)
A OCD	Archivio Generale Ordine dei Carmelitani Scalzi (General Archives of the Discalced Carmelites)
APF	Archives of the Sacred Congregation “de Propaganda Fide”
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
ASC	Archivio Storico Capitolino (Archives of the City of Rome)
ASSP	Archivio Storico di San Paolo fuori le Mura (Archives of Saint Paul Outside the Walls)
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican Secret Archives)
B	Barnabites; today mostly referred to as Clerics Regular of Saint Paul (CRSP)
b.	busta, or folder

bb.	buste, or folders
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Library)
CFX	Congregation of Saint Francis Xavier (Xaverian Brothers)
CGFSMP	Congregazione delle Figlie di S. Maria della Provvidenza (Daughters of Saint Mary of Providence, also known as Guanellians)
CM	Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists/Vincentians)
CPPS	Congregatio Pretiosissimi Sanguinis (Fathers of the Most Precious Blood)
CRSP	Clerici Regulares Sancti Paul (Clerics Regular of Saint Paul); formerly Barnabites (B)
CS	Congregatio Missionarium a S. Carolo (Scalabrinians)
CSC	Congregatio a Sancta Cruce (Congregation of Holy Cross)
CSJ	Congregation of the Sisters of Saint Joseph
CSsR	Congregazione del Santissimo Redentore (Redemptorists)
d.	died
DSMP	Daughters of Saint Mary of Providence
fasc.	fascicolo (pl., fascicoli), a division of a book, journal, or archival volume published or subdivided in parts
fol.	folio
FSC	Fratres Scholarum Christianarum (Brothers of the Christian Schools)
<i>LDB</i>	<i>Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione e Biglietti di Monsignor Segretario</i>
MCRR	Museo Centrale del Risorgimento
MS	manuscript
MSC	Missionarie del Sacro Cuore di Gesù (Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus)
OCD	Ordo Carmelitarum Discalceatorum (Order of Discalced Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel or Discalced Carmelites)
OFM	Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFM Cap	Order of Friars Minor (Capuchins)
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
OP	Order of Friars Preachers (Dominicans)
OSA	Order of Saint Augustine (Augustinians)

OSB	Ordo Sancti Benedicti (Benedictines)
r	recto
RSCJ	Religieuses du Sacré-Cœur de Jésus, or Religiosae Sanctissimi Cordis Jesu (Religious of the Sacred Heart of Jesus)
rubr.	rubrica (pl., rubriche), a text heading or section
SAC	Società dell’Apostolato Cattolico (Society of the Catholic Apostolate or Pallottines)
SDB	Salesians of Don Bosco
SJ	Societas Iesu (Jesuits)
SOCG	<i>Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali</i> , APF
sottorubr.	sottorubrica (pl., sottorubriche), a subfolder
v	verso
WDA	Westminster Diocesan Archives
†	died

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Introduction

A Key Tool for the Study of American Catholicism

LUCA CODIGNOLA AND MATTEO SANFILIPPO

PART 1

Matteo Binasco's *Roman Sources for the History of American Catholicism, 1763–1939* accompanies the curious reader on a tour through the mysteries of Roman archives.¹ Whether zooming in for a close-up of a known repository or perusing several entries in search of that particular document, the overall feeling of the reader is one of awe before the magnitude and the complexity of the task. While the sense of mystery will remain—a lifetime would not be enough to lift all veils from these rich archives—this guide allows any researcher to do many things. First, while at home, to establish objectives for a research project; then to select at what doors to knock once in Rome; next, to learn which series, volumes, or individual item to enter in the repository's application form; and finally, to get down to business—to see, touch, and read the actual document one needs, be it a private letter, a public memorandum, the proceedings of a meeting, or a bull appointing a bishop.

This guide is meant for students of the history of the United States from 1763 to 1939. It is not the first attempt to untangle the difficulties awaiting scholars unfamiliar with Roman archives and practices. In the early twentieth century, the Carnegie Institution of Washington attempted to help scholars in this predicament, publishing a number of guides to archival material for the history of the United States scattered around the Western world. In 1911, US diplomatic historian Carl Russell Fish (1876–1932) wrote a volume on “Roman and Other Italian Archives” meant as “a preliminary chart of a region still largely unexplored.” Fish lived in Rome for less than a year (1908–9). Yet his century-old guide is still valuable for scholars embarking on a research trip to Rome. More recently (1996–2006), the Academy of American Franciscan History, mainly through the painstaking work of Slovenian archivist Anton Debevec (1897–1987) and his Italian assistant and successor, Giovanna Piscini, produced an eleven-volume “calendar” of the Archives of the Sacred Congregation “de Propaganda Fide.” This was the Holy See's department in charge of all missions

around the world, including, until 1908, the United States and Canada. Debeveč's *Calendar*, while a most useful finding aid, is therefore limited to one repository, albeit of vast importance for the history of the United States. It is this situation that Matteo Binasco's *Roman Sources* addresses. Having personally reconnoitered fifty-nine Roman repositories, Binasco moves well beyond where Fish's *Guide* left off over a century ago.²

Before taking the reader through a quick and selective survey of the relationship between the Holy See and the United States between 1763 and 1939, let us explain why these two dates were selected. The opening year, 1763, is the year that the Treaty of Paris ended the French and Indian War with Britain and France ceding its Canadian holdings to Britain. As a result, several provinces and colonies north of the Spanish Main came to constitute a vast British North America. As of 1776, most of them became part of the United States. It took another few decades before British North America (later Canada) and the United States agreed on their respective borders. In fact, many French-speaking Catholics later became citizens of the United States. During this early period, then, the borders between the two countries were blurred, and it would be a mistake to try to clearly distinguish between them; therefore, from the point of view of Catholic history, 1763 is a more useful opening date than 1776. As for 1939, at this time that year represents the official closing date for consultation of the Vatican archives. (Presently researchers are permitted access to documents extending through the pontificate of Pius XI, which ended with his death in 1939. Other material will become available in the future. The reason for this restriction of access is that the chronological limits for consultation are set by the popes. Each pope decides whether or not to extend the chronological limits.) For some time, Vatican archivists and international scholars have been whispering about the new accessibility of World War II and Cold War material. At this time, however, there are no set dates for the release of documents dated during the pontificate of Pius XII (1939–1958). As indicated by Binasco's *Roman Sources*, some post-1939 material, is, however, already available. For example, documents of the Second Vatican Council (1962–65), as well as those of the Ufficio Informazioni Vaticano and Prigionieri di Guerra (Vatican Information Office and Prisoners of War) dealing with the years 1939–47, are open to researchers. They are housed within the Vatican Secret Archives collections.

PART 2

Prior to the American War of Independence, the Catholic inhabitants of the British continental colonies, about 1 percent of the population, mostly lived in Maryland and Pennsylvania, with a few families in New Jersey and Virginia. Their only ministers were a handful of priests sent by the English Province of the Society of Jesus. Because the open practice of the Catholic religion was officially forbidden both at home and in the colonies, the activity of these priests was shrouded in secrecy. Very little of what took place in the British colonies made its way to Rome, either to the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" or to the

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, the latter being the central office of the society and home to the superior general. During the French and Indian War, the Holy See inquired as to who was in charge of the Catholics of English-speaking America. The vicars apostolic of London, Benjamin Petre (1672–1758) and Richard Challoner (1691–1781), who took Petre's place in 1758, confessed that in principle they should have been in charge, but that in practice they had never done anything in that regard.³ After the Treaty of Paris, Challoner suggested that the Holy See appoint three vicars apostolic, one in Quebec City, one in Florida, and a third in Philadelphia. Nowhere else in the British Empire, he indicated, did Catholics enjoy more freedom for their religion than in Philadelphia.⁴ Challoner also pointed out that the English Province of the Society of Jesus was doing its utmost to stop the appointment of a vicar apostolic for the British colonies. The Maryland Jesuits, he explained, had for so long enjoyed an exclusive mastery of those provinces that they would not suffer the arrival of a priest who did not belong to their society—and even less that of a bishop.⁵

In the event, no new arrangement was made until the American War of Independence. Well before the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris–Versailles (1783) and the arrival of the earliest petition from the United States in 1784, the Holy See had asked the nuncio in France, Archbishop Giuseppe Maria Doria Pamphili (1751–1816), to engage the French crown in ensuring that the treaty would contain a clause that would protect the Catholic Church in the United States.⁶ In compliance with the long-established approach of Propaganda Fide, a body that traditionally favored the local (“national”) clergy over “foreign” missionaries, the nuncio was instructed to seek the appointment of a superior chosen from among the American priests. In the end, Propaganda Fide succeeded in securing an American, John Carroll (1736–1815), as it had wished since the beginning.⁷ Both the Holy See and the American clergy were well pleased with what they had achieved—and so was Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), the American negotiator, who privately boasted that Carroll's appointment had been achieved “on [his] Recommendation.” Whatever Franklin's real influence, in the opinion of the Holy See officials, the Carroll choice was made in full agreement with the American representative.⁸

Carroll's 1789 appointment as bishop of Baltimore took place only a few months after the storming of the Bastille. The tragic events of the French Revolution turned some of the certainties of the Catholic world upside down. Protestant England became a haven for thousands of French émigrés, lay and religious, and the United States came to be regarded by some, even within the Holy See, as the promised land of a reborn Catholicism. In 1789 Antonio Dugnani (1748–1818), then nuncio in France, wrote that “the best solution is to go to America.”⁹ Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) raised some enthusiasm at first, but his attitude toward the French church, let alone his imprisonment of the pope and the military *régime* that he imposed on Rome and the Papal States, transformed him into a “consummate brigand.”¹⁰ Seen from Carroll's view across the Atlantic, the French Revolution had tried to annihilate religion “through fire and sword,” while Napoleon was trying to do the same through “the humiliation and the degradation” of a church “completely subjugated to the power of the state.”¹¹

The disruption caused by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars made Atlantic communications often difficult and always unpredictable. Rome followed American events from afar and had few opportunities to influence its developments. Curiously enough, this was also the time of the appointment of the first United States consul to the Holy See. (Three earlier appointments had been made in Leghorn, Naples, and Genoa, in 1794, 1796, and 1797, respectively.) In 1797 Rome-born Giovanni Battista Sartori (1768–1854), who had lived in Philadelphia around 1793–95, won the coveted title, which he kept, fulfilling it by proxy, even after 1800, when he moved to Pennsylvania, where he was to live until 1832. (Sartori’s correspondence is to be found in several Roman archives, and so is that of Felice Cicognani [fl.1814–48], a Roman lawyer who replaced him as US consul in 1823 and retained his title until 1836.)¹²

Meanwhile, the development of the Catholic Church in the United States proceeded along lines that were as difficult to plan as they had been impossible to foresee. One of the unexpected and yet somehow “providential” effects of the French Revolution was the arrival of about a hundred émigré priests in the United States. In 1793 Carroll remarked that the Illinois and Vincennes regions “in the past few months ha[d] been taking advantage of some excellent priests, provided by France.”¹³ Eventually the émigré priests replaced the generation, mainly consisting of former Jesuits, that had lived through the American War of Independence. Between 1789 and 1842 as many as fifteen out of thirty-seven appointments to US bishoprics went to French-speaking priests; twelve of them had been born in France.¹⁴

Given the dispersion of the French-speaking communities in the United States, their relatively small numbers, and the trickle of new arrivals from Europe, the power and influence of this French-speaking élite was astounding.¹⁵ In conjunction with the clergy of Lower Canada (formerly the Province of Quebec), the émigré priests and their immediate successors managed to create a powerful international network, nourished by a common language, a shared culture, and a millenarian faith in the spiritual conquest of the American West, that lasted for at least two generations. Furthermore, these French-speaking priests shared another common feature, that is, a deep mistrust, if not a sheer loathing, of another group of Catholic immigrants: those of Irish origin. In the early nineteenth century, the Irish were certainly underrepresented in the United States hierarchy. Yet the French-speaking élite resented their alleged influence over the Holy See’s top bureaucrats and despised them as representing the lowest orders of society. The Sulpician Ambroise Maréchal (1764–1828), archbishop of Baltimore from 1817 to 1828, was especially representative of this attitude. Meanwhile, the American church continued to grow and expand, even in the midst of internal conflicts and of the alleged threat represented by Evangelical revivalism.¹⁶

Although the United States was not among the Holy See’s main preoccupations, after 1815 its existence slowly but surely made its way into the minds of Roman officials. Francesco Saverio Castiglioni (1761–1830) was created a cardinal in 1816 and died as Pius VIII in 1830, after a very short pontificate. In those fourteen years, the ecclesiastical map of North American Catholicism underwent profound changes. Four new bishoprics were

added: Charleston and Richmond in the East (1820), Cincinnati in the West (1821), and Mobile in the South (1829).¹⁷ Castiglioni's earliest acquaintance with the United States took place in 1822, when he was appointed to a special committee whose task was to broker an agreement between the Society of Jesus and the Archdiocese of Baltimore over the thorny question of the two-acre White Marsh estate in Maryland. Whether the propriety and the revenues of the estate should be reserved to the American province of the Society of Jesus was the contentious issue. Two years later, a memorandum containing Castiglioni's own reflections, among the most telling documents preserved in the Holy See's archives, shows that Propaganda Fide had a hidden agenda for the orderly development of the whole of North America. By placing all North American dioceses under two archbishoprics, Baltimore and Quebec City, "that noble idea of completing the Christian world on that side [of the world] would finally be implemented."¹⁸ In 1829, during his short mandate as pope, Castiglioni had the opportunity to meet in Rome with a party of Osages from Saint Louis, Missouri. After two years spent touring the European capitals, the poor Osages found themselves so destitute that Pius VIII gave them permission to raise money by showing themselves in public, but then referred the issue to Propaganda Fide and avoided any further contact with them.¹⁹

Pius VIII's successor, Gregory XVI (1765–1846), who reigned from 1830 to 1846, also showed an unexpected interest in matters American. Before his election to the papacy, in his capacity as prefect of Propaganda Fide, Bartolomeo Alberto Cappellari (then known as Fra Mauro) had presided over delicate issues profoundly dividing the Catholic community in the United States. For US matters, Gregory XVI relied on Cicognani, who prior to his appointment as US consul in 1823 had been an English translator for Propaganda Fide and other Holy See departments. A self-taught admirer of the English-speaking world, Cicognani made sure that Gregory XVI honored American visitors with special audiences, showing them more attention than that granted to other nations.²⁰ Cicognani described the United States as home to an "essentially free and tollerating [*sic*]" government and suggested that the US federal mode of government could provide a solution to the convulsions of the Italian peninsula. Even Gregory XVI, Cicognani reported, appreciated American liberal institutions.²¹ Dozens, if not hundreds, of American visitors flocked to Rome every year. The years from 1848 to 1850 alone witnessed over 850 American visitors, excluding permanent residents and the visitors' families.²²

Aside from the popes' own interest—when this existed—more general reasons explain the sudden growth of documents of American interest in the Roman archives for the period after 1815, a true explosion that exponentially increased the number of letters, memoranda, proceedings, etc., relating to all sort of American issues. First of all, the 1808 erection of four new dioceses in the United States (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown), besides the elevation of Baltimore to the rank of archdiocese, increased the volume of institutional correspondence with the Holy See. (The first non-Spanish bishop of New Orleans was appointed in 1815.) Second, the earliest émigré priests and their successors proved to be keen

and determined letter writers. They felt that their special role as political refugees, combined with a superior upbringing and learning, entitled them to special treatment on the part of the Holy See's bureaucrats. A third reason for this documentary explosion, and probably the most significant, was the growing conflict within the American church. Ethnic tensions, mainly between the French-speaking hierarchy and the growing immigrant community of Irish origin, together with the uneven restructuring of the Catholic Church along the lines of American democratic institutions, wrought havoc in many dioceses, parishes, churches, and communities. Those on opposite sides of these conflicts tended not to trust their hierarchical superiors; therefore, they directly petitioned Propaganda Fide and the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, the Holy See's department in charge of doctrinal issues. They also employed agents in Rome who actively lobbied for their cause. Often they also traveled to Rome in person to try to convince the pope and high-placed members of his entourage of the rectitude of their views.²³

Finally, especially from the late 1820s onward, waves of a renewed European interest in the plight of the indigenous peoples of the American West reached Rome, both through visits by Native Americans and through European voices. The Perugia-born scoundrel priest Angelo Inglesi (ca. 1795–1825) embarked on a fundraising tour (1820–23) that elicited enthusiasm everywhere he went. In Rome he lectured the students of the Urban College, Propaganda Fide's elite school for prospective missionaries. He described "the needs of those savage peoples, ready to embrace our Holy Religion" and vividly pictured for these visionary youngsters a "vast field open to their zeal."²⁴ In 1832–34 the Urban College was home to two native students from L'Arbre Croche, Michigan, William Maccatebinessi or Maccodabinasse (d. 1833), also known as Blackbird, and Augustin Kiminitchagan (fl. 1834–40), also known as Augustin Hamelin. Unfortunately, the former died in Rome, and the latter soon returned home owing to health problems.²⁵ When Kiminitchagan became a chief in his own Ottawa Nation, the Holy See congratulated him and advised him to seek "the civilization, peace, and happiness" of his people by using "great moderation."²⁶ Almost at the same time, in 1834, another native student, the Californian Luiseño Pablo Tac (1822–41), joined the Urban College. Unfortunately, he too died in Rome before being able to return to his native land.²⁷

PART 3

The early years of the pontificate of Pius IX (1792–1878), elected in 1846, did not result in further growing interest in the United States. Yet the European revolutions of 1848 and the experience of the Roman Republic (1849), short as it was, elicited a new awareness of Rome's position among Americans, Catholic as well as non-Catholic. Solicited by American Catholics, Pius IX even considered the option of transferring the Holy See to the other side of the Atlantic.²⁸ In consequence of the events of 1848–49, in 1852 Pius IX appointed Arch-

bishop Gaetano Bedini (1806–64) nuncio in Brazil and apostolic delegate for Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile. Bedini was instructed to visit New York City and Washington, DC, on his way to South America. Bedini landed in New York City in 1853, but the strong opposition of Italian and German political exiles transformed his exploratory mission into a nightmare. In early 1854 he left the United States incognito and returned directly to Rome, not daring to show up in Brazil.²⁹

Bedini's troubled journey shocked both Rome and American Catholics. The US hierarchy suggested that it was unwise to send Roman diplomats to a country, such as the United States, where such a fierce anti-Catholic movement existed.³⁰ Bedini himself rated his mission as important and successful. He had discovered to what extent the United States had improved economically, technologically, and politically. This was a country, he figured, that would soon lead the Americas. In his view, only huge Catholic immigration could prevent the United States from becoming a powerful anti-Catholic stronghold. On the other hand, if America were to become Catholic, the Catholic Church should protect the faith of the Catholic migrants to the New World.

In the instructions he received, Bedini had been asked to report on the situation of the existing Catholic immigrants.³¹ In the report that he filed upon his return to Rome, addressed to cardinals Alessandro Barnabò (1801–74) and Giacomo Antonelli (1808–76), respectively prefect of Propaganda Fide and secretary of state, Bedini commented on the issue of the relationship between migration and the evident growth of Catholicism in North America. In his view, this growth had been an Irish victory. However, he warned against disregarding the other components of the new American Catholicism. If they felt abandoned, these groups could fall prey to any Protestant missionary, or even opt for an atheistic stand, as many participants in the revolutions of 1848 had done. Furthermore, Bedini disfavored the idea of replenishing a needy American Church through a call directed at Europe's clergy. The overabundance of European priests in the United States perpetuated old linguistic barriers; in doing so it pitted immigrant communities one against the other, thus dividing and weakening the American church. Instead, a shared language, English, ought to act as an element of cohesion. A new Pontifical North American College, Bedini finally suggested, ought to be erected in Rome to prepare American priests to deal with immigrant communities.³²

At first, the 1854 Bedini report was not well received by the Roman bureaucracy. Several officials of the Holy See sided with the US bishops and blamed the nuncio for his disastrous journey to North America. They were also unconvinced that the future of Catholicism lay in the United States. Pius IX, however, who like Bedini was originally from Senigallia, stood firm in his support. When, in 1856, the former nuncio was appointed secretary of Propaganda Fide, he made a point of forcing everyone to read his report on the United States. Two years later, the Pontifical North American College was established in Rome.³³

In the following decades, the Holy See showed a continuing interest in the flow of European immigrants to America.³⁴ In 1861 Cardinal Costantino Patrizi (1798–1876) reminded

Propaganda Fide of Bedini's opinions and blamed the US church for its poor assistance to Catholic immigrants.³⁵ In 1886 Germano Straniero (1839–1910), protonotary apostolic and domestic prelate of His Holiness, brought the cardinal's hat to James Gibbons (1834–1921), the archbishop of Baltimore. Straniero's lengthy report on his American journey echoes Patrizi's viewpoint on Bedini and the US church.³⁶ Meanwhile, the American prelates also worried about the immigrants' spiritual salvation. The issue was debated at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (November 9–December 7, 1884). Three years later, Propaganda Fide made a fateful decision in favor of "national" parishes, decreeing that American Catholics of German, Irish, French-Canadian, Italian, and Polish origin should be assisted by priests sharing the national origin of their parishioners.³⁷

In 1885 Richard Gilmour (1824–91), bishop of Cleveland, Joseph Dwenger, bishop of Fort Wayne, and John Moore (1834–1901), bishop of Saint Augustine, the latter a former student of the Urban College, went to Rome to challenge the conclusions of the recent Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.³⁸ Upon arrival, they submitted to Propaganda Fide a fifteen-page printed memorandum on the "German question." In it they blamed American Catholics of German origin for asking for German priests even in places where Irish, French, or French-Canadians constituted the majority of parishioners. Gilmour and Moore explained that the "national" composition of American Catholicism had become more complex than ever. Newly arrived Bohemians and Poles, who had landed in the United States after the Civil War, had been joined in the 1880s by "Slavs," Hungarians, Italians, Swedes, and Russians. There was no need for German parishes, the bishops' memorandum concluded, because the second generations of all immigrant groups were melting into American society. In doing so, they abandoned their mother tongues and switched to English as their main language.³⁹

Yet Moore's agenda included matters that went beyond the immigration issue. Together with other Urban College alumni, he exploited his Roman ties to lobby on a wide array of items. In fact, the German-Irish conflict had many facets whose outcomes often depended on the Vatican. For example, in the diocese of Newark, New Jersey, Patrick Corrigan (1835–94), an Irish-born priest who had arrived in the United States as a teenager, was involved in a lengthy conflict with his bishop, Winand M. Wigger (1841–1901), born in New York City of Westphalian parents. However, the issue at the heart of their struggle arose not from their different ethnic backgrounds but rather from their disagreement over whether bishops could be selected and presented by senior priests; as the issue at stake was the organization of an *American Catholic Church*, neither Corrigan nor Wigger emphasized his ethnic origin.⁴⁰

The ethnic dimension was then only one aspect of a more complex dispute about the future of American Catholicism.⁴¹ What concerns us here, however, is the fact that this dispute was argued before Roman officials, and these bureaucrats perceived only the ethnic aspect of this debate, or at best viewed it as the most significant issue at play. The historian must avoid blaming them altogether. After all, in the same fashion as these faraway bureaucrats learned the geography of North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

so they spent the nineteenth and twentieth centuries trying to comprehend the inner workings of American society. In this effort they were assisted by a number of mediators. These people—for example, Urban College alumni such as Moore, Corrigan, and Wigger—provided basic information on the United States but also interpreted it for the Vatican's use through the lenses of their own backgrounds and commitments.

In preparation for the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, Propaganda Fide officials met in Rome with a number of American bishops on November 13, 1883. Two of them were Francis Silas Chatard (1834–1918), bishop of Indianapolis, and Charles J. Seghers (1839–86), archbishop of Oregon City. The former was an alumnus of the Urban College and from 1868 to 1876 had been rector of the Pontifical North American College; the latter, a Belgian by birth, was a former student of the American College in Louvain. In their opinion, labor organizations such as the Knights of Labor were in effect secret societies, by definition verboten for Catholics. For their part, Archbishop James Gibbons of Baltimore and Patrick A. Feehan (1829–1902), archbishop of Chicago, shared the opposite opinion. They justified their position with the need to establish a relationship with the working class and to integrate immigrants into the Church.⁴²

The history of the struggle that shook the American church over the issue of the Knights of Labor is well known.⁴³ Of interest to American historians using Roman archives, however, is how the opposing sides attempted to convince the Vatican to share their views. On the one hand, Chatard asked for a straightforward condemnation of labor organizations. In his opinion, political, ethnic, and social (i.e., mutual aid) organizations were one and the same thing. He was especially negative about Irish associations, which he deemed all too inclined to resort to violent means. On February 5, 1885, for example, Chatard warned Cardinal Giovanni Simeoni (1816–92), the prefect of Propaganda Fide, that the Ancient Order of Hibernians was in fact a cover organization for former members of the “Molly Maguires,” an anti-establishment secret society active in Ireland and in the eastern United States.⁴⁴

On the other hand, Gibbons largely favored labor organizations and did not assume that they had an inherently violent character. A few days after Chatard sent his letter, Gibbons, too, wrote to Simeoni describing the Knights of Labor and asking that they be the object of a careful assessment. Their organization, which was fully legal under American law, boasted hundreds of thousands of members. While it was unfair to accuse them of violence, their political weight could indeed influence at least 500,000 votes in a federal election. Furthermore, many members of the Knights of Labor were Catholic immigrants. To alienate these men to please two or three bishops, Gibbons emphasized, would be unwise. It was true that Catholic members of the Knights of Labor were exposed to the negative influence of anarchists, socialists, and communists. Yet this was a danger that all Catholic workers had to endure in their workplaces. To condemn such a large organization, and hence to lose touch with its members, Gibbons concluded, would be a major error that would expose the American church to a new nativist threat similar to that of the Know-Nothings of a generation earlier.⁴⁵

The conflict between the two positions represented by Chatard and Gibbons did not subside. On the contrary, it continued until World War I, and even later.⁴⁶ Over and over, Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office were requested to give their opinion on the Knights of Labor and other associations such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Chosen Friends, the Independent Order of Foresters, the Knights of Pythias, the Machabees, the Odd Fellows, the Sons of England, the Sons of Temperance, or the United Workingmen.⁴⁷ Unable to act on their own, Vatican officials asked for the advice of foreign experts including David Fleming (1851–1915), an Irish Franciscan. Fleming came down in Gibbons’s favor and explained his position through a number of reports on labor organizations in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Scandinavia.⁴⁸ In 1887 Gibbons found another warm supporter in Patrick G. Riordan (1841–1914), the archbishop of San Francisco. Riordan maintained workers’ right to join unions and emphasized that nothing about the Knights of Labor could be construed as offensive to Catholics.⁴⁹ This prolonged debate was instrumental in convincing the Vatican of the significance of the social issue. One could stretch this argument a bit further and see Gibbons’s influence behind the celebrated encyclical *Rerum novarum*, issued by Leo XIII (1810–1903) on May 15, 1891.⁵⁰

Vatican files dealing with the US church show how and to what extent Vatican officials gathered information on American Catholicism in the 1880s. These files constantly grew in number, richness, and complexity. In 1887 Denis J. O’Connell (1849–1927), then rector of the Pontifical North American College in Rome, remarked that every American file in the Propaganda Fide archives was inextricably linked to others. Disputes between bishops and their clergy, diverse attitudes toward labor organization, ethnic grievances—they all represented facets of the same issue.⁵¹ While they learned of and assessed the issues facing American Catholicism, Roman bureaucrats also wondered which Vatican department should take charge. Would Propaganda Fide keep its primacy, since the United States was still a missionary domain? Or should the Holy Office take charge, due to its responsibility for doctrinal issues? Or should not the secretary of state, on behalf of the pope, be in direct control, as he commonly managed international issues?⁵² The decision to be made was of the utmost significance. In fact, according to Propaganda Fide’s files on the Pontifical North American College of some years earlier, the American church was already reputed to be one of the most important and vigorous in the entire world.⁵³ Eventually, with the publication of the apostolic constitution *Sapienti consilio* in 1908, Pius X (1835–1914) removed most of the present-day United States and Canada, together with Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, from the jurisdiction of Propaganda Fide and placed them under the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory.⁵⁴

The establishment of an apostolic delegation in Washington, DC, in 1893 had already signaled a shift in the status of US Catholicism. Apostolic delegates were meant to examine and sort out significant issues and forward the appropriate files to Rome. Therefore, their ability to select their material and to explain its relevance had a strong and direct influence on Vatican knowledge and understanding of American Catholicism. The first apostolic

delegate to the United States was Francesco Satolli (1839–1910), a former professor of dogmatic theology at the Urban College. Satolli went twice to the United States, first in 1889 and then in 1892.⁵⁵ On the eve of his second departure, the secretary of state, Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro (1843–1913), outlined the main issues on which he expected to be briefed: Catholic schools, ecclesiastical discipline and dissension within the US hierarchy, and conflict involving the immigrant clergy and faithful of French-Canadian, German, and Irish origin.⁵⁶ Satolli's official appointment as apostolic delegate came a few months after his arrival in the United States in 1892. On this occasion, his responsibilities were confirmed.⁵⁷ However, as is clear from his letters and even clearer from the files he sent to Rome, Satolli did not fully succeed in the tasks that Rampolla del Tindaro had entrusted to him. While he managed to defuse the Catholic schools issue, he failed to appease opposing immigrant communities and to stop dissension within the hierarchy. Therefore, when Satolli was replaced in 1896, the bulk of his instructions was reiterated to his successor, Sebastiano Martinelli (1848–1918). He was to appease immigrant communities and to enforce ecclesiastical discipline. At the end of his mandate (1901), however, Martinelli had hardly been more successful than his predecessor in fulfilling these tasks.⁵⁸

In 1902 Archbishop Diomedede Falconio (1842–1917), a Reformed Franciscan who had been apostolic delegate to Canada since 1899, was reassigned to the United States.⁵⁹ Falconio had a good firsthand knowledge of North America. He had arrived there for the first time in 1865, and from 1866 to 1871, and again in 1882–83, he had been on the faculty of the Franciscan Saint Bonaventure College in Alleghany, New York. In between, he had been secretary to Enrico Carfagnini (1823–1904), the bishop of Harbour Grace, in Newfoundland, a fellow Franciscan who had been born in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Upon his return to Italy, Falconio became procurator general of the Order of Friars Minor (1889) and in 1892 was appointed bishop of Lacedonia. During his nine years in Washington, DC (1902–11), Falconio's strategy with regard to immigrant communities was rather consistent. He supported every community that asked for "national" priests. He imposed "ethnic" bishops or coadjutors wherever immigrant communities were particularly strong, as was the case for Chicago's Poles and the French Americans of Manchester, New Hampshire. When the appointment of an Irish or American bishop could not be avoided, he required that the candidate know the language of his prospective flock. Finally, he convinced Propaganda Fide that his secretary should be an English-speaking priest with a good grasp of current American affairs—although this required a ten-month epistolary exchange (April 1903–January 1904).⁶⁰

Although Falconio, in turn, was not fully successful in fulfilling the Holy See's mandate, especially concerning ecclesiastical discipline, he was instrumental in persuading the Vatican to adopt his strategy regarding American affairs. This is evident from the 1912 instructions that Cardinal Gaetano De Lai (1853–1928), secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory, handed to Falconio's successor as apostolic delegate, Giovanni Bonzano (1867–1927). Bonzano's main task was to appease immigrant communities. De Lai warned Bonzano that the Church was running the risk of losing "millions" of souls because ethnic

tensions now involved not only old immigrants of Irish, German, and French-Canadian origin but also new immigrants arriving from Poland, Italy, and Ukraine. Bonzano was not to neglect any immigrant community, old or new. They were all to be provided with priests and schools. In dioceses where the majority of the faithful were not Irish, Bonzano was instructed to support non-Irish episcopal candidates.⁶¹ Bonzano led the apostolic delegation until 1922. He did his best to accomplish his mission even through the difficult years of World War I. He reported to the Vatican, to the American bishops, and to US federal authorities on the plight of German-speaking immigrants during the war. In Bonzano's view, they were unjustly accused of being enemies of the very country they had chosen for themselves.⁶²

Appointed in 1922, Apostolic Delegate Pietro Fumasoni Biondi (1872–1960) continued the visitation of each diocese of the United States that his predecessor Bonzano had begun toward the end of his mandate. Fumasoni Biondi served until 1933, and the Vatican assessed the report of his nine-year visitation in 1932–33. He had amassed and organized reams of data about immigrant groups, together with data about Catholics belonging to the African American, Mexican American, and Native American communities. Overall, Fumasoni Biondi was particularly skilled in evaluating the linguistic struggle ongoing in American Catholicism. In the end, however, he favored a policy of gradual Americanization.⁶³ Many of these documents ended up in the archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory, which after World War I took control of the American issue. Consequently, the number of documents of interest for the United States grew consistently, including those related to the apostolic visitation of the American dioceses in 1922–31.⁶⁴ In the 1920s, other Vatican departments, or congregations, also began to take an interest in the Catholic Church of the United States. In 1923 the Sacred Congregation of the Council (renamed the Congregation for the Clergy in 1967) was charged with overseeing discipline and the teaching of catechism in all American dioceses. In 1929 it was also charged with overseeing the administration of the American dioceses, so disputes of an ethnic nature fell within its new responsibilities, at least as far as local parishes and schools were concerned.⁶⁵

Personal interests in North American matters on the part of the Vatican's top bureaucrats could indeed make a difference. For example, from 1919 to 1930 the prefect of the Congregation of the Council was Cardinal Donato Sbarretti (1856–1939), a highly influential member of the Roman Curia. He had been a member of the apostolic delegation in Washington, DC, and from 1902 to 1910 he was the apostolic delegate to Canada.⁶⁶ Together with Fumasoni Biondi, Sbarretti took a keen interest in the financial administration of the American dioceses, even before the crash of 1929. Given that interest, documents preserved in the archives of the Congregation of the Council offer precise information on interwar diocesan assets, including churches, schools, hospitals, and missions.⁶⁷ As far as discipline was concerned, the mandate of the Congregation of the Council granted it jurisdiction over a number of disputes involving bishops and immigrant communities. A most telling example is the fierce clash between the bishop of Providence, Rhode Island, William A. Hickey (1869–1933), and a group of Franco Americans of the diocese, known as *La Sentinelle*, that took place in 1924–29.⁶⁸

When the Sentinelle affair ended, Vatican diplomats discovered that it was also the end of old-style ethnic disputes within the American Catholic Church. Ethnic conflicts did not stop abruptly following the Immigration Act of 1924 and the subsequent great reduction in Catholic immigration, but they were gradually superseded by other questions: How should the Vatican position itself with regard to the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945)?⁶⁹ How could the apostolic delegate convince the American government of the danger represented by communism, in both the Soviet Union and the rest of the world?⁷⁰ What should be the apostolic delegate's stand on Nazism? As was well known, the archbishop of Chicago, George Mundelein (1872–1939), was vehemently opposed to Adolf Hitler; the Vatican, for its part, wondered whether communism, Nazism, racism, and eugenics could be regarded as different, yet related, facets of totalitarianism.⁷¹ Could diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the United States be improved, in spite of the political and social turmoil of the 1930s?⁷² The unexpected death of Pius XI (1857–1939) left a number of these questions hanging for the duration of World War II. The danger of totalitarianism for Western democracies continued to be one of the Vatican's main preoccupations. Because racism had been a major aspect of totalitarianism in Europe, the Vatican was again confronted with the African American issue in the United States.⁷³

PART 4

Having reached the end of this selective survey of the relationship between the Vatican and the United States between 1763 and 1939, the curious reader must undoubtedly have noticed that this introduction draws mainly on major archival repositories whose existence is generally well known, such as the Vatican Secret Archives, the Holy Office, Propaganda Fide, etc. (The countless documents they store are, of course, far from having been fully exploited or even known.) These institutional archives make it possible to study, often in astonishing detail, the many facets of the relationship between Rome and the United States over the course of the last two and a half centuries. Matteo Binasco's *Roman Sources* describes these archives and tells their potential users about their organization as well as the availability of appropriate finding aids and the present state of the historiographical literature. This is already a major asset that any new or seasoned researcher in Rome cannot fail to appreciate. But there is more. Simply by reading the names of the fifty-nine Roman repositories surveyed by Binasco and perusing their related "descriptions of holdings," one is impressed by their variety, a variety that mirrors the complexity of the relations between the United States (itself a rather mixed bag, to say the least) and that most complex galaxy that was—and to a certain extent still is—Rome's Catholic Church: the pope, the curia, the sacred congregations, the bureaucracy, the colleges, the resident foreign clergy, the lobbyists, the occasional visitors, the secular clergy, the regular clergy, and the women's communities and congregations. Let us then conclude this introduction by emphasizing some fresh insights that one gathers by reading—and using—Binasco's *Roman Sources*, with some examples drawn

from documentary evidence discovered by its compiler during his pilgrimages from one Roman repository to another.⁷⁴

The first distinction that one must make is between open and closed archives. For a variety of reasons, some archives and libraries are, in fact, closed to researchers. For example, the archives of the Venerable English College (founded in 1579), the Urban College of Propaganda Fide (1627), and the Pontifical Irish College (1628) were closed at the time of this writing. That is a pity. Many North American bishops (Francis Kenrick [1797–1863], archbishop of Philadelphia, for one) studied at the Urban College. Given the number of Irish priests and bishops who passed through the Irish College before serving in the United States, this archive contains a wealth of information on New York, Pittsburgh, Charleston, Chicago, Detroit, and other American locations. Meanwhile, in the first half of the nineteenth century Robert Gradwell (1777–1833) and Cardinal Nicholas P. S. Wiseman (1802–65), while rectors of the English College, constantly lobbied on behalf of their American associates. Also closed are the archives of the Society of the Catholic Apostolate, whose members are better known as the Pallottines. In 1884 they established the church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in New York, a key institution for the local Italian and Italian American community. The Archives of the Maestre Pie Filippini and the General Archives of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus are unavailable as well. These congregations provided significant assistance to the newly arrived Italian community; Mother Francesca (Frances) Saverio Cabrini (1850–1917), canonized in 1946, founded the Sacred Heart of Jesus community. Lack of staff seems to be the main reason for the unavailability of many of these archives; for example, at the Urban College the archives were open to researchers in the 1990s, whereas today they are closed. (Still, researchers are advised to check from time to time. The English College, for example, is simply reorganizing its holdings under the capable supervision of Schwarzenbach Research Fellow Maurice Whitehead, who was in charge of its archives at the time this book went to press.)

Among the open repositories, it is useful to distinguish between libraries and archives. Libraries store books, whereas archives preserve documents accumulated as a result of some institutional activity. In Rome, however, such a distinction must be used with care. Since most of the libraries are centuries old, they often also include a manuscript section. Take the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Library). Established around the fourth century—a thousand years before the invention of the printing press—the library holds some eighty thousand manuscripts in addition to drawings, paintings, and maps. A report on the Jesuits in Maryland in the 1630s, forwarded by the nuncio in Flanders, Giorgio Bolognetti (1595–1686), is there, as are the reports on New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Boston written between 1906 and 1910 by Italian journalist and vice consul Luigi Villari (1876–1959). Outside Vatican City proper, but still part of the Holy See's heritage, other libraries—such as the Casanatense, Vallicelliana, Angelica, and Corsiniana—hold unexpected treasures, such as the 1816–18 letters of Louisiana Vincentian Felice De Andreis (1778–1820) and the early twentieth-century correspondence of three renowned American

and Italian scientists, Griffith C. Evans (1887–1973), George E. Hale (1868–1938), and Vito Volterra (1860–1940). Another library, that of the Waldensian Faculty of Theology, holds documentary material on the life of Alessandro Gavazzi (1809–89), a former Cleric Regular of Saint Paul (Barnabite) who became a Protestant chaplain in the army of Italian military leader Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–82); his 1853–54 promotional tour in New York, Montreal, and Quebec City almost got him lynched.

As for archives proper, their variety is mindboggling. Institutional archives such as those of the Vatican Secret Archives, the Holy Office, or Propaganda Fide closely follow the daily routines of the Roman Church. It was the Holy Office (now the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith), for example, that had the last word on a prospective marriage between a Native American woman and a European settler, granting proper dispensations, or making their union null and void. Documents of American interest may also be found in unlikely institutional repositories, such as the Archivio Storico Generale della Fabbrica di San Pietro (the body overseeing the building of Saint Peter's Basilica). The Fabbrica features the correspondence of prominent members of the American hierarchy such as Bishop William H. O'Connell (1859–1944) of Boston and Archbishop Michael Joseph Curley (1879–1947) of Baltimore, who expressed their wish to purchase copies of the Saint Peter's mosaics. In the Archivio Storico della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali, Binasco bumped into a politically incorrect opinion given in 1916 by the bishop of Columbus, James J. Hartley (1858–1944). The local Slovakian community of Byesville, Ohio, had petitioned Pope Benedict XV (1854–1922) for a priest who spoke their language. Bishop Hartley, who was against such a request, explained his position: "In the next world the Slovaks will not be able to speak to God in the Slovak tongue anyway."

Other Roman institutions remained quite separate from the Holy See proper, and their archives tend to reflect the life of each community. To the Irish College and the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura (Saint Paul Outside the Walls), the Scots College and the Pontifical Institute of Santa Maria dell'Anima (a church traditionally linked to the German-speaking community) must be added. The institute's archives preserve, for example, the correspondence of Alois Hudal (1885–1963), who was its rector from 1923 to 1952 and played a key role in the migratory network that allowed many Nazi German and Croatian families to take refuge in the United States or South America after World War II. Other archives came into being after the Kingdom of Italy's 1870 conquest and annexation of Rome. It is in the Archivio di Stato di Roma and in Italy's Archivio Centrale dello Stato that researchers must look for the personal files of the *zuavi pontifici* (normally of Irish or Quebec origin) who fought for the pope against Garibaldi or for the records that Fascist Italy kept of its political exiles who had fled to the United States.

We have left for last any mention of the archives of the regular orders. But here is Elizabeth Galitzine (1797–1844), the assistant general of the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, who in the early 1840s recommended that her sisters not let their disappointment show when dealing with the American public: "Avoid any air of repulsion and of boredom for the

country, its customs, and its laws. Avoid any comparison with other countries that might be detrimental to America. Americans shy away from those who hurt their national pride.” This document, and the archives of the order (not to be confused with Saint Frances Xavier Cabrini’s community, mentioned above), are found in Rome, and so are those of several other women’s orders, among them the Daughters of Saint Mary of Providence, who in 1913 established their first US mission in Chicago.

As for the men’s orders, the significance for the study of US history of archives such as those of the Jesuits, the Franciscans, the Capuchins, the Carmelites and Discalced Carmelites, the Servants of Mary, the Dominicans, the Redemptorists, the Oblates, the Brothers of the Christian Schools (or Christian Brothers), and the Congregation of the Mission (or Vincentians) is also well known. In a 1917 letter discovered by Binasco, an American Capuchin explained to his superior why he and his confrères were never invited to social occasions. Could it be, he wondered, that “the appendages on our face, which people refer to as hairy entanglements, are repulsive to the American idea of appearance”? In fact, he added, “Catholics as well as non-Catholics are so accustomed to see priests clean-shaven,” that the fathers had difficulty explaining that the Capuchins were priests, in spite of their whiskers and beards. This very practical preoccupation reminded us of other documents that we had found in Roman archives, such as a letter from a parish priest who wondered whether he could employ a Protestant organist in his church or a bishop who asked whether he could accept an oath taken on a Protestant Bible.

Seasoned Roman archive visitors all have their own special documents that they have encountered in the course of their research, and students and scholars visiting Rome for the first time can look forward to their own thrilling moments of discovery. This new book will whet their appetite for research in Rome and ease their entry into the maze of archives there. With time, patience, and the help of Binasco’s *Roman Sources for the History of American Catholicism, 1763–1939*, the fog that obscures the view of those new to Roman archives will dissolve, leaving many great opportunities for fruitful research.

NOTES

1. Although this introduction was conceived and written collaboratively, Luca Codignola is the main author of Part 2, while Matteo Sanfilippo is the main author of Part 3.

2. Carl Russell Fish, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives*, 7 vols. and index (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1911); Finbar Kenneally, OFM, ed., *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives: A Calendar. First Series* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1966–81); Anton Debeveč, Mathias C. Kiemen, OFM, Alexander Wyse, OFM, James McManamon, OFM, William J. Short, OFM, and Giovanna Piscini, eds., *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives: A Calendar. Second Series*, 6 vols. to date (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1980–2006).

3. [Christopher Stonor] to [Propaganda Fide], [February 1753], fols. 529rv–530rv, *Congressi, America Antille*, vol. 1, Archives of the Sacred Congregation “de Propaganda Fide” (Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide, or APF); Stonor to Propaganda Fide, [December 1756], fols. 273rv–276rv, vol. 767, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali (SOCG), APF. On Stonor and, more broadly, on the vicars apostolic, see Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, “Libera nos Domine?” The Vicars Apostolic and the Suppressed/Restored English Province of the Society of Jesus,” in *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation*, ed. James E. Kelly and Susan Royal (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 81–101.

4. [Stonor] to [Propaganda Fide], [ca. August 2, 1763] (vicar apostolic in Philadelphia, Freedom), ser. B, vol. 137, *Stonor’s Roman Agency*, 417–23, Westminster Diocesan Archives, or WDA; Richard Challoner to Stonor, September 6, 1763 (vicars apostolic in Quebec City, Florida), fols. 1rv–2rv, vol. 46, no. 67, WDA.

5. Challoner to Stonor, February 15, 1765, fols. 1rv–2rv, vol. 46, no. 81, WDA; Challoner to Stonor, June 4, 1771, fols. 543rv–544rv, vol. 1, *Congressi, America Centrale*, APF.

6. John Lewis, Bernard Diderick, Ignatius Matthews, James Walton, and John Carroll to Pius VI, November 10, 1783 (petition), fols. 349rv–350rv, vol. 2, *Congressi, America Centrale*, APF; [Leonardo Antonelli] to Giuseppe Maria Doria Pamphili, January 15, 1783 (treaty), fols. 58rv–59rv, vol. 242, *Lettere*, APF.

7. [Antonelli] to Carroll, June 9, 1784, fols. 492v–495rv, vol. 244, *Lettere*, APF; [Antonelli] to Carroll, July 23, 1785, fols. 437v–441rv, vol. 246, *Lettere*, APF; [Antonelli] to Carroll, Robert Molyneux, and John Ashton, July 12, 1788, fols. 491v–493r, vol. 252, *Lettere*, APF. The higher appointment was deferred due to the unclear financial implications of an American diocese and the uncertainty over Congress’s attitude toward such an appointment.

8. [Antonelli] to Carroll, June 9, 1784, fols. 492v–495rv, vol. 244: *Lettere*, APF; [Antonelli] to Doria Pamphili, July 31, 1785, fols. 624rv–625rv, vol. 244, *Lettere*, APF. Quotation in Franklin’s diary, July 1, 1784, in *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, Collected and Edited with a Life and Introduction*, ed. Albert Henry Smyth (New York: Macmillan, 1905–10), 10:350.

9. Antonio Dugnani to [Francesco Savero Zelada], November 2, 1789, fols. 97v–98r, vol. 580: *Segreteria di Stato, Francia*, Vatican Secret Archives (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, or ASV). Quotation in fol. 98r: “il miglior partito è quello di andare in America.”

10. Louis-Charles-Marie de Lombard de Bouvens to Joseph-Octave Plessis, August 12, 1810, ser. 90 CM, vol. 1, no. 94, Archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec (Archives de l’Archevêché de Québec or AAQ): “brigand consommé.”

11. Carroll to [Plessis], July 28, 1806, in Thomas O’Brien Hanley, ed., *The John Carroll Papers* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 2:524.

12. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America*, vol. 5, 1797–99, 247 (Giovanni Battista Sartori); vol. 17, 1821–23, 337 (Felice Cicognani) (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1828–75).

13. [Carroll] to [Jean-François Hubert], May 12, 1793, vol. 1, no. 5, 7 CM, AAQ.

14. Here are the fifteen appointments: Jean-Louis-Anne-Madeleine Lefèbvre de Cheverus (1810), Benoît-Joseph Flaget (1810), Louis-Guillaume-Valentin Dubourg (1815), Ambroise Maréchal (1817), Jean-Baptiste David (1819), Jean Dubois (1826), Michel Portier (1826), Léo-Raymond DeNeckère (1830), Guy-Ignace Chabrat (1834), Simon-Guillaume Bruté de Remur

(1834), Antoine Blanc (1835), Jean-Mathieu-Pierre Loras (1837), Celestin-René-Laurent Guynemer de La Hailandière (1839), Pierre-Paul Lefevère (1841), and Jean-Marie Odin (1842). In the same period, episcopal appointments were made that concerned candidates of Irish origin (eleven) born in the United States (eight) and in England, the German states, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (one each).

15. For the new arrivals, see Marcel Fournier, *Les Français au Québec 1765–1865: Un mouvement migratoire méconnu* (Sillery: Septentrion, and Paris: Éditions Christian, 1995).

16. On the anti-Irish attitude, see Luca Codignola, “Conflict or Consensus? Catholics in Canada and in the United States, 1780–1820,” *Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Historical Studies* 55 (1988): 43–59.

17. For the history of Catholicism in the United States, see the syntheses by Robert T. Handy, *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976); James J. Hennessey, SJ, *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985); Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1992) and Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World: The History of North American Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2002); Patrick Carey, *The Roman Catholics in America* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996); and the pertinent chapters in Stephen J. Stein, ed., *The Cambridge History of Religions in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). For the chronology of episcopal appointments, see Joseph Bernard Cole, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy* (New York: J. F. Wagner, 1964); and Charles N. Bransom Jr., *Ordination of US Catholic Bishops, 1790–1989: A Chronological List* (Washington, DC: National Conference of Catholic Bishops and US Catholic Conference, 1990). See also the website of the *Official Catholic Directory* at <http://www.officialcatholicdirectory.com/OCD/home>.

18. Memorandum [prepared by Francesco Saverio Castiglioni in January 1823 for the general congregation of February 17, 1823, postponed until February 24, 1824], fols. 76rv–82rv, vol. 186, *Acta*, APF: “per così mettere in pratica quella nobile idea di completare il mondo cristiano in quella parte [North America] con l’arcivescovo di Québec e i suoi vescovi suffraganei.”

19. Louis-Pierre-Vincent-Gaston-Gabriel Bellocq to Giovanni Soglia Cerroni, Rome, July 1, 1829 (permission), fols. 303[a]rv–303[b]rv, vol. 192, *Acta*, APF. At what time Pius VIII granted his permission for the Osages to be shown in public is unclear; still, that permission might have been granted on Pius VIII’s behalf by a member of his bureaucracy. On Pius VIII, see Codignola, “Pius VIII and North America, 1816–1830,” *Annali Accademici Canadesi* 10–11 (1995): 3–35.

20. Felice Cicognani to Tommaso Bernetti, February 20, 1832 (scheduling Americans’ audiences), [unfoliated], fasc. 2, 1832, busta 663, rubr. 298, *Segreteria di Stato, Esteri*, 1831–58, ASV.

21. Cicognani to John Quincy Adams, December 31, 1824, in Leo Francis Stock, ed., *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches* (Washington, DC: American Catholic Historical Association, 1945), 12: “free and tolerating”; Cicognani to Martin Van Buren, February 21, 1831, in *ibid.*, 33: “prevent jealousies”; Cicognani to John Forsyth, February 14, 1835, in *ibid.*, 45 (Gregory XVI).

22. Howard Rosario Marraro, “American Travellers in Rome, 1848–1850,” *Catholic Historical Review* 29, no. 4 (January 1944): 470–509 (882 visitors); Marraro, “Viaggiatori americani a

Roma,” *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 51, no. 2 (aprile–giugno 1964): 237–56 (overall figure downsized to 858).

23. See Luca Codignola, “Roman Catholic Conservatism in a New North Atlantic World, 1760–1829,” in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 64, no. 4 (October 2007): 717–56, republished in Marguerite Ragnow and William D. Phillips Jr., eds., *Religious Conflict and Accommodation in the Early Modern World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, Center for Early Modern History, 2011), 153–206. See also Catherine O’Donnell, “John Carroll and the Origins of an American Catholic Church, 1783–1815,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 58, no. 1 (January 2011): 101–26.

24. Giovanni Giuseppe Vincenzo Argenti to John Thomas Troy, May 19, 1821, fol. 170rv, ser. Roman Correspondence, Troy, AB2/28/1, no. 135, Archives of the Archdiocese of Dublin: “rappresenta i bisogni di quei Popoli Selvaggi pronti ad abbracciare la nostra S. Religione.” On Inglesi, see Luca Codignola, “Angelo Inglesi, from Rome with Love: The Ultimate Scoundrel Priest in North America, 1814–25,” in *Itineraria* 15 (2016): 151–203.

25. For the most recent literature, see Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Indiani del Nordamerica a Roma (1826–1841),” *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 116 (1993): 395–411, esp. 403–8; Roger Antonio Fortin, *Faith and Action: A History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821–1996* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002), 29–30, 408n13; and Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 21.

26. [Angelo Mai] to Augustin Wummelin [recte Augustin Hamelin], August 20, 1836, fols. 704rv–705r, vol. 317, *Lettere*, APF: “civilizzazione, pace, e felicità,” “molta moderazione.” Two years later, more room was made available for prospective native students from Nova Scotia in spite of the college’s being full, “given the special importance of the matter.” Assurances were to be given, however, that they would not suffer with the Roman climate. See [Giacomo Filippo Fransoni] to Colin Francis MacKinnon, March 17, 1838, fols. 260rv–263r, vol. 318, *Lettere*, APF: “attesa la particolare importanza della cosa.”

27. José Ildefonso de La Peña, SJ, to Carlo Maria Pedicini, September 18, 1834 (Pablo Tac’s arrival), fols. 652rv–653rv, vol. 16, *Congressi, Collegio Urbano*, APF. On Tac, see Lisbeth Haas, ed., *Pablo Tac, Indigenous Scholar: Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial History, c. 1840* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

28. Matteo Sanfilippo, *L’affermazione del cattolicesimo nel Nord America: Élite, emigranti e chiesa cattolica negli Stati Uniti e in Canada, 1750–1920* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2003), 17, and Frank J. Coppa, *The Modern Papacy since 1789* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016). See also Coppa, *Pius IX: Crusader in a Secular Age* (Boston: Twayne, 1979), and Coppa, *Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli and Papal Politics in European Affairs* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).

29. Matteo Sanfilippo, “Tra antipapismo e cattolicesimo: Gli echi della Repubblica romana e i viaggi in Nord America di Gaetano Bedini e Alessandro Gavazzi (1853–1854),” in *Gli Americani e la Repubblica Romana nel 1849* (Rome: Gangemi, 2000), 159–87, and Sanfilippo, “Alessandro Gavazzi: oltre l’Italia, l’America,” *Barnabiti studi* 28 (2011): 245–67; David J. Endres, “Know-Nothings, Nationhood, and the Nuncio: Reassessing the Visit of Archbishop Bedini,” *US Catholic Historian* 21, no. 4 (Fall 2003): 1–16.

30. See James F. Connelly, *The Visit of Archbishop Gaetano Bedini to the United States of America (June 1853–February 1854)* (Rome: Università Gregoriana Editrice, 1960), 160–64. For fifty years, American bishops continued to use the negative example of the Bedini riots to gain more freedom from Rome. See, for example, fols. 17rv–20rv, fasc. 3, rubr. 283, *Segreteria di Stato*, ASV. See also John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834–1921* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1952), 1:595–600, and Gerald P. Fogarty, SJ, *The Vatican and the Americanist Crisis: Denis J. O’Connell, American Agent in Rome, 1885–1903* (Rome: Università Gregoriana Editrice, 1974), 25, 219, 226.

31. Propaganda Fide’s instructions to Gaetano Bedini (April 5, 1853), fols. 315v–317r, vol. 343: *Lettere*, APF.

32. Final report of Gaetano Bedini to Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli, [1854], fols. 9rv–50rv, fasc. 1, rubr. 251, *Segreteria di Stato, 1854*, ASV. See Robert F. MacNamara, *The American College in Rome, 1855–1955* (Rochester, NY: Christopher Press, 1956). On the North American College, see also Stephen M. DiGiovanni, *The Second Founder: Martin J. O’Connor and the Pontifical North American College* (Bloomington, IN: Trafford Publishing, 2013), and DiGiovanni, *Aggiornamento on the Hill of Janus: The American College in Rome, 1955–1979* (Downers Grove, IL: Midwest Theological Forum, 2016).

33. Bedini’s report circulated as an appendix to the *ponenza* of 1856 on the Provincial Councils of Baltimore, Cincinnati, Saint Louis, and New Orleans (fols. 373rv–532rv, esp. 488rv–532rv, vol. 220, *Acta*, APF). For the Pontifical North American College, see the *ponenza* on its establishment in fols. 1rv–54rv, vol. 225, APF. A *ponenza* was a file assembling several documents on a certain issue scheduled for discussion.

34. Although the two words are often used as synonyms, we have elected to use “Holy See” for the years until 1871 and “Vatican” from 1871 onward. In 1870 the Kingdom of Italy conquered Rome and the Vatican became a very, very small state confined within its current borders. See David Kertzer, *Prisoner of the Vatican: The Pope’s Secret Plot to Capture Rome from the New Italian State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), chap. 5.

35. Costantino Patrizi, *ponenza* on the Catholic Church in the United States, 1861, fols. 1rv–9rv, especially fol. 7r, vol. 225, *Acta*, APF.

36. Germano Straniero’s report, 1886, fasc. 10, rubr. 280, 1902, *Segreteria di Stato*, ASV. The Germano Straniero Papers are now housed in the University of Notre Dame Archives.

37. *Rapporto sull’emigrazione italiana con Sommario*, November 1887, fols. 186rv–217rv, vol. 257, *Acta*, APF.

38. The Vatican delayed its approval of the council’s proceedings, which were published one year later as *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1886).

39. Richard Gilmour and John Moore, *Memoriale sulla questione dei tedeschi nella chiesa di America*, Rome, October 2, 1885 (a printed report on the German issue in the United States), fol. 480rv, vol. 43/2, *Congressi, America Centrale*, APF.

40. Patrick Corrigan sent to Propaganda Fide his pamphlet *The Bishop and the Priest* (New York: American News Company, 1884), now to be found in fols. 37rv–78rv, vol. 43/1: *Congressi, America Centrale*. A contemporary view of Corrigan is in “Father Patrick Corrigan Dead: The Celebrated Hoboken Priest Died Last Evening of Pneumonia,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1894, 1. A recent appraisal is in Kevin E. McKenna, *The Battle for Rights in the United States*

Catholic Church (New York: Paulist Press, 2007), 127–44. See also Colman Barry, *The Catholic Church and the German Americans* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1953), and Philip Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers: German-American Catholics and the Social Order* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968).

41. See John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 91–165.

42. Ellis, *Life of Gibbons*, 1:210–18 (James Gibbons and Patrick A. Feehan), 1:439–546 (Francis Silas Chatard and Charles J. Seghers). See also Kevin Codd, “A Favored Portion of the Vineyard: A Study of American Catholic Missionaries on the North Pacific Coast,” PhD diss., Catholic University of Louvain, Louvain, 2007.

43. Henry Vincent Browne, *The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1949); Vincent J. Falzone, *Terence V. Powderly: Middle Class Reformer* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1978); and Robert E. Weir, *Beyond Labor’s Veil: The Culture of the Knights of Labor* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996). See also “The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labour,” in *The American Catholic History Classroom*, <http://cuomeka.wrlc.org/exhibits/show/knights/kol-intro/church-kol>, last consulted August 19, 2016.

44. Chatard to Giovanni Simeoni, February 5, 1885, fols. 156rv, 158rv, vol. 42/1: *Congressi, America Centrale*, APF. On the American Catholic Church, the Molly Maguires, and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, see Kevin Kenny, “The Molly Maguires and the Catholic Church,” *Labor History* 36, no. 3 (1995): 345–76, and Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

45. James Gibbons to Giovanni Simeoni, February 20, 1885, vol. 42/1, *Congressi, America Centrale*, APF.

46. See the related file in fasc. 51, sezione XII (Società Segrete), Archivio della Delegazione Apostolica degli Stati Uniti (ADASU), ASV. Documents assembled in this file cover the years 1892, 1894–96, 1907–10, 1950, and 1961. Documents pertaining to 1950 and 1961 are not open to researchers.

47. See nos. 1 (*Sulle Società dell’America del Nord*), 70 (*Stati Uniti: Sulle società segrete*), 1894, *Rerum Variarum*, Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (ACDF).

48. See no. 2, [David Fleming], *De Societate Secreta*, “Ordo Independentis Bonorum Templariorum” (Independent Order of the Good Templars), *Relatio et Votum*, May 1909, 1915, *Rerum Variarum*, ACDF, and [Fleming], *Brevis Relatio et Votum eiusdem Cons.ris*, November 1914, *Rerum Variarum*, ACDF. The latter includes all reports compiled by Fleming.

49. See the letters written by several American bishops in 1894: Québec e Vincennes—Baltimore: Intorno ad un dubbio dell’arcivescovo di Québec (Canada) sopra alcune associazioni operaie dell’America Settentrionale, *Rerum Variarum*, ACDF. See also James P. Gaffey, *Citizen of No Mean City: Archbishop Patrick Riordan of San Francisco (1841–1914)* (Wilmington, NC: Consortium Books, 1976).

50. *Rerum Novarum: Écriture, contenu et réception d’une encyclique. Actes du colloque international* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1997), and Sabine Schratz, *Das Gift des alten Europa und die Arbeiter der Neuen Welt: Zum amerikanischen Hintergrund der Enzyklika Rerum Novarum (1891)* (Paderborn: Schoeningh, 2010).

51. Denis J. O'Connell to Propaganda Fide, September 10, 1887, fols. 245rv–246rv, vol. 47/2: *Congressi, America Centrale*, APF.

52. In early 1898 the Holy Office started to gather a very large file on so-called Americanism (pt. II, no. 5, 1900, *Rerum Variarum*, ACDF). On June 16, 1898, however, Leo XIII informed the Holy Office that he was taking personal charge of the issue (June 15, 1898, *Decreta*, ACDF). Eventually the pope repudiated “Americanism” in the apostolic letter *Testem benevolentiae nostrae*, dated January 22, 1899, and addressed to Gibbons. See *Leonis XIII pontificis maximi acta* (Rome: Ex Typographia Vaticana, 1899), 19:5–7.

53. See the file on the canonical construction of the college in *ponenza*, September 1, 1884, fols. 521rv–536v, esp. 522rv, vol. 253: *Acta*, APF.

54. On the Vatican and the national churches, see Péter Tusor and Matteo Sanfilippo, eds., *Il papato e le chiese locali: Studi/The Papacy and the Local Churches; Studies* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2014). For the text of the apostolic constitution *Sapienti consilio*, see *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1909), 1:7–108. On Propaganda Fide and the coming of age of national Catholic churches in Europe (England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Netherlands) and in North America (Canada, Newfoundland, and the United States), see *ibid.*, 12–13. The *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* are also available online at http://www.vatican.va/archive/aas/index_it.htm.

55. On Francesco Satolli's first American visit, see fasc. unico, rubr. 241, *Segreteria di Stato*, 1892, ASV.

56. Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro to Francesco Satolli, [Vaticano 1892] (instructions), fols. 12rv–27rv, fasc. 3, sezione I (*Delegazione Apostolica*), ADASU, ASV.

57. For the establishment of the apostolic delegation, see fasc. 1–4, rubr. 280, *Segreteria di Stato*, 1897, ASV. See also Robert J. Wister, *The Establishment of the Apostolic Delegation in the USA, 1892–1896* (Rome: Università Gregoriana, 1980), and Wister, “The First Apostolic Delegation,” *US Catholic Historian* 12, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 27–45. For Satolli's faculties and authority, see the file in fols. 1rv–11rv, fasc. 20, posizione 74, *America*, II Periodo, *America*, Archives of the Secretariat of State, Relations with States Section (Archivio degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari or AAES), Archivio Storico della Seconda Sezione della Segreteria di Stato. For the new instructions after the 1892 official appointment, see the file in ASV, ADASU, I, fasc. 4–5.

58. The instructions given to Satolli were summarized in *Segreteria di Stato* to Sebastiano Martinelli, [1896], fols. 22rv–25rv, fasc. 6, sezione I, ADASU, ASV.

59. File on Diomedede Falconio's appointment, [1899], fasc. 25a, sezione I, ADASU, ASV. The Reformed Franciscans was a branch of the Franciscan order that was likely founded in 1519. In 1532 Pope Clement VIII granted permission to all friars who desired to strictly observe the rule of Saint Francis of Assisi to withdraw into the convents of Reformed communities. In 1897 Pope Leo XIII decided to bring together the Reformed Franciscans with the Recollects and the Observant branch of the Franciscan order.

60. On Falconio, see Matteo Sanfilippo, “Diomedede Falconio, le Canada et les États-Unis,” in Luca Codignola, Giovanni Pizzorusso, and Sanfilippo, *Le Saint-Siège, le Canada et le Québec: Recherches dans les archives romaines* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2011), 101–7.

61. See file on Giovanni Bonzano's appointment, [1912], fasc. 91, sezione I, ADASU, ASV.

62. See Bonzano's letters in the following files: fasc. 115, *Stati Uniti: Cleveland-Boston 1918*, posizione 225, *America*, III Periodo, *America*, AAES; *ibid.*, posizione 230, fasc. 115, *Stati Uniti*:

Washington 1918: Guerra e tedesco-statunitensi, fasc. 115, posizione 230, III Periodo, *America*, AAES; fasc. 118, *Stati Uniti: Washington 1919: Mons. Bonzano si difende da alcune accuse*, posizione 247, III Periodo, *America*, AAES.

63. See the file in fasc. 29, [1927–29], posizione 194, IV Periodo, *Inghilterra*, AAES.

64. See the reports, diocese by diocese, in ASV, ser. *Concistoriale*, sub-ser. *Visita Apostolica*, vols. 77–78: *Stati Uniti d’America visite apostoliche*. On the European immigrants and their clergy, Italians and Poles in particular, see the related files in fasc. 98, *Condizioni religiose degli immigrati europei*, November 23, 1922, 1922, *Concistoriale*, *Ponenze*, ASV; and fasc. 17, *Degli scalabriniani*, February 21, 1924, 1924, *Concistoriale*, *Ponenze*, ASV.

65. See Alejandro Mario Dieguez, “La sollecitudine pastorale della Chiesa nelle plenarie della Congregazione del Concilio durante il pontificato di Pio XI (1922–1939),” in *Studi in onore del Cardinal Raffaele Farina*, ed. Ambrogio Maria Piazzoni (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2013), 1:497–522.

66. On Donato Sbarretti’s Canadian mandate, see Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Donato Sbarretti, deuxième délégué apostolique du Canada,” in Codignola, Pizzorusso, and Sanfilippo, *Le Saint-Siège*, 127–59.

67. Reports by American bishops on the economic assets of their dioceses in 1928 are to be found in 3 (*Stati Uniti*): *Baltimora et al., Relazione circa i beni ecclesiastici, 1928* (several files), *Stati Patrimoniali Esteri, Congregazione del Concilio, Sezione Amministrativa*, ASV. Other reports by American bishops for the years 1929–39 are in 4 (*Stati Uniti*) (several files), *Positiones Diocesi esteri, Congregazione del Concilio, Sezione Amministrativa*, ASV.

68. On the Sentinelle affair, see 933–34 (an enormous file, in two vols.), *Sezione Disciplinare, Congregazione del Concilio*, ASV. This issue was also examined by the Sacred Congregation “degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari” in 1927. See the related file in fasc. 47, *Franco canadesi*, posizione 216, IV Periodo, *America*, AAES.

69. Fasc. 44–46, *Stati Uniti 1927–1932: Elezione presidenziale* (files on Herbert Hoover [1874–1964] and Franklin Delano Roosevelt), posizione 214, IV Periodo, *America*, AAES. See also fasc. 66–73, *Stati Uniti 1934–1944: Sac. Coughlin e i suoi discorsi alla radio*. There are also several files on Father Charles Coughlin (1891–1979), posizione 238, IV Periodo, *America*, AAES.

70. Fasc. 56–58, *Riconoscimento del Governo Sovietico di Russia*, posizione 32, IV Periodo, *America*, AAES; fasc. 84–86, *Stati Uniti 1936–1947: Comunismo*, posizione 246, IV Periodo, *America*, AAES; fasc. 91, *Stati Uniti 1938–1939: The World Problem*, posizione 251, IV Periodo, *America*, AAES.

71. Fasc. 87–90, *Chicago Germania 1936–1938: Protesta del Card. Mundelein contro il nazismo tedesco*, posizione 251, IV Periodo, *America*, AAES; no. 8: *Stati Uniti d’America—Il Segretario dell’Associazione Eugenia America chiede una spiegazione (da pubblicarsi nell’organo ufficiale dell’Associazione) circa la condanna dell’Eugenetica, 1931, Rerum Variorum*, ACDF.

72. Fasc. 65, *Stati Uniti 1937–1938: Trattative per le relazioni diplomatiche tra la S. Sede e gli Stati Uniti*, posizione 237 (1), IV Periodo, *America*, AAES.

73. Vols. 77–78: *Stati Uniti d’America visite apostoliche* (see the reports on the Southern dioceses), *Concistoriale, Visita Apostolica*, ASV. See also fasc. 41, *Stati Uniti 1926–1937: Assistenza religiosa ai negri*, posizione 207, IV Periodo, *America*, AAES.

74. For the references and quotations in Part 4, see the appropriate entries in this guide.