

The Vatican's Role During World War Two

During both World Wars, the Catholic Church played a large role in the accompanying political and diplomatic crises. Through the course of the First World War, the Vatican—led by Pope Benedict XV—attempted to create peace throughout Europe. Assisted by the diplomat Bishop Eugenio Pacelli, Pacelli would have a significant role throughout the First World War as a Bishop during Benedict XV's papacy, as well as during the papacy of Benedict XV's successor Pius XI, where he served as the Vatican's Secretary of State. Pacelli would eventually become pope himself in 1939, choosing the name Pius XII.¹

However, Pius XII's papacy was marred by controversy over his perceived lack of help for Jewish refugees trying to escape death at the hands of Nazi Germany. Scholars often examine Pius XII's papacy through one of two lenses: of him allegedly supporting Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime in Germany and purposefully being inactive as Jews were killed by the millions, or as him heroically defending and assisting Jewish refugees as they fled German persecution and concentration camps. Within scholarship written on the Catholic Church's role in the Second World War, scholars typically take one of these two stances when Pius XII's papacy is examined. Pius XII is often by scholars either praised as having risked his own to assist not only Jewish refugees, but also assist the Allied powers during the Second World War; or he is harshly condemned as a friend and supporter of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime, as well as purposefully allowing Jews to be captured and killed by the millions. The controversy of Pope Pius XII's supposed inaction on the situation of Jews in Europe during World War Two is unjustified, however, as Pius XII did as much as humanly possible as leader of the Catholic Church to assist refugee Jews. The Catholic Church's role in World War Two is far more complicated and intricate than the pope selflessly helping Jews escape death or being complacent

in their mass murder. Pius XII's role as pope was drastically complicated by not only World War Two itself but also the diplomatic situation he was forced to navigate during his role as the Vatican's Secretary of State prior to his papacy and during his papacy as well.

Prior to Pacelli becoming Pope, the interwar period between proved to be a space for major building blocks for his pre-papal diplomatic and clerical career. Events during these decades would lead to major governmental and political changes in Europe as the tensions that would lead to the Second World War grew worse while Europe recovered from the First World War. Following the end of the First World War in 1918, Europe began to rebuild from the extreme devastation. The Vatican oversaw attempts to rebuild from the war and ease the suffering for millions of Europeans, as well as navigate the new governmental systems of Europe that had taken hold after many monarchies were replaced or overthrown. The Vatican would also have to navigate the new political scene of Europe as ideologies such as Nazism, fascism, anarchism, liberalism, and communism became more and more prevalent. However, major change would soon sweep the Vatican, as change had swept the majority of Europe throughout the course of the First World War. In 1922, after serving as pope for eight years, Benedict XV died. A short time after Pope Benedict XV's death, a papal conclave election was held to select his successor. The Church's Cardinal electors gathered and chose the Austrian-born Cardinal Ambrogio Damiano Achille Ratti. After his selection for the papacy, Cardinal Ratti became known by the name of Pope Pius XI.

Pius XI continued Benedict XV's legacy, assisting in rebuilding war-ravaged Europe. Soon after Pius XI's ascent to the papacy, he worked closely with Bishop Eugenio Pacelli. Pacelli, who was highly favored by the Vatican's leadership due to his role as a diplomat negotiator throughout both the First World War and Benedict XV's papacy. Bishop Pacelli

would continue to hold this role during Pius XI's papacy and remained an important part of the Vatican's leadership during the interwar years. Meanwhile, Pius XI would have a difficult path to face during this time as new governments came to power after the fall of several European monarchies, such as those in Austria-Hungary, Germany, the Ottoman Empire and Russia. Pius XI would have to work closely with the new governments of Europe, including those of Germany's very economically weak Weimar Republic and Italy's new government led by the fascist politician Benito Mussolini. Throughout the interwar years, the Vatican's role in the post-World War One diplomatic stage was significant and impactful.

Pius XI would spend a large part of his papacy appointing new Cardinals to the Catholic Church's ranks of Cardinal Bishops. More importantly, he had to address issues of the Church's diplomatic relations with France. France in the interwar years was anti-clerical, but many movements favoring a return of monarchy government still existed and had existed since before the First World War. The Action Française was the most prevalent of these movements, which existed despite France's previous anti-monarchy history following the 1789-1799 French Revolution. Many Catholics—as well as Catholic clergy—were involved with the Action Française since the papacy of Pope Pius X, who had served as pope before the First World War. During his own papacy, Pope Pius XI saw these movements as problematic and looked to condemn Catholic involvement with far-right monarchist organizations such as Action Française. The issue was controversial within the Catholic clergy in France, due to the large number of Catholic clergy involved with the movement.² As the issue persisted, Pius XI would release a papal encyclical document titled “*Maximam Gravissimamque*,” to the clergy and public to directly address the diplomatic problems between the Vatican and the Catholic Church in France in his own words.³ The resolution of the issue with movements such as the Action Française was

temporarily solved, with many Catholic adherents and clergy agreeing to abandon the movement. Catholic involvement was still an issue that would need a full resolution eventually, as the Action Française remained prevalent, particularly amid the Dreyfus Affair, in which French Jewish military officer Alfred Dreyfus was wrongly imprisoned as a spy due largely to antisemitism. The Action Française in addition to its strong monarchist beliefs and far-right views, grew progressively more antisemitic, particularly in the wake of the Dreyfus Affair prior to the First World War, something that continued through the interwar period. The Church solving the issue of its relations with France was one of the major diplomatic victories for Pius XI during his papacy. The next major issue in his papacy would be the issue of the “Roman Question.”

The Roman Question pertained to issues of the Catholic Church’s territory and power as a state within the independent state of Italy, and if Italy’s king should hold power over the Vatican due to its location within Italy. The Roman Question had remained unanswered since the dissolution of the Papal States after Italian unification in 1870. Pius XI and Italy’s King, Victor Emmanuel III, looked to solve the longstanding issue, and would do so successfully in 1929, after many years of debate.⁴ The pope and the Italian monarch reached an agreement that the Vatican would be recognized as an independent state under the power and leadership of the pope.⁵ This success in resolving the longstanding Roman Question was a major diplomatic achievement for Pius XI during his papacy. Pius XI in his diplomatic work as pope was continuously assisted by Bishop Eugenio Pacelli, with the resolution to the Roman Question being no exception. During the course of Pacelli carrying out his diplomatic work, his status within the Catholic Church continued to grow, and in 1929, Pacelli would be appointed a Cardinal by Pius XI.

Pacelli's skills as a diplomat would become important in the 1930s, as the Nazi Regime in Germany and the Mussolini Regime in Italy became more powerful. Thanks to his continuous diplomatic successes, Cardinal Pacelli would once again rise in rank within the Catholic Church, being appointed the Vatican's Secretary of State. Pacelli would replace the aging incumbent Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, who had served in that role since the papacy of Pope Benedict XV, as well as during a portion of Pius XI's papacy.⁶ Pacelli replacing Gasparri also stemmed from disagreements over leadership decisions between Gasparri and Pius XI, as the two had a longstanding but volatile working relationship, due largely to Pius XI's stubborn and brash personality and frequent policy disagreements. Cardinal Pacelli's status as the Vatican's Secretary of State gave him significant influence over the Vatican's governmental and foreign policy affairs. Pacelli in his new role as Secretary of State was second in power to only Pius XI. As Cardinal Pacelli continued to rise in rank and status, he closely worked with the leadership of the Nazi regime, looking to negotiate for peace, as war continued to grow more likely throughout the 1930s. Cardinal Pacelli and Pope Pius XI worked in tandem to negotiate with hostile nations such as Germany in the 1930s. Pacelli in this capacity worked closely with German Vice Chancellor and World War One veteran Franz Von Pappen.

Following many diplomatic victories for Pius XI during the first years of his papacy, such as quelling the issues with the Church in France and the Roman Question, the Vatican's diplomatic work would shift from its focus on issues within Catholic nations. Instead, the Church would be forced to address more pressing issues with less friendly European countries, particularly Germany and Italy. During the 1930s as nations such as Germany grew more hostile, Cardinal Pacelli would be sent by the Vatican to negotiate with Germany's leadership to hopefully keep peace in Europe and avoid another major devastating war like World War One.

Meanwhile, Pope Pius XI would also take action as Cardinal Pacelli carried out direct negotiations and would firmly condemn Italy's fascist ideology through a papal encyclical titled "Non abbiamo bisogno," released in 1931.⁷

In 1933, the Vatican would be forced to work with the Nazi regime in Germany, as Adolf Hitler's party gained power following elections in Germany. The anti-Christian and anti-clerical Nazi Party in Germany looked to limit the power of the Catholic Church, leading to the Vatican looking to negotiate a middle ground with the Nazis. Despite the anti-clerical views of the Nazi Party, Cardinal Pacelli would nonetheless work closely with officials from Nazi Germany to create diplomatic relations between the two nations. The negotiations led to the signing of the Reichskonkordat treaty between Nazi Germany and the Vatican.⁸ The treaty agreement allowed for the Catholic Church to continue to exist as it was and free of persecution in Germany, although Cardinal Pacelli was deeply distrustful of Hitler's sincerity in signing the agreement.⁹ Nonetheless, Pacelli and the Nazi regime's officials arranged the agreement to keep peace between the Vatican and Nazi Germany. While an uneasy peace existed between the Vatican and Nazi Germany, the Catholic Church still held unfavorable views of the Nazi regime and Adolf Hitler. The Church's opposition to Nazism led to Pope Pius XI to condemn Nazi Germany and its dominant national socialist ideology in a 1937 papal encyclical titled "Mit brennender Sorge."¹⁰ Throughout the remaining interwar years before the breakout of World War Two, the Vatican and Nazi Germany viewed each other distrustfully, with poor diplomatic relations existing between the two. The poor relations between the two was exacerbated by Pius XI's regular and brash condemnations of Adolf Hitler and his actions as Germany's elected head of state.¹¹ Pius XI was especially opposed to the race policies of Nazi Germany, and regularly spoke out against these policies.¹² In addition to his vocal condemnations of Nazi Germany, Pope

Pius XI would similarly condemn the Soviet Union and the ideology of communism.¹³

However, the Vatican still had to partake in negotiations with the major European nations, even with the pope's regular condemnations of their government's policies. As political tensions progressed in Europe, the Vatican would look to boost its friendly foreign relations elsewhere in the world.

The Vatican improving its foreign relations was accomplished with Cardinal Pacelli's 1936 visit to the United States, which was carried out to boost the Catholic Church's standing in North America. Pacelli and Pius XI both prioritized relations with the United States, as it was a nation that the Vatican had strong, existing, and friendly foreign relations with, due largely to the large and continuously growing Catholic population in the United States, fueled heavily by European immigration.¹⁴ Pacelli's visit to the United States was well received as he traveled across the country due to many European Catholic communities within the United States. Throughout his visit, many American Catholic clergy expressed their desire to keep the Church removed from the worsening political and diplomatic situation in Europe.¹⁵ However, while Pacelli's visit to the United States was an essential part of the Vatican's pre-World War Two foreign policy, Europe was still the priority diplomatically for the Vatican, and remained its primary focus into the 1930s. As the Vatican built up its foreign relations around the world, the Holy See's affairs in Europe would change significantly, as Pius XI died in 1939 at 81 years old after seventeen years as Pope.

After Pius XI's death in 1939, a papal conclave election took place to select his successor, as per the procedure of the Catholic Church upon the death of a sitting pope. Quickly, the Church's Cardinals gathered in Rome to select a new pope. Secretary of State Cardinal Pacelli was the overwhelming favorite choice among the Cardinals to replace the deceased pope,

largely due to his lengthy diplomatic career within the Church and work to create peace in Europe since the days of the First World War. Pacelli had also been heavily favored by Pius XI personally, as the former pope sought for Pacelli to be his successor after he had died. As many clergy within the Church had expected, after a short cycle of voting, Cardinal Pacelli was formally chosen to succeed Pius XI.¹⁶ Cardinal Pacelli in his new role as pope would now be known by the name Pius XII. Pius XII as the Catholic Church's newly chosen leader would have a very difficult journey ahead as another major war would once again plaguing Europe, twenty-one years after the end of the First World War.

Following the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party in Germany, increased German military aggression and attempts to reverse the punishing stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles from the First World War, Pius XII would look to keep the peace in Europe. The pope looked once again to the United States for assistance in this endeavor, and regularly exchanged letters with American President Franklin D. Roosevelt addressing peace in Europe.¹⁷ Pius XII looked to Roosevelt to assist the Vatican in creating peace in Europe and preventing a further escalation of tensions. As Germany's outward aggression became more of a threat to the nations surrounding it, Pius XII and Roosevelt regularly exchanged letters discussing the pre-war diplomatic situation in Europe and discussed potential solutions to create peace together.¹⁸ Pius XII and President Roosevelt were often in agreement with each other that curbing German military aggression was paramount to keeping peace in Europe. However, Roosevelt's isolationist views kept the United States from sending any form of assistance to Europe in the early days before the Second World War's outbreak in Europe. Even with the pope's efforts, the Second World War would still break out with the German invasion of Poland in 1939.

The Pope quickly declared the Vatican to be a neutral party. Pius XII's declaration of neutrality provoked an intense and immediate backlash from both the Allies and Axis powers in Europe. The backlash was due largely to the vagueness of the pope's reasoning for declaring the Vatican's neutrality, as he mainly condemned the concept of war itself and did not openly condemn either the Allies or Axis Powers, largely to avoid either side of the war turning against the Vatican militarily.¹⁹ The criticism towards Pius XII's decision was identical to the backlash received by Pope Benedict XV when he made the same decision to declare the Vatican a neutral party during the First World War. Nonetheless, the Pope firmly withheld support from the Allied and Axis Powers equally as World War Two unfolded. Following his declarations of Vatican neutrality, Pius XII issued a papal encyclical titled *Summi Pontificatus*, the first of his papacy.²⁰ In *Summi Pontificatus*, Pius XII jointly condemned the German invasion of Poland, the concept of war and hateful ideologies and racism. Furthermore, as World War Two broke out, Pius XII was assisted with managing the Vatican's foreign policy by the Vatican's new Secretary of State, Cardinal Luigi Maglione, as well as Cardinal Giovanni Batista Montini. Cardinal Montini had a close relationship with Pius XII and a prominent role in managing the Vatican's foreign affairs throughout the Second World War. Thanks to this, Montini would later be chosen as Pope Paul VI in 1963.²¹ However, the issues faced by the Vatican once World War Two broke out were the beginning of much larger problems that would plague the Church. The Church was particularly dogged by the controversy surrounding Pius XII's handling of the plight of Jews attempting to escape persecution from Nazi Germany.

The legacy of Pope Pius XII is often marred by controversy, as many scholars and historians view the pope as having done far too little to help European Jews escape persecution from Nazi Germany, with some even believing he supported the Nazi regime and their endeavors

during World War Two. The controversy over Pius XII's papacy is unjustified however, as the pope often quietly arranged for numerous actions to protect and assist Jews as they escaped persecution. However, even despite the actions of the Catholic Church in Europe and Pius XII, six million European Jews and millions from various other marginalized groups, such as the mentally and physically disabled, Romani, political prisoners, the LGBT community, Catholics, prisoners of war, and the Polish. Similarly, Jews were targeted for antisemitic discrimination in Italy, a close ally of Nazi Germany, which led to Pius XII's arrangement for Italian Jews to be able to live and work within the Vatican, as many lost their jobs due to the Mussolini Regime's antisemitism.

The belief that Pius XII supported the Nazi regime continues to exist even though Adolf Hitler himself despised both Catholicism, and the Nazis are believed to have planned to carry out a plot to invade the Vatican and abduct and murder Pius XII.²² However the plan was not carried out due to the pope's influence over the large population of Catholics in Europe, and the negative impact his assassination would have among Catholic communities in Europe.²³ While many scholars question the credibility of the plot against the pope's life, believing it to have been propaganda from the Nazis, it was still an impactful threat for European Catholics. Regardless of the plot's credibility, the pope did not fear an attempt on his life and was fully prepared to potentially face death at the hands of the Nazis.²⁴ Furthermore, the Catholic Church being hated by Adolf Hitler personally, and heavily persecuted by the Nazi regime as World War Two raged on shows that the Nazis strongly despised the Catholic Church, despite Pius XII's alleged support for the Nazis.

Additionally, Pius XII is heavily criticized for his lack of vocal opposition when massacres were carried out by German troops against Jews and other groups.²⁵ However as a

religious leader, his condemnations would have had little impact on the Nazis' actions such as massacring civilians. Furthermore, some scholars continuously emphasize that Pius XII is believed to have withheld financial support from European Jews as they looked to escape certain death at the hands of Nazi Germany, however, the information presented by scholars emphasizing this perspective is inconclusive.²⁶ The pope's opponents also continuously emphasize his lack of vocal opposition of Jewish persecution as a whole, something that came largely due to Pius XII's difficult position as both a religious and political leader.²⁷ As the spiritual leader of the Catholic Church, and as the Vatican's head of government, Pius XII was forced to carefully balance how he addressed the persecution of Jews from both a political and religious standpoint, particularly due to the Vatican being a small nation with a virtually nonexistent military beyond the pope's Swiss Guard.

These controversies persist despite the frequency of Jewish survivors of Nazi violence and concentration camps during World War Two who deeply praise Pope Pius XII for fervently supporting those escaping from persecution and risking his own life to assist Jews.²⁸ Scholars such as Rabbi David G. Dallin, who hold favorable views of Pope Pius XII and his actions to protect Jews during World War Two, emphasize this fact. Scholars favorable to Pius XII, such as Dallin, also argue that the pope's opponents attack his character and integrity using revisionist politicized arguments with little factual evidence.²⁹ Additionally, Pius XII has been proven to have arranged for direct actions to assist Jews as Germany increased its antisemitic persecution during World War Two. These actions included many Jewish scholars from Germany's equally antisemitic ally Italy being given employment within the Vatican after their dismissal from their employment due to their Judaism.³⁰ Similarly, the pope, being a career diplomat prior to his papacy, would covertly carry out actions to protect Jews, including covertly condemning the

Nazi violence against Jews during his Christmas address in 1942.³¹ The pope would similarly condemn persecution of Jews in his papal encyclical released in 1945 titled “*Communium Interpretes Dolorum*.”³² Pope Pius XII looked to use his power and status as a religious leader to protect Jews as much as possible, but had to do so covertly and diplomatically to avoid increased violence against European Jews and Catholics alike. Along with the pope’s actions to assist Jews, the Catholic Church beyond the Vatican also looked to protect Jews.

The Catholic Church outside of the Vatican protected Jews throughout the Second World War, despite those that claim that the Catholic Church did very little to tangibly help Jews. Examples include Dutch Catholic clergy opposing and attempting to directly challenge deportations of Jews from the Netherlands.³³ Furthermore, Jewish children often were sent to safety to live with Catholic families in Europe, as this prevented many Jewish children from being discovered by Nazi authorities.³⁴ However, this action was extremely controversial due to allegations that Jewish children were forcefully converted to Christianity and in some cases kept in the care of Catholic families or institutions after World War Two concluded. The controversy over Jewish children in Catholic care persists, even though Pius XII personally demanded that Jewish children be returned to their families and refused to allow these children to be kept by their Catholic caretakers after the end of the Second World War. However, despite Pius XII’s firm insistence that Jewish children be returned to their families, controversy persists due to many believing that the Catholic Church retained custody of orphaned Jewish children after World War Two and refused to return them.³⁵ The Jewish orphans controversy was the most controversial aspect of Pius XII’s papacy, however, the controversy is unwarranted due to the pope’s personal involvement in ensuring Jewish children being returned to their families.

While Pius XII was not an openly outspoken critic of Nazi Germany, he often covertly arranged plans to assist European Jews and undermine Germany's war plans. The pope's motives for his covert aid to Europe's Jews included his desire to avoid directly antagonizing the Nazis, which in turn increased the risk of violence against Catholics and the Catholic Church in Europe, as well as more violence against European Jews.³⁶ Additionally, the Vatican had a wide-reaching espionage program throughout the Second World War that conducted intelligence gathering missions to provide the Allies with intelligence as they fought against Germany.³⁷ Pius XII was heavily involved in assisting the Allied Powers with intelligence gathering and sharing of information, as were many Catholic clergy. These situations during the Second World War are examples of the Vatican's seldom discussed direct involvement in assisting Jews in escaping from Nazi persecution and certain death. However, these instances of action from the Vatican but also from Pope Pius XII himself are often overlooked, and he is instead targeted with unwarranted derision over his supposed inaction on assisting Jews in Europe during the war. The controversy directed at the pope is unjustified, due to many proven instances of the pope arranging direct action to help Jews escape persecution.

Overall, Pope Pius XII carried out numerous covert actions to protect Jews during World War Two. The pope, being a career diplomat, had to balance assisting Jewish refugees with avoiding antagonizing the Nazis and risking more intensified, militant persecution of Jews as well as protecting European Catholics from violence and persecution. This balance was extremely difficult to manage, but nonetheless was masterfully managed by the career diplomat Pope Pius XII throughout the Second World War. Pius XII would serve in his role as pope for 19 years, until he died and was subsequently succeeded by Cardinal Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, a Cardinal and Vatican diplomat during the Second World War who would become Pope John

XXIII in 1958. While controversy over Pius XII's actions during the Second World War persist long after his papacy, the controversy is nonetheless unjustified due to the evidence that exists to disprove it. The controversy is unwarranted given the numerous instances of not only Pius XII himself but the Catholic Church's clergy and leaders in putting themselves in direct danger to protect Jews from Nazi persecution. Additionally, the controversy is unjustified due to numerous Jewish survivors of Nazi violence and concentration camps praising Pius XII for his support that he arranged to save numerous Jews from death as they fled to safety.

ENDNOTES

¹Charles J. Herber. "Eugenio Pacelli's Mission to Germany and the Papal Peace Proposals of 1917." *The Catholic Historical Review* 65, no. 1 (1979): 20–48. 21

²R. E. Balfour "The Action Francaise Movement." *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3, no. 2 (1930): 182–205.

³Pius XI, "Maximam Gravissimamque," Encyclical letter of Pope Pius XI. January 18, 1924

⁴Robert Culhane. "The Lateran Agreement." *The Furrow* 5, no. 5 (1954): 280–88. 282-283

⁵Governments of the Holy See and the Italian Republic. *The Lateran Treaty*. February 11th, 1929

⁶John Pollard. "Papal Diplomacy and The Great War." *New Blackfriars* 96, no. 1062 (2015): 147–57. 155

⁷Pius XI. "Non abbiamo bisogno," encyclical letter of Pope Pius XI. June 29th, 1931

⁸Governments of the Holy See and Nazi Germany. *Reichskonkordat* treaty July 20th, 1933

⁹John Jay. Hughes "The Pope's 'Pact With Hitler': Betrayal or Self-Defense?" *Journal of Church and State* 17, no. 1 (1975): 63–80. 63-64

¹⁰Pius XI. "Mit brennender Sorge" Papal Encyclical letter of Pope Pius XI. March 14th, 1937.

¹¹Frank J. Coppa "Pope Pius XII: From the Diplomacy of Impartiality to the Silence of the Holocaust." *Journal of Church and State* 55, no. 2 (2013): 286–306. 295

¹²Coppa, 297

¹³Pius XI. "Divini Redemptoris" Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius XI. March 19th, 1937

¹⁴Leon Hutton. "The Future Pope Comes to America: Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli's Visit to the United States." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 24, no. 2 (2006): 121

¹⁵Leon Hutton, 110-112

¹⁶Coppa, 298

¹⁷Letter to Pope Pius XII from President Franklin D. Roosevelt. December 23, 1939.

¹⁸Letter of His Holiness Pius XII to the President of the United States of America Franklin Delano Roosevelt. March 16, 1940

¹⁹Coppa, 300

²⁰Pius XII. "Summi Pontificatus" Encyclical letter of Pope Pius XII. October 20, 1939.

²¹ Paul O'Shea. "The Vatican, the Holocaust, and the Archives." In *Genocide Perspectives IV: Essays on Holocaust and Genocide*, edited by Colin Tatz, 1:199–233. *UTS ePRESS*, 2012. 203

²² David G. Dalin. *The Myth of Hitler's Pope: How Pope Pius XII Rescued Jews from the Nazis*. Regnery History, 2013, 116

²³ John Cornwall. *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII*. Viking Adult Publishing. October 1, 1999.

²⁴ David G. Dalin. *The Myth of Hitler's Pope: How Pope Pius XII Rescued Jews from the Nazis*. Regnery History, 2013. 76

²⁵ Cornwall, 320

²⁶ Cornwall, 302

²⁷ Cornwall, 312

²⁸ Cornwall, 317

²⁹ Dalin. 2-3

³⁰ Dalin, 71

³¹ Pope Pius XII. "To the Sacred College of Cardinals for Christmas" Christmas Message. December 24, 1942

³² Pius XII. *Communium interpretes dolorum*. Papal encyclical letter of Pope Pius XII. April 15, 1945

³³ Dalin, 79

³⁴ Dalin, 113-114

³⁵ Dmitri Cavalli. "Pius' children." *The American in Italia* April 1st, 2006

³⁶ Dalin, 78

³⁷ David J. Alvarez. *Spies in the Vatican Espionage & Intrigue from Napoleon to the Holocaust*. University Press of Kansas. 2002. 1-2