

INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

University
Microfilms
International

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106
18 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON WC1R 4EJ, ENGLAND

8118064

KRAUS, INGRID MARIANNE

THE BERLIN CATHOLIC CHURCH, 1871-1918: ITS SOCIAL AND
POLITICAL ENDEAVORS

The University of Nebraska - Lincoln

PH.D. 1981

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

PREVIEW

THE BERLIN CATHOLIC CHURCH, 1871-1918:
ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ENDEAVORS

by

Ingrid Marianne Kraus

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of
The Graduate College in the University of Nebraska
In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major: History

Under the Supervision of Professor Edward L. Homze

Lincoln, Nebraska

May, 1981

TITLE

The Berlin Catholic Church: 1871-1918

Its Social and Political Endeavors

BY

Ingrid Marianne Kraus

APPROVED

DATE

Dr. Edward Homze

4-29-81

Dr. Lloyd Ambrosius

"

Dr. John Yost

"

Dr. John Turner

"

"

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE

GRADUATE COLLEGE

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
Chapter I. Catholicism in Berlin and Germany.	8
Chapter II. Ideas from Rome and Breslau	44
Chapter III. Implementation of the Church's Teaching	80
Chapter IV. The Trade Union Controversy	100
Chapter V. Politics and the Church.	132
Chapter VI. Summary and Conclusions	160
Bibliography	176

PREVIEW

INTRODUCTION

While historians have tried to learn how German churches, both Lutheran and Catholic, responded to social and political problems during the Hitler era, little if anything seems to have been written about how the churches carried out their social and political responsibility during the Wilhelmine Empire. Most of the accounts of the era are devoted to theological issues when it comes to the Protestant Church, and to the Kulturkampf when it concerns the Catholic Church.

With the eminent Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr this writer holds firmly that the teachings of Christ demand that churches which call themselves Christian have a social responsibility: They should be concerned not only with the spiritual but also with the physical well-being of all the people.

In limiting the subject, this student decided to confine the study to the Catholic Church and to examine only one segment, the Catholic Church of Berlin. For historical reasons and because bishops do not always interpret or apply Christ's or the Church's teachings in the same way, there exist noticeable differences among the various dioceses of Germany. This will be seen most clearly in the account of the trade union controversy in Chapter IV. To say, "The German Catholic Church thought or did such and such" cannot be done with accuracy. One would risk simplification and

generalization.

Although Berlin's catholic population never numbered more than thirteen percent, it grew five-fold in the years 1871 to 1918, from 50,000 to over 250,000. Berlin was the capital of the newly created empire. It constituted not only the administrative and political but the economic center of the country as well. This work might have been somewhat simpler if the city would have formed a diocese by itself, but Berlin did not become one until 1929. Rather, the city of Berlin, all of the state of Brandenburg and part of the province of Pommern constituted a semi-independent district, the Delegatur Berlin, which was subordinated to the bishop of Breslau in neighboring Silesia. The Delegatur was administred by a high prelate, but final authority in most matters rested with the bishop.

Because this study will examine primarily the actions of the catholic hierarchy and not of the laymen, considerable attention will be paid to the bishops. In the Catholic Church bishops are autonomous in their dioceses. As successors of the apostles, they have the teaching authority and provide spiritual guidance and direction to the clergy and laity assigned to their charge. Although directives are issued by the papacy and the Roman curia, the bishops are the interpreters of these and do not always apply instructions or orders as envisioned in Rome.

The specific question in this study is: How did the Catholic Church of Berlin respond to political and social

problems of the city and the nation during the years 1871 to 1918? The dates were selected because they are that of the Wilhelmine Empire, from its founding by Otto von Bismarck until its demise in World War I, and because the era is interesting to this student because of its intellectual currents.

The dissertation will begin by explaining the unique character of the Berlin Catholic Church. This will be followed by an analysis of the major teachings of the four popes who reigned during those years, and then an attempt will be made to explain how these were interpreted by the bishops of Breslau and the heads of the Berlin Delegatur. The next task will consist of assessing how these teachings were implemented. Questions to be considered include: How did the Church respond to the rapidly expanding metropolis and its urbanization problems? Did it confront the problems of the fast increasing industrial labor force as far as earnings, housing and health care were concerned? Because most of the original source material concerns this area, a major analysis of this paper will consist of the Church's position on trade unions. Here we encounter a central question, one that is still very much alive today: Whether and how far the Church authorities can give binding directions for the solution of social and political questions. The final chapter will make an attempt to analyze what was the Berlin Catholic Church's political impact on the Reichstag and the government although little material seems to be avail-

able that sheds light on this topic.

The definitive work about the German Catholic Church during the Wilhelmine Empire is Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, volume VI, Die Kirche in der Gegenwart, zweiter Halbband, Die Kirche zwischen Anpassung und Widerstand (1878 bis 1914) (1973), edited by Hubert Jedin. It discusses most every theological development in Germany as well as in other European countries, with occasional mention of Catholicism in the United States. It was helpful for background information about papacies and theological currents but did not delve very much into areas of social responsibility. Karl Bachem's Vorgeschichte, Geschichte und Politik der deutschen Zentrumspartei, 9 volumes (1927), is the classic work on the Center party, but it did not refer to Berlin's unique situation. The work was very helpful in clarifying parliamentary issues and made it possible for this student to get a general feeling of Catholicism of that era. Ronald Ross's Beleaguered Tower: The Dilemma of Political Catholicism in Wilhelmine Germany (1976) attempted to touch on the politics of Berlin's Catholics, but the analysis was not always accurate. Two books devoted specifically to Catholics yielded little essential information but provided some background. They are: Karl Buchheim, Ultramontismus und Demokratie: Der Weg der deutschen Katholiken im 19. Jahrhundert (1963) and Heinrich Lutz, Demokratie im Zwielficht: Der Weg der deutschen Katholiken aus dem Kaiserreich in die Republik 1914-1925 (1963). While the

Kulturkampf will only be touched upon in this work, the three most important works about the struggle are Johannes B. Kissling, Geschichte des Kulturkampfes in Deutschen Reich, three volumes (1916); Erich Schmidt-Volkmar, Der Kulturkampf in Deutschland 1871-1890 (1962), and Christoph Weber, Kirchliche Politik zwischen Rom Berlin und Trier 1876-1888: Die Beilegung des preussischen Kulturkampfes (1970).

Little if anything seems to have been written about the Berlin Catholic Church, 1871 to 1918. Of church history works the following included some information regarding the social actions of the Church: Leo Jablonski, Geschichte des fürst-bischöflichen Delegaturbezirks Brandenburg und Pommern, two volumes (1929); Bernhard Stasiewski, Die katholische Kirche im Bereich des Bistums Berlin: Ein geschichtlicher Überblick (1938), and a comprehensive article, written most sympathetically by a protestant pastor, Walter Wendland, which is entitled, "Die Entwicklung der katholischen Kirche in Gross-Berlin bis 1932," published in Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte (1935). Also helpful, especially as concerns biographical material on the provosts of Berlin and matters of administration was the unpublished dissertation by Josef Mörsdorf, "Die St. Hedwigskirche zu Berlin: Baudenkmal, Mutterkirche, Begräbnisstätte" (1952). Heinrich Fournelle's Die katholische Charitas in Berlin (1900) provided considerable information on Catholic charitable activities.

Because the diocesan archive of Berlin was bombed twice in 1943, all records it contained were burned. Therefore, a large part of the material is secondary. Much was pieced together from books and pamphlets owned by the Landesarchiv Berlin and the library of the Diocese of Berlin, located in East Berlin. Other secondary materials were gathered in the library of the Friedrich Meinecke Institut at the Free University of Berlin and that university's main library, and various other libraries in the city of Berlin. The primary sources consist of the papers of Joseph Baron and Franz Savigny. Baron, a priest, and Savigny, a lawyer, were active in Berlin's catholic trade unions and formulated much of the union's philosophy. For this reason the emphasis of this dissertation will be on the labor movement and its conflicts.

I would like to thank the Fulbright-Hays Commission for its grant which made it possible for me to do research in Berlin and Breslau during the 1979-80 academic year, and especially Dr. Roberto Esquenazi-Mayo of the University of Nebraska, and Mr. Rainer Rohr of the Commission's Bonn office. I am very grateful to Dr. Josef Mörsdorf for making the Joseph Baron and Franz Savigny papers available to me and for his kindness and continued encouragement. I am indebted to the members of the History Department of the University of Nebraska for excellent teaching and inspiration, in particular to Dr. Lawrence Baack for helping me to select the

topic, and Dr. John Yost and Dr. Lloyd Ambrosius for their careful reading of the dissertation. A special thank you to Mrs. Mary Burke for the superb typing job and to Mrs. Margaret Lindgren for sharing her home, a perfect place for writing. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Edward Homze for so much - always most willingly and cheerfully sharing his wisdom and vast knowledge and giving patient guidance and invaluable suggestions, but most of all, for his constant support and never wavering belief in me, even during illness. To him I respectfully dedicate this study.

PREVIEW

CHAPTER I
CATHOLICISM IN BERLIN AND GERMANY

Eugen Baumann, a Lutheran minister, describing pastoral care in Berlin in an 1880 book, offered a pin-point description of the individual who calls himself a Berliner--generally, that is someone who was born in Berlin. Baumann portrayed him as "warmblooded, confident, having a good heart, flighty, willing to make sacrifices, enjoying making others happy, pleasure and entertainment seeking, emotional, erratic, reckless, and open for all impressions of the good, the true and the beautiful."¹ For the Berliner "religion is only a matter of the emotions and seeking of pleasure, and the sermon the most favorite which greatly touches and moves the heart."² If this portrait is true, it should apply to Berlin-born Catholics as well. However, the city's catholic population included people from all parts of Germany: from Silesia and Westphalia, from Posen and from other countries like Poland, Italy and France. Only very few of the Catholics belonged to the upper or upper-middle classes; the great majority were members of the working class.

¹Baumann, Eugen, Der Berliner Volkscharakter in der Seelsorge (Berlin: Verlag L. Schleiermacher, 1880), p. 22.

²Ibid., p. 27.

Carl Sonnenschein, a well-known and respected activist priest, who worked in Berlin in the first three decades of the twentieth century, portrayed his city's Catholics like this:

Ours is not the statesman, but the railway porter; not the post office director, but the miner, perhaps even the foreman. Of course, Catholics can be found in the upper ranks, but such cases are not typical. We provide Germany with the domestic servants, the proletariat. We are the middle and lower classes.³

Before 1900 between 10,000 and 12,000 Catholics streamed into Berlin annually. This increased to about 15,000 during the first decade of the twentieth century and reached 30,000 a year in the years before World War I. In this urban world, the new residents of Berlin tried to save whatever they could, and one of these was their faith, in the midst of an environment dominated by Protestantism, Liberalism, Socialism and an educated upper-middle class which was largely indifferent to religion.

In the 1870s, Berlin, the swiftly industrializing capital of the new empire with its steadily increasing worker population was becoming "the center of German social democracy and the headquarters of the trade unions."⁴ The

³Ernst Thrasholt, Dr. Carl Sonnenschein: Der Mensch und sein Werk (Munich: Verlag Joseph Kösel & Friederich Pustet, 1930), p. 134.

⁴Hans Herzfeld, "Berlin als Kaiserstadt und Reichshauptstadt 1871-1945," in Ausgewählte Aufsätze, ed. Hans Herzfeld (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Verlag), p. 286.

rapid growth in the city's population was a result of its flourishing economy which began right after the victory in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. It experienced its lows, especially in the 1890s and reached a peak right before the start of World War I. The city attracted craftsmen, unskilled laborers, office workers, and entrepreneurs from all parts of Germany and some foreign countries as well. Joint stock companies were formed by the thousands. By the turn of the century some had developed into such industrial giants as the electrical firm of Allgemeine Elektrizitätswerke (AEG), Borsig, Siemens und Halsky. Berlin became well known for its machine building, textile and clothing, chemical, pharmaceutical, optical and photo industries, for processing of food and brewing of beer.

The industrial upswing also turned Berlin into the banking and insurance center of the Reich, and the city became the German and European rail center, both for passenger and traffic and for freight, as well as main inland harbor. With the building of the Oder-Spree and Teltow canals, Berlin also was Germany's second largest indoor harbor (the first was Duisburg).

But the glitter of the new imperial city which was consciously striving to become a world capital, attracted not only job seekers and entrepreneurs but intellectuals and artists as well, especially in the 1870s and '80s. In Berlin were created some of the socially critical plays of Gerhart Hauptmann and novels of Theodor Fontane. In the

1890s Berlin had sixteen legitimate theaters, as well as at least that many other stages. The best known theatres were the Deutsche Theatre with its classic repertoire and the Freie Volksbühne which offered more contemporary plays. Berliners, who today still are entertainment seekers, also flocked to the Oper and the Komische Oper. Famous European conductors took their turn leading the fine Berlin Philharmonie. Among well-known artists working in Berlin were Adolph von Menzel, Max Liebermann and Käthe Kollwitz.

The University of Berlin attracted intellectuals with world reputations and developed into an international center of modern research in physics, chemistry and medicine. It was here that Rudolf Virchow and Robert Koch taught medicine and Max Planck, physics.⁵ Not only were the university and the Technische Hochschule of excellent quality but so were Berlin's other educational institutions which were established by the state during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Besides primary schools and gymnasia these included schools providing training in every occupation. As early as 1870 education was provided free of charge in Berlin's public schools.

⁵ Ruth Glatz, ed. Berliner Leben 1870-1900: Erinnerungen und Berichte (Berlin [DDR] Rütten & Loening, 1963), pp. 5-6. See also Gerhard Masur, Imperial Berlin (New York: Basic Books, 1971). Also Annemarie Lange, Berlin zur Zeit Babels und Bismarcks (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1972).

Of course, Berlin carried a special significance as the capital of the Reich. On March 21, 1871, the first Reichstag was opened; however, it did not have its own building until 1894 when the high-Renaissance style structure was finished. The most important government offices of the new Reich and of Prussia as well were in Berlin. Until after the beginning of the twentieth century, the highest ranked groups of society were the nobility, especially those members attached to the imperial and royal court. These were followed by military officers, higher civil servants, large landowners and the new monied industrialists.⁶

But not far from the glittering court life there existed the most abject poverty in Berlin as a result of frequently reoccurring unemployment brought on by economic slumps and bankruptcies of newly formed companies. The steadily rising cost of apartments left some people without a roof over their heads and forced them to live in flimsy barrack villages. The care of the poor, particularly of orphans, took a substantial portion of Berlin's municipal budget, 20.5 million Mark in 1914.⁷ The steadily increasing population created not only economic growth but also problems of survival for many. The spectacular population growth of Berlin between the founding of the Reich and the end of the

⁶Herzfeld, "Berlin als Kaiserstadt...", p. 316.

⁷Märkische Volkszeitung, 1 February, 1914.

First World War can be seen by these figures:

1871	826,341
1880	1,122,330
1890	1,578,794
1900	1,888,848
1910	2,071,527
1920	3,858,293 ⁸

A considerable part of the increase can be accounted for by people migrating into this burgeoning industrial center. Where did these "immigrants" come from: In 1905 it was estimated that 40 per cent of Berlin's population were born Berliners, 18 per cent came from the surrounding province of Brandenburg, 32 per cent came from the eastern Prussian provinces, 2.5 per cent from the northern Prussian provinces, and 1.2 per cent from souther Germany or Austria-Hungary.⁹

Berlin had to expand to make room for its increasing population, and as it did, its suburbs grew toward the city. The outskirts expanded about eighteen-fold in population between 1871 and the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁰

In 1870 Berlin still had numerous meadows and fields, but these rapidly became covered with four- and five-story apartment buildings. While many of them had impressive but plaster Renaissance style fronts, their rear sections and

⁸Herzfeld, "Berlin als Kaiserstadt....," p. 304

⁹Ibid., pp. 303-04

¹⁰Ibid., p. 314

concrete courtyards were depressing as they received little light and air. Yet prices for these flats, which often were much too small for a family and frequently lacked toilets, rose steadily as land and construction speculators were profiteering. Thousands of people lived in damp cellars without even running water.

The social and economic disparities between the upper classes and the common working people were enormous. In 1872 the annual salary of the minister of justice was 12,000 Taler. A minor official in a government ministry received 800 to 1,600 Taler. An attendant in the imperial chancery was paid 350 Taler, a locomotive fireman got 250 to 350 Taler a year, and an office courier received 75 Taler.¹¹ These inequities and conditions such as hunger and unemployment which reached mass proportions after the economic crash of 1893 made Berlin's industrial workers class conscious and susceptible to socialistic and anarchistic ideas, so that "the concepts Berlin and Socialism soon formed an indivisible unity."¹² The workers joined the social democratic trade unions in increasing numbers. Even women, in 1885, and apprentices and young workers, in 1904, formed organizations to protect their interests.

¹¹Glatz, p. 94.

¹²Herzfeld, Hans, Berlin und die Provinz Brandenburg im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1968), p. 704.

The government, particularly Bismarck, was afraid of the Social Democratic Party and its trade unions; therefore, on October 19, 1878, the Reichstag passed a law, which went into effect two days later, outlawing nearly all social democratic and communistic organizations, trade unions and publications. In addition, in 1896 Robert Puttkamer, minister of the interior in Prussia, issued an order forbidding strikes. While the latter government measure succeeded in keeping down strikes for a few years, it did not stop demonstrations. There were large mass meetings and parades by the unemployed in 1892-93, 1893-94, and 1894-95, who protested not only the impossibility of being able to obtain jobs but also the rising food costs, the hunger and need among worker families. On the first day of May, 1894, Berlin workers demonstrated for an eight-hour day, worker protective legislation and higher wages. The large strike of clothing workers in 1896 showed the strength of the socialistic trade unions which grew in membership as did the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and its seats in the Reichstag.¹³ And all this happened despite the anti-socialist legislation which ended in 1890. After 1890 the SDP continued to steadily gain votes throughout most parts of Germany but most spectacularly so among industrial workers and small artisans of Berlin. In the 1912 Reichstag election

¹³Glatz, p. 330.

in which the SDP elected 110 delegates, 307,000 of the of the 407,000 valid votes cast in Berlin were for the Social Democrats.

As a contrast, the Berlin city council dominated by the middle class throughout the Wilhelmine period, remained liberal. In it vied two factions of the Freisinnige (National Liberal) Volkspartei, which Hans Herzfeld characterized as differing only in the rigor with which it opposed the Social Democratic Party,¹⁴ which, however, was steadily gaining council seats after 1900 despite the three-class voting system which favored the propertied.

As early as 1880 Berlin was the healthiest and most economically administered city of the world, which expended more for education and health care than any other city in the world of equal size.¹⁵ Many architecturally beautiful buildings, mostly designed in the Renaissance style with occasional Roccoco or Baroque touches, and many monuments and bridges were built. Everything a growing city needed appeared: Parks and squares, business buildings, wine and beer palaces, cafes, hotel, theaters and museums. The public transportation system evolved from horse-drawn to electric streetcars and the speedy above- and underground electric trains began their operation in 1902.

¹⁴Herzfeld, "Berlin als Kaiserstadt....," p. 287.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 282.

Hans Schlemmer described the face of Berlin between the years 1871 and 1890 with the adjectives "progressive, capitalistic, secular and intellectual." He characterized the intellectual life as being concerned with this world rather than the one beyond,¹⁶ thus it was in direct opposition to what Catholics were being taught. Catholic teaching, especially in the rural areas, from where many of Berlin's Catholics had come, still delegated secular life to a secondary position. Berlin did not provide a climate where religion could flourish effortlessly.

Walter Wendland, a protestant minister, drew a revealing picture of Berlin's Catholicism. First, it was young and born out of opposition, which caused Catholics to join together in churches and church-related organizations. He ruled out the phenomenon of Catholicism out of habit. Either a person was catholic out of conviction or he was totally indifferent to the faith. Catholicism in Berlin was not homogeneous because of people having come from many regions and various countries.¹⁷ Berlin's Catholicism had no traditions, but much value was placed on the externals: "A church feast is often appraised by the number of banners." The author raised some doubt whether much inner piety existed.¹⁸

¹⁶Hans Schlemmer, "Kirchengeschichte Berlins 1871-1937," Diss., Königsberg 1942, p. 2.

¹⁷In 1901 there lived nearly 50,000 Poles in Berlin and they demanded Polish sermons, baptisms and weddings.

¹⁸Walter Wendland, "Die Entwicklung der katholischen Kirche in Gross-Berlin bis 1932," Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte, 30, [1936], pp. 69-70.

P. F. Rauterkus, a Jesuit priest, believed that Berlin's Catholicism was unique because "the protestant and often unbelieving environment urged a joining together, a certain esprit de corps, an apostolic vow, an incomparably greater interest for questions regarding the church than before in the homeland."¹⁹ He viewed the atmosphere of Berlin as hostile to religion and to Catholicism in particular.²⁰ This was demonstrated in August of 1889 when the Dominican monastery of St. Paulus in Moabit, a north-central section of Berlin, was stormed by an angry mob of perhaps 15,000 which had been incited by derogatory newspaper articles and speeches. These followed the dedication of the monastery when in his address Eduard Müller had called the new institution "a light that was being lit and would shine far and lead many to the realization of the true religion."²¹

Over the years Berlin's Catholics did become a more visible minority. In 1871 the percentage of Catholics out of the total city population was 6.2 per cent. In 1885 it was 7.6 per cent, in 1900, 10.0 per cent, and in 1910, 12.6 per cent.²² Following are the number of Catholics who were

¹⁹P. F. Rauterkus, S. J., "Zur Charakteristik des Berliner Katholizismus," Märkischer Kalender, 1931, p. 29.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Bernhard Stasiewski, Die katholische Kirche im Bereich des Bistums Berlin: Ein geschichtlicher Überblick (Berlin: Herdersche Buchhandlung, 1938), p. 33.

²²Heinrich Bachmann, ed., Das Katholische Berlin (Munich: Hanns Eder Verlag, [1930?], p. 34.

living in Berlin:

1817	6,157
1823	7,736
1851	17,500
1860	25,128
1880	80,603
1890	135,029
1900	187,846
1910	243,020
1925	403,780 ²³

As unique as the character of Berlin's Catholicism was the structure of its hierarchy. It was not until 1929 that Berlin was named a diocese headed by a bishop. From 1821 until 1929 the city, all of the province of Brandenburg and part of the adjacent province of Pommern constituted a Delegatur, which was subordinated to the bishop of Breslau in Silesia.

Catholicism in Berlin can be traced back to Otto the Great who in 948 founded the first diocese in the Mark Brandenburg, after much resistance from the pagan inhabitants. Spreading the gospel most actively in the following centuries were the Cisterian, Dominican and Franciscan orders who built churches and convents and were regarded by the people as valued confessors. When Joachim II converted to

²³Wendland, p. 47.